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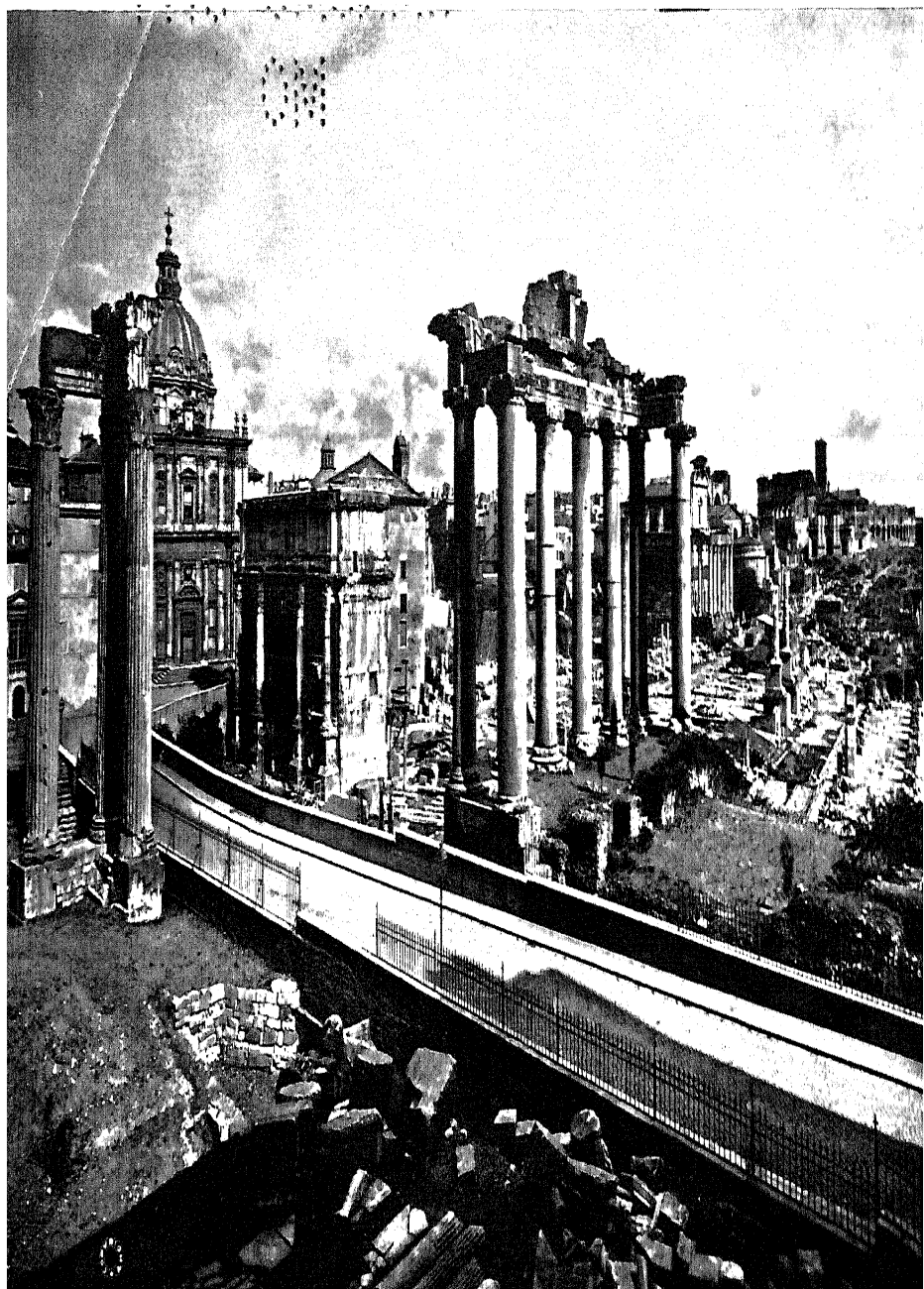
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RUINS OF THE ROMAN FORUM AS SEEN FROM THE WEST

History of Ancient Civilization

VOLUME II THE ROMAN WORLD

by Albert A. Trever

PROFESSOR OF HISTORY IN LAWRENCE COLLEGE

*"The history of Rome is the greatest of all
historical subjects for this simple reason,
that it is in truth synonymous with the
history of the world."*

E. A. FREEMAN

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PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

TO

MRS. ELIZABETH FRENCH TREVER
WHOSE CONTRIBUTION TO THE SUCCESSFUL
COMPLETION OF THIS WORK HAS BEEN FAR
GREATER THAN SHE EVER DREAMED

Foreword

This volume, on Rome from its beginnings, continues and concludes the *History of Ancient Civilization*, the first volume of which, on the ancient Near East and Greece, appeared in 1936.

Since the great developments in Roman imperial history reached their culmination in the reign of Constantine, it has seemed best to close the political phase of our survey with his death. Though the Roman state lingered on in the West for another century and a half, the civilization was henceforth essentially Christian and medieval rather than classical. For convenience of reference, however, the Chronological Table is extended to Justinian, and in the text such important considerations as Roman law, Christianity, and the symptoms and causes of the decline of Roman civilization are treated in their developments subsequent to Constantine.

For the author's principles and aims, the reader is referred to the Foreword to Volume I of this work. The attempt has been especially to preserve a balance between adequate interpretation and sufficient factual detail, to present an integrated picture of all phases of Roman civilization, and to show how the advance of Rome to the mastery of the world revolutionized her life, culture, and institutions.

As in the first volume, the essential unity and continuity of ancient civilization has been constantly emphasized. To present the history of the whole ancient Mediterranean world as one unit as is sometimes attempted, however, is unduly to ignore the rich diversity of cultures and is essentially impractical in anything more than the briefest survey. The unity amid diversity can best be emphasized by keeping ever before the reader the increasingly intimate relationships between the Orient, Greece, Rome, and the West as the history unfolds.

The exceptionally large space devoted to the Empire as compared with the Republic should need no defense in view of its relative importance. An adequate interpretation of over three centuries of world history pregnant with developments of such great significance for future civilization is impossible in a cursory survey. This is all the more true when, as in this volume, the narrative includes a far more extensive treatment of the evolution of Christianity in the Roman Empire than is usual.

As in the first volume, brief analyses of the literary and archaeological sources on which this work is based are included in the chapters in their proper setting.

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the Harvard University Press for permission to cite extensively from the translations of the *Loeb Classical Library*, I am much indebted.

To the many great interpreters of Roman history from Mommsen to Rostovtzeff, whose pioneer studies in articles, monographs, and books have made this work possible, I now make general acknowledgment. To Professor Frank B. Marsh and Professor H. J. Leon, of the University of Texas, and to Professor Thomas A. Brady, of the University of Missouri, who read the manuscript, I also owe much for their valuable suggestions and criticisms.

Roman history bristles with difficult problems on which there is room for the widest difference of opinion among scholars. The author trusts, therefore, that he has avoided undue dogmatism and has preserved a fair balance in his interpretations.

A. A. TREVER

Contents

FOREWORD

v

PART ONE: INTRODUCTION

I. GEOGRAPHY AND SOURCES FOR EARLY ROMAN HISTORY	3
I. THE MEANING AND UNITY OF ROMAN HISTORY	3
✓ II. THE GEOGRAPHICAL BASIS OF ROMAN HISTORY	4
III. SOURCES AND CREDIBILITY OF EARLY ROMAN HISTORY	9
2. PRIMITIVE ITALY AND ROME	13
I. PREHISTORIC ITALY	13
II. PRIMITIVE ITALY BEFORE ROMAN EXPANSION (c. 800-500 B.C.); ITALIC PEOPLES, ILLYRIANS, ETRUSCANS, GREEKS	16
III. EARLY LATIUM AND ROME TO THE CLOSE OF THE SIXTH CENTURY	25

PART TWO: THE EARLY ROMAN REPUBLIC (c. 509-265 B.C.)

3. THE EXPANSION OF ROME AND THE POLITICAL ORGANIZATION OF ITALY (c. 509-265 B.C.)	35
I. THE CRISIS OF ROME IN THE FIFTH CENTURY	35
II. THE CELTIC INVASION (387 (390) B.C.)	37
III. ROMAN EXPANSION (TO 338 B.C.)	38
IV. THE WARS OF THE SAMNITES AND THEIR ALLIES FOR ITALIAN IN- DEPENDENCE (327-290 B.C.)	40
V. THE CONQUEST OF MAGNA GRAECIA (281-266 B.C.)	43
VI. THE REASONS FOR ROME'S SUCCESS	48
VII. THE ROMAN ORGANIZATION OF ITALY	50
VIII. THE MEANING OF ROMAN UNIFICATION TO THE PEOPLES OF ITALY	52
IX. THE EFFECTS OF EXPANSION ON ROME	53
4. THE CONSTITUTIONAL AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT OF ROME RESULTING FROM ITALIAN EXPANSION (c. 509-287 B.C.)	58
I. THE EARLIEST CONSTITUTION OF THE REPUBLIC	58
II. THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CONSTITUTION TO 287 B.C.	60
III. THE STRUGGLE OF THE ORDERS	65

PART THREE: EXPANSION ON THREE CONTINENTS (265-133 B.C.)

5. THE STRUGGLE OF ROME AND CARTHAGE FOR THE WEST MEDITER- RANEAN (265-201 B.C.)	79
I. INTRODUCTION	79
II. THE FIRST PUNIC WAR	81
III. THE NEW IMPERIAL SYSTEM	84
IV. THE ILLYRIAN WARS (229-219 B.C.)	85
V. THE GALLIC INVASIONS AND THE ROMAN CONQUEST OF CISALPINE GAUL (225-222 B.C.)	86
VI. THE SECOND PUNIC WAR (218-201 B.C.)	88
6. ROMAN EXPANSION AND FOREIGN POLICY IN THE HELLENISTIC EAST (200-133 B.C.)	101
I. THE POLITICAL STAGE (200 B.C.)	101
II. ROME INTERVENES	103
III. THE SECOND MACEDONIAN WAR	104
IV. THE WAR WITH ANTIOCHUS III AND THE AETOLIAN LEAGUE (192- 189 B.C.)	105
V. THE THIRD MACEDONIAN WAR (171-167 B.C.)	108
VI. ROMAN POLICY AFTER PYDNA	109
VII. CAMPAIGNS IN CISALPINE GAUL, LIGURIA, AND SPAIN	111
VIII. ROMAN FOREIGN POLICY (167-133 B.C.); FROM REGULATION TO ANNEXATION	111
IX. THE PACIFICATION OF SPAIN (154-133 B.C.)	112
X. THE THIRD PUNIC WAR AND THE DESTRUCTION OF CARTHAGE (149-146 B.C.)	114
XI. THE END OF MACEDON AND THE ACHAEAN LEAGUE (149-146 B.C.)	118
XII. THE DESTRUCTION OF CORINTH	118
XIII. THE END OF THE KINGDOM OF PERGAMUM	120
XIV. SUMMARY	121
7. THE AFTERMATH OF WAR, EXPANSION, AND CONTACT WITH HELLEN- ISM (265-133 B.C.)	122
I. POLITICAL CONDITIONS AND PROBLEMS IN ROME, ITALY, AND THE EMPIRE	122
II. ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS AND PROBLEMS	130
III. THE NEW CULTURE	143

PART FOUR: THE LAST CENTURY OF THE ROMAN REPUBLIC
(133-27 B.C.)

8. THE GRACCHAN REFORMS AND THE BEGINNING OF REVOLUTION IN ROME (133-122 B.C.)	155
I. THE SETTING: A CENTURY OF CIVIL WAR	155
II. THE IMMEDIATE PROBLEM OF THE GRACCHI	156
III. TIBERIUS GRACCHUS	157
IV. THE AGRARIAN LAW	158
V. THE CONSTITUTION STRETCHED	159
VI. THE COMMISSION AND THE TREASURE OF ATTALUS	160
VII. CAMPAIGN FOR RE-ELECTION, AND DEATH	160
VIII. THE SEQUEL (132-123 B.C.)	161
IX. GAIUS GRACCHUS	162
X. GENERAL ESTIMATE: THE AFTERMATH	168
9. CIVIL WAR AND FOREIGN CRISES; MARIUS AND SULLA (122-78 B.C.)	171
I. FROM THE GRACCHI TO CAESAR	171
II. NEW FRONTIERS	172
III. THE JUGURTHINE WAR	173
IV. THE INVASION OF THE CIMBRI AND TEUTONS	175
V. SLAVES AND PIRATES	176
VI. A DECADE OF SORDID POLITICS IN ROME	177
VII. THE ITALIAN, OR SOCIAL, WAR (90-88 B.C.)	179
VIII. SULLA AND THE FIRST MITHRADATIC WAR (89-85 B.C.)	181
IX. CIVIL WAR IN ROME AND THE DICTATORSHIP OF SULLA (87-78 B.C.)	184
10. ROMAN POLITICS AND EASTERN EXPANSION (78-60 B.C.)	191
I. THE REVOLT OF LEPIDUS	191
II. THE REVOLT OF SERTORIUS	192
III. THE REVOLT OF THE GLADIATORS	192
IV. THE CONSULSHIP OF POMPEY AND CRASSUS (70 B.C.)	193
V. THE TRIAL OF VERRES (70 B.C.)	193
VI. POMPEY AND THE PIRATES (67 B.C.)	195
VII. THE THIRD MITHRADATIC WAR (74-63 B.C.); LUCULLUS AND POMPEY	196
VIII. THE JEWS AND POMPEY'S CAPTURE OF JERUSALEM	198
IX. THE END OF MITHRADATES	199
X. POMPEY'S IMPERIALISM	199
XI. POLITICS IN ROME DURING POMPEY'S ABSENCE (67-62 B.C.)	200

II. JULIUS CAESAR: THE END OF THE ROMAN REPUBLIC AND THE FOUND- ING OF THE EMPIRE (59-44 B.C.)	209
I. CAESAR'S FIRST CONSULSHIP (59 B.C.)	209
II. THE EXILE OF CICERO (58 B.C.)	211
III. ROME IN THE ABSENCE OF CAESAR (58-55 B.C.)	212
IV. THE TRIUMVIRATE RENEWED (56 B.C.)	213
V. CAESAR'S CONQUEST OF GAUL (58-51 B.C.)	214
VI. CRASSUS AND THE PARTHIAN DISASTER (55-53 B.C.)	221
VII. ROMAN POLITICS (54-49 B.C.): POMPEY'S RULE IN ROME: THE END OF THE COALITION	222
VIII. THE CIVIL WAR (49-46 B.C.)	226
IX. THE DICTATORSHIP OF JULIUS CAESAR (JULY 28, 46-MARCH 15, 44 B.C.)	231
X. THE IDES OF MARCH (44 B.C.)	238
XI. CAESAR: AN EVALUATION	240
12. THE DEATH AGONY OF THE REPUBLIC (44-27 B.C.)	243
I. ANTONY IN CONTROL	243
II. THE RISE OF OCTAVIAN	245
III. MUTINA	247
IV. THE TRIUMVIRATE AND PROSCRIPTIONS (43 B.C.)	248
V. CICERO AS MAN AND STATESMAN	249
VI. AFTER THE PROSCRIPTIONS	251
VII. THE DIVISION OF THE SPOIL	253
VIII. ANTONY AND CLEOPATRA (41-40 B.C.)	253
IX. OCTAVIAN IN ITALY (42-40 B.C.)	254
X. THE TREATY OF BRUNDISIUM (40 B.C.)	255
XI. THE TREATY OF MISENUM (39 B.C.)	256
XII. TREATY OF TARENTUM AND DEFEAT OF S. POMPEY (37-36 B.C.)	257
XIII. THE WIDENING BREACH BETWEEN OCTAVIAN AND ANTONY	258
XIV. ANTONY'S INVASION OF PARTHIA (36 B.C.)	259
XV. ANTONY'S DRAMATIC PARTITION OF THE ROMAN EAST (34 B.C.)	260
XVI. THE VICTORY OF OCTAVIAN OVER ANTONY AND CLEOPATRA (32- 30 B.C.)	261
13. GOVERNMENT, ECONOMY, AND SOCIETY IN THE LAST CENTURY OF THE REPUBLIC	266
I. GOVERNMENT	266
II. ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT	268
III. SOCIETY AND MANNERS	276
IV. RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY	282

CONTENTS

xi

14.	ROMAN CULTURE IN THE LAST CENTURY OF THE REPUBLIC	286
	I. EDUCATION	286
	II. LITERATURE	290
	III. ART	300

PART FIVE: THE AUGUSTAN AGE

15.	THE PRINCIPATE OF AUGUSTUS (27 B.C.-14 A.D.); DOMESTIC POLICIES	307
	I. THE NEW POLITICAL ORDER, ITS ORGANIZATION AND MEANING	307
	II. THE BEGINNINGS OF THE IMPERIAL CULT AND ITS MEANING	310
	III. THE IMPERIAL CIVIL SERVICE AND THE THREE ORDERS UNDER THE AUGUSTAN PRINCIPATE	316
	IV. ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, AND RELIGIOUS POLICIES OF AUGUSTUS IN ROME AND ITALY	319
	-V. JUDICIAL REFORMS	326
	VI. ADMINISTRATION OF THE CITY OF ROME AND ITALY	327
	VII. PUBLIC FINANCE UNDER AUGUSTUS	328
	VIII. THE COMMERCIAL POLICY OF AUGUSTUS	330
16.	THE PRINCIPATE OF AUGUSTUS; THE ARMY, THE PROVINCES, AND FOR- EIGN EXPANSION	331
	I. THE AUGUSTAN REORGANIZATION OF THE ARMY	331
	II. THE AUGUSTAN REORGANIZATION OF PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT: THE PROVINCES TO 14 A.D.; FOREIGN POLICY, FRONTIERS, AND EXPANSION	333
	III. FOREIGN EXPANSION	344
	IV. THE PROBLEM OF SUCCESSION	348
	V. THE PERSONALITY AND ACHIEVEMENT OF AUGUSTUS	350
	VI. THE BIRTH OF JESUS AND THE NEW CHRONOLOGY	353
17.	THE AGE OF AUGUSTUS (27 B.C.-14 A.D.)	354
	I. LITERATURE AND LEARNING	354
	II. AUGUSTAN ART AND BUILDING	375
	III. AUGUSTAN ECONOMY	379
	IV. SOCIETY AND MORALS	381
	V. RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY	383

PART SIX: THE JULIO-CLAUDIAN PERIOD

18. ROME AND THE EMPIRE UNDER THE JULIO-CLAUDIANS (14-68 A.D.)	389
I. A PREVIEW OF ROMAN IMPERIAL HISTORY	389
II. TIBERIUS (14-37 A.D.)	390
III. GAIUS CALIGULA (37-41 A.D.)	403
IV. CLAUDIUS (41-54 A.D.)	407
V. NERO (54-68 A.D.)	417
VI. THE CIVIL WAR, OR THE YEAR OF THE FOUR EMPERORS (68-69 A.D.)	426
19. ECONOMY AND SOCIETY IN THE JULIO-CLAUDIAN AGE (14-70 A.D.)	430
I. ECONOMY	430
II. SOCIETY	438
20. CULTURE AND RELIGION IN THE JULIO-CLAUDIAN AGE	455
I. LITERATURE, LEARNING, AND EDUCATION	455
II. ARCHITECTURE AND ART	462
III. PHILOSOPHY AND ROMAN RELIGION	464
IV. THE BEGINNINGS OF CHRISTIANITY IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE	467

PART SEVEN: ROME AND THE EMPIRE UNDER THE
FLAVIANS AND ANTONINES (69-180 A.D.)

21. IMPERIAL FRONTIERS AND GROWTH OF AUTOCRACY UNDER THE FLAVIANS (69-96 A.D.)	481
I. REVOLT WITHIN THE EMPIRE (69-70 A.D.)	481
II. THE FLAVIANS: SUCCESSION, PERSONALITY, AND CHARACTER	485
III. AUTOCRACY AND CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGES	488
IV. ADMINISTRATION OF ROME AND THE EMPIRE UNDER THE FLAVIANS	489
V. THE FRONTIERS: DEFENSE AND MILITARY ADVANCE UNDER THE FLAVIANS	492
VI. A GREAT DISASTER: THE DESTRUCTION OF POMPEII AND HERCULANEUM	497
VII. OPPOSITION TO FLAVIAN ABSOLUTISM	499
22. ENLIGHTENED DESPOTISM FROM NERVA TO MARCUS AURELIUS (96-180 A.D.)	502
I. THE IMPERIAL SUCCESSION	502
II. PERSONALITY AND CHARACTER OF THE EMPERORS	503
III. BENEVOLENT MONARCHY AND THE SENATE	505

CONTENTS

xiii

IV. IMPERIAL FINANCE	510
V. PROVINCIAL ADMINISTRATION AND THE MUNICIPALITIES	516
VI. ROMAN EXPANSION AND THE FRONTIERS	519
VII. THE SPIRIT OF THE AGE	527
23. GOVERNMENT AND ECONOMY IN THE EMPIRE (70-180 A.D.)	529
I. PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION	529
II. ECONOMIC CONDITIONS AND TENDENCIES (70-180 A.D.)	540
24. THE PROVINCES UNDER THE FLAVIANS AND ANTONINES	558
I. GOVERNMENT	559
II. TAXATION	559
III. THE MUNICIPALITIES	560
IV. THE PROVINCES IN RELATION TO ROME AND ITALY	562
V. A GENERAL SURVEY OF THE PROVINCES IN THE SECOND CENTURY	563
VI. BEYOND THE IMPERIAL BOUNDARIES	579
25. SOCIETY AND CULTURE (70-180 A.D.): SOCIETY, ART, PHILOSOPHY, AND RELIGION	581
I. SOCIETY	581
II. ART	584
III. PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGION IN THE SECOND CENTURY	590
IV. SUMMARY: THE SPIRIT OF THE AGE	597
26. SOCIETY AND CULTURE (70-180 A.D.): EDUCATION, LITERATURE, AND LEARNING	599
I. EDUCATION IN THE SECOND CENTURY A.D.	599
II. LATIN LITERATURE AND LEARNING	601
III. GREEK LITERATURE IN THE SECOND CENTURY	619

PART EIGHT: THE EMPIRE IN ITS DECLINE

27. THE ORDEAL OF THE EMPIRE IN THE THIRD CENTURY (180-285 A.D.)	625
I. THE REIGN OF COMMODUS (180-192 A.D.)	625
II. THE CIVIL WARS (193-197 A.D.)	627
III. MILITARY MONARCHY UNDER THE SEVERI (193-235 A.D.)	629
IV. MILITARY ANARCHY AND FOREIGN INVASION (235-285 A.D.)	641
28. THE REORGANIZATION OF THE EMPIRE BY DIOCLETIAN AND CONSTAN- TINE AND THE TRIUMPH OF ORIENTAL DESPOTISM AND CHRIS- TIANITY (285-337 A.D.)	656
I. DIOCLETIAN (285-305 A.D.)	656
II. CONSTANTINE I, THE GREAT (306-337 A.D.)	666
III. THE PASSING OF ANCIENT CIVILIZATION	675

29. THE DECLINE OF ROMAN CIVILIZATION (180-337 A.D.)	677
I. POLITICAL	677
II. ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DECLINE	681
III. THE DECADENCE OF CULTURE	690
IV. CAUSES OF THE DECLINE OF ROMAN CIVILIZATION	696
30. ROMAN PAGANISM, CHRISTIANITY IN THE LATER EMPIRE, AND A RÉSUMÉ OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF ROMAN LAW	706
I. ROMAN PAGANISM	706
II. CHRISTIANITY IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE (70-337 A.D.)	708
III. RÉSUMÉ OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF ROMAN LAW	725

PART NINE: EPILOGUE

31. THE ROMAN HERITAGE TO WESTERN CIVILIZATION	735
X I. ROME AS THE INTERMEDIARY OF GREEK CULTURE AND CHRISTIAN- ITY TO THE WEST	736
X II. THE MORE DISTINCTLY ROMAN HERITAGE	737
SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY	769
INDEX	793

Illustrations

<p> RUINS OF THE ROMAN FORUM AS SEEN FROM THE WEST (<i>Photo Anderson</i>) <i>Frontispiece</i> </p>	
<p> I. ETRUSCAN ART: CAPITOLINE WOLF (<i>Photo Anderson</i>); BRONZE CHI- MAERA FROM AREZZO (<i>Archaeological Museum, Florence</i>) </p>	30
<p> II. ETRUSCAN TOMBS OF THE STUCCOES AT CERVETERI (<i>Photo Alinari</i>); TERRA-COTTA STATUE OF APOLLO (<i>Museo Papa Giulio, Rome</i>); BRONZE STATUE OF "ARRINGATORE," ORATOR (<i>Archaeological Mu- seum, Florence</i>) </p>	31
<p> III. ROMAN RELIGION: BAS-RELIEF OF THE SO-CALLED "SHRINE OF VESTA" IN THE FORUM (<i>Photo Alinari</i>); STATUE OF A VESTAL VIRGIN </p>	94
<p> IV. ROMAN RELIGION: THE "SUOVETAURILIA"; BRONZE STATUETTE OF "MAGNA MATER" (CYBELE) IN A CHARIOT OF LIONS (<i>Metropolitan Museum of Art</i>) </p>	95
<p> V. ARCHITECTURE OF THE REPUBLIC: RUINS OF THE TEMPLE OF FORUM BOARIUM (<i>Photo Alinari</i>); THE SO-CALLED TEMPLE OF VESTA IN ROME (<i>Photo Alinari</i>) </p>	126
<p> VI. POMPEIAN ART: HOUSE OF THE TRAGIC POET; MURAL OF A ROMAN GIRL WITH TABLETS AND STYLUS (<i>National Museum, Naples</i>) </p>	127
<p> VII. GREAT ROMANS OF THE LATE REPUBLIC: BUST OF POMPEY (<i>Ny Carls- berg Glyptothek, Copenhagen</i>); BUST OF CICERO (<i>Vatican, Rome</i>); HEAD OF A COLOSSAL STATUE OF JULIUS CAESAR (<i>Palazzo dei Conservatori, Rome</i>) </p>	222
<p> VIII. INDUSTRY IN ITALY: BAS-RELIEF PORTRAYING INTERIOR OF A SHOP (<i>Photo Alinari</i>); ARRETINE BOWL (<i>Metropolitan Museum of Art</i>) </p>	223
<p> IX. PRIMA PORTA STATUE OF AUGUSTUS AS IMPERATOR (<i>Photo Anderson</i>) </p>	254
<p> X. THE GLORY OF AUGUSTUS: THE AUGUSTAN FAMILY, PART OF A BAS- RELIEF FROM THE "ARA PACIS" (<i>Uffizi, Florence</i>); THE "GEMMA AUGUSTEA" (<i>Museum, Vienna</i>) </p>	255
<p> XI. "TERRA MATER" (OR "ITALIA"?), BAS-RELIEF FROM THE "ARA PACIS" (<i>Uffizi, Florence</i>); VIRGIL WITH CLIO, FLOOR MOSAIC FROM UTHINA, CARTHAGE (<i>Bardo Museum, Tunis</i>) </p>	414

- XII. THE JULIO-CLAUDIANS: HEAD OF A STATUE OF TIBERIUS AS PONTIFEX MAXIMUS (*Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*); HEAD OF A MEMBER OF THE JULIO-CLAUDIAN FAMILY, PROBABLY CALIGULA (*Metropolitan Museum of Art*); HEAD OF A STATUE OF CLAUDIUS AS JUPITER (*Photo Anderson*); HEAD OF NERO (*Museo Vaticano, Rome*) 415
- XIII. THE FLAVIANS: SIDE VIEW OF HEAD OF VESPASIAN (*Terme Museum, Rome*); BUST OF DOMITIAN (*Antiquarium, Rome*); PART OF A BAS-RELIEF FROM THE ARCH OF TITUS PORTRAYING HIS TRIUMPHAL PROCESSION WITH SPOILS FROM JERUSALEM (*Photo Brogi*) 446
- XIV. THE FLAVIAN AMPHITHEATRE OR COLOSSEUM (*Photo Alinari*); THE ARCH OF TITUS (*Photo Anderson*) 447
- XV. POMPEII: PERISTYLE IN THE HOUSE OF THE VETII, PARTLY RESTORED (*Photo Alinari*); "STRADA DELL' ABBONDANZA" (STREET OF ABUNDANCE) SEEN FROM WEST TO EAST 482
- XVI. ITALIAN INDUSTRY IN THE EARLY EMPIRE: OVEN AND MILL AT POMPEII (*Photo Anderson*); MURALS FROM THE BLACK-ROOM OF THE HOUSE OF THE VETII AT POMPEII REPRESENTING CUPIDS IN THE INDUSTRIAL ARTS 483
- XVII. THE "GOOD" EMPERORS: BUST OF TRAJAN (*Vatican, Rome*); HEAD OF HADRIAN (*Vatican, Rome*); BUST OF ANTONINUS PIUS (*Terme Museum, Rome, Photo Alinari*); HEAD OF EQUESTRIAN STATUE OF MARCUS AURELIUS (*Piazza of the Capitol, Rome*) 506
- XVIII. RESTORATION OF THE BASILICA ULPIA, THE CHIEF BUILDING IN THE FORUM OF TRAJAN; MAUSOLEUM OF HADRIAN (CASTEL SANT' ANGELO) (*Photo Alinari*) 507
- XIX. "VIA DELLA CASA DI DIANA" AT OSTIA, SHOWING HOUSES IN A ROMAN METROPOLIS (*Photo Anderson*); THE PONT DU GARD, NEAR NÎMES, FRANCE, THE FINEST ROMAN AQUEDUCT 542
- XX. ROMAN ARCHITECTURE OF THE EARLY EMPIRE: THE MAISON CARRÉE, A CORINTHIAN TEMPLE AT NÎMES, FRANCE; THE PANTHEON AT ROME (*Photo Anderson*) 543
- XXI. RUINS OF TIMGAD, AFRICA; RUINS OF THE TEMPLE OF BACCHUS AT BAALBEK, SYRIA (*After Wiegand*) 574
- XXII. MITHRAISM AND CHRISTIANITY: BAS-RELIEF OF THE PERSIAN GOD OF LIGHT, MITHRAS, KILLING THE BULL (*Museum, Wiesbaden*); EARLY CHRISTIAN TOMB FROM THE SO-CALLED "COEMETERIUM CALIXTI" NEAR THE APPIAN WAY 575

Maps

1. A. PRIMITIVE ITALY—PEOPLES AND TRIBES	14
B. ITALY—MILITARY AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION ABOUT 90 B.C.	
2. A. REFERENCE MAP OF ANCIENT ITALY	46
B.-E. ITALY—GROWTH OF ROMAN POWER FROM 500 B.C. TO 265 B.C.	
3. ROMAN EXPANSION 264-44 B.C.	110
A. ROME AND CARTHAGE 264 B.C.	
B. ROME AND CARTHAGE 238 B.C.	
C. ROME AND CARTHAGE 218 B.C.	
D. ROME AND CARTHAGE 201 B.C.	
E. ROMAN DOMINION IN 133 B.C.	
F. ROMAN DOMINION IN 63 B.C.	
G. ROMAN DOMINION IN 44 B.C.	
4. CAESAR'S GAUL	238
5. ROMAN EMPIRE AT THE TIME OF AUGUSTUS	334
6. A. REPUBLICAN ROME	366
B. IMPERIAL ROME	
C. FORA OF THE EMPERORS	
7. TRADE ROUTES AND PRODUCTS IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE	(back end paper)

Charts

BRIEF CHRONOLOGICAL CHART OF ROMAN HISTORY	<i>between 784-785</i>
TABLE I, THE JULIO-CLAUDIAN LINE	785
TABLE II, THE SEVERI	786
CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF ROMAN HISTORY	787

Part One

INTRODUCTION

1. *Geography and Sources for Early Roman History*
2. *Primitive Italy and Rome*

Chapter One

GEOGRAPHY AND SOURCES FOR EARLY ROMAN HISTORY

I. THE MEANING AND UNITY OF ROMAN HISTORY

Rome holds a key position in the history of Western civilization, for she welded all Mediterranean cultures into a new unity stamped with her own national character and passed this on to the West. Her language, law, political institutions, economic and social organization, universal church, and culture became the foundation of medieval civilization, and are now interwoven into the very texture of our own social and individual life. Roman history is therefore in no sense isolated or without vital significance to us, for here are the true origins of medieval and modern civilization. To one who has no understanding of imperial Rome, much in them must be, forever, a closed book.

Unlike the history of the Near East and Greece, Roman history has a peculiar unity, since one nation holds the center of the stage throughout. It is a story of Roman expansion from an obscure backwoods village to a world empire coextensive with civilization, and of the evolution of Roman society and its later decline as a direct result of this expansion. Constitutionally, the Roman state developed through expansion from an oligarchic republic of patrician privilege to an apparent democracy which was actually dominated by an aristocratic senate, and thence through nearly a century of civic conflict to dictatorship, constitutional monarchy, and finally to an Oriental despotism based on military force and centered in Constantinople. Meanwhile, the Roman army evolved from yeoman farmers who left their work for a brief campaign at the call of the state to a permanent, professional force of volunteers, drawn at first from the city proletariat and later from provincials and foreigners. Thus the army grew more loyal to its general than to the state, and ever more dominant over the civil government. Rome became a "gigantic military power," "the power first of a city, then of an administrative system culminating in an irresponsible monarch, which pressing with equal weight on all its subjects, gave them an imperial nationality, and became to them a religion as well as a government."¹

Economically and socially, Roman expansion gradually transformed the city from a crude agricultural village to a luxurious imperial metropolis, the cosmopolitan center of world trade, finance, and high society. The change brought with it baffling economic and social problems of luxury, overdeveloped slavery, unemployment, taxation, land transportation, extremes of wealth and poverty, the decline of the yeoman farmer in Italy, grave social discontent, the dis-

¹ James Bryce, *Holy Roman Empire*, 2d ed., Macmillan, 1913, p. 418, by permission of the publishers.

integration of the family, decline of the old Roman stock, and the breakdown of civic morale, which, never truly solved, led to increasing internal decay, until finally the barbarian Germans entered into the effete heritage in the West. While the right of Roman citizenship gradually expanded from a little group of Roman patricians until it included all freemen throughout the Empire, the agricultural and city workers were gradually submerged toward a condition of state serfdom. Finally, the entire population of the Empire, including Rome and Italy, were leveled to the status of subjects of a military despotism.

Culturally, the Romans were transformed through expansion and the impact of Hellenistic civilization from unlettered peasants to lovers of art and refined culture. They became the authors of a brilliant and polished literature, master builders, scholars in the science and philosophy of the Hellenistic East, creators of a masterly system of law, the supreme teachers of the Western world.

Through expansion and Hellenic influence also, Roman religion evolved from primitive civic and family cults. Greek mythology and Greek concepts of the gods became Roman. Greek skepticism undermined the old faiths, and Hellenistic philosophy served as a substitute for religion to the educated classes. The old civic worship was united with the new cult of the emperor as the symbol of imperial patriotism. The Hellenistic religions of Egypt, Syria, Asia Minor, and Persia were brought to the West and became increasingly popular, as meeting the need for a personal religion of salvation, which the state worship failed to satisfy. Finally, one of these, Christianity, already thoroughly Hellenized, won its way, to become the supreme religion of the Roman state and, as a universal church, finally entered into the heritage of the fallen Western and Byzantine² empires.

With this brief analysis as a background, we may now proceed to trace in detail all these momentous processes of growth, change, and decay in Roman civilization, and seek to understand the factors in their evolution, the how and the why.

II. THE GEOGRAPHICAL BASIS OF ROMAN HISTORY

When the first adventurous Greek pioneers were seeking new homes on the shores of Sicily and southern Italy, a tribal village of Roman farmers had long existed in Latium on the left bank of the Tiber. Even two centuries later, when Periclean culture was in its brilliant flower, Rome was still a crude agricultural community, struggling to hold its place among hostile neighbors. Yet these obscure Roman farmers were later to conquer the whole peninsula and dominate the entire Mediterranean world. Already, we have traced the fate of the Hellenistic empires and Greek leagues to their end in the all-inclusive Roman net.³ It is now time to follow the fortunes of the Romans themselves, from their primitive beginnings to world empire and final decline. But first we must orient ourselves as to their whole stage of action, the Mediterranean basin and Italy.

² The name of the Eastern empire at Constantinople which continued until 1453 A.D.

³ Cf. Vol. I, Chapter Thirty.

I. THE MEDITERRANEAN BASIN

The Mediterranean region is of comparatively recent geological origin in the Tertiary and Quaternary periods when man had already appeared on the earth. The land bridge was originally continuous from Italy to Africa, and the climate of the entire basin was quite different from that of today. We have already seen, from the extensive remains of Stone Age culture there, that the whole of North Africa far inland was once well watered and fertile. But before historic times, all except a narrow strip of coast had become a vast rainless desert of shifting sands. A similar fate had befallen much of West Asia, separating the civilizations of the two rivers from the Sea. Thus, in historic times, except for Egypt, opportunity for the development of a great civilization was limited to the north shore of the Mediterranean, and Europe, rather than Africa, became the future home of Western culture.⁴

The climate of the Mediterranean lands is mild, with rainy and dry seasons and cool nights. It is much tempered by the warmth of the Sea, since the entrance at Gibraltar is comparatively shallow, so as not to admit the colder waters from the Atlantic depths. Though the West basin is much farther north than is the East, the climate is similar throughout. The Sea has no real tides and is much more salty than the Atlantic, since it has only a few large rivers emptying into it. Through the great numbers of inlets and peninsulas, Europe has about 8,000 miles of Mediterranean coast as compared with only 3,100 for Africa. This difference, together with the relatively unproductive character of the African shore, has kept Africa from serving as the basis of a great native civilization. Aside from Egypt, which is more like Asia geographically, the significant cultures in Africa have all been transplanted from Europe or Asia by Phoenicians, Greeks, Romans, Vandals, and Arabs.

The Mediterranean is divided by Italy and Sicily into an Eastern and Western sea and is really a vast composite of minor seas connected by narrows such as the Strait of Messina, Otranto, at the entrance of the Adriatic, the Hellespont and Bosphorus, and the entrance to the Gulf of Corinth, which have always been fought over by nations as strategic waterways. Of the three great European peninsulas, Greece, Italy, and Spain, that divide the Sea, Greece, facing the peninsula of Asia Minor, was naturally the first to inherit the civilization of the Near East. Asia Minor also served as the bridge between the Mediterranean world and the Land of the Two Rivers. Thus the Mediterranean, despite its divisions, united rather than separated the diverse races and cultures and was the connecting link between Orient and Occident. All its peoples faced seaward, and by means of its islands, deep inlets, and peninsulas, the varied cultures of Asia Minor, Syria, Babylonia, Egypt, and Greece intermingled, forming a new cultural pattern. Later, Rome, the conqueror of the East, was in turn conquered by Hellenistic civilization, whereby East and West were consolidated into one cosmopolitan Mediterranean culture.

⁴ The fertile fringe broadened at Carthage, giving opportunity for the temporary development of a strong power. Cf. map (A) opposite p. 110 and map opposite p. 334.

2. ITALY

We may now consider more in detail the geography of the Italian peninsula, the basis of future Roman power. To the Greek colonists the word "Italia" meant only the southwest point across from Sicily, but from about 200 B.C. it was used geographically of the entire peninsula. Politically, however, its application was much more limited, and it did not include the Po Valley until the Age of Augustus.

The Italian peninsula is over six hundred miles in length, but its average width is not much above one hundred miles. The historian, Polybius, likens it to an inverted triangle with its base to the north. The valley of the Po, between the Alps and the Apennines, has approximately the same area as the peninsula. The total of the two is about 91,000 square miles, an area comparable to that of Great Britain or a little over one-third the size of Texas. This is more than three times the area of ancient Greece, including Epirus and the Cyclades. The peninsula stretches so far to the east that between northern and southern Italy there is a difference in longitude of about eleven degrees. Thus the heel of the Italian boot approaches Corcyra and western Greece.

Though hemmed in by the Alps and dominated by the Apennines throughout its entire length, Italy is not a complex tangle of mountains and little plains as Greece. The Apennines run parallel and are not so high⁵ as to shut off the east from the west shores. The Alps also, while making it easier to defend Italy, were no barrier against European invasion or migration. On the European side, the gentle upward slope invited migrants who, following the upper courses of the Rhone and Rhine, came by way of the Alpine passes to the steep but easy descent into the rich Po Valley and sunny Italy. Italy was also open to invasion by way of the south Mediterranean shore, from Spain and Gaul, as also from the east Danubian lands, and the sea. It was therefore, from the earliest times, already peopled by many diverse races, foreign as well as native.

The mountains divide Italy into three main geographical divisions, the fruitful Po Valley and the east and west shores. On the Adriatic side the land is generally sterile, except in Apulia. The mountains are steeper and nearer to the coast, leaving little room for fertile plains. The west coast, on the other hand, has broad, fertile plains averaging eighty miles between mountains and sea, as Campania, Latium, and Tuscany. A fourth, lesser, division is the "foot" of the peninsula, formed by the Sila Range. While Italy was at first the home of diverse independent peoples, the inner mountain barriers were not sufficiently imposing to overcome the unifying effect of her natural boundaries of mountain and sea. This unification was aided by the central position of Rome, which later enabled her to become the commercial capital, as well as the ruler, of the peninsula.

Except for the Po, which drains the plain between the Alps and the Apennines, Italy has no great rivers. Such rivers as there are have had little influence on the history, and silt up at the mouth, forming lagoons and marshes,

⁵ The average is about 4,000 feet, though the highest peaks rise to about 9,000.

the breeding places of mosquitoes and the dread malaria. The only river of importance, besides the Po, emptying into the Adriatic, is the Aufidus, south of the spur in Apulia, though the Rubicon and Metaurus are significant historically, as we shall see. The broader plains on the west permit of larger rivers, the Arno, Tiber, Liris, and Volturnus, but of these only the Tiber is navigable.

The Italian lakes are of interest for their beauty and their varied origin. The northern ones are deep chasms carved by the glacial ice and later filled by the ocean when it washed to the foot of the Alps. Those in the central peninsula are shallow pools or marshes made by the overflow or silting of the rivers. Others, as Nemi and Albano, are craters of extinct volcanoes.

Despite the remarkable extent of coast in proportion to area, ancient Italy had few good harbors, owing to the silting up of the rivers and the comparative regularity of the shore. The chief harbors were Tarentum on the south and Naples and Puteoli on the west coast. When Strabo, the Greek geographer, wrote at the close of the old era, Ostia, at the mouth of the Tiber, still had no port for seagoing vessels. While Greece, with her many fine harbors and the multitude of Aegean Islands, faced the ports of Asia Minor, inducing early assimilation of Hellenic and Oriental civilization, Italy and Greece were back to back, since Italy faced west. However, the shore of western Greece was near to southern Italy, to which Corcyra beckoned the way, and the narrow Strait of Messina alone separated Italy from Sicily, where Greeks, Carthaginians, Sicels, and Latins mingled. Sicilian Greeks were early drawn to the sunny, rich plain of Campania. The two thousand miles of Italian coast in an age when communication by sea had so great an advantage over land transportation and the favorable situation of Italy in the center of the Mediterranean were also important factors in the later development of Roman imperial power.

Italy is situated between about 46 and 37½ degrees north latitude. The heel of the boot is thus in the same latitude as northern Greece, and the Po Valley is about parallel with Minneapolis, yet the climate is remarkably mild. The great length of the peninsula, together with the changing contour from mountain to plain, produces a very varied climate, from temperate to semitropical. In the Po Valley the temperature is continental, with plenty of frost and snow in winter even on the plain. The peninsula has the usual Mediterranean climate, rainy and dry seasons, a mild, short winter, a brief, early spring, and a dry, hot summer. Freezing weather is exceptional, and snow is uncommon except in the mountains. The winter atmosphere is tempered by the warmer waters of the Mediterranean, as also by the Apennines, which protect the west coast from the cold east winds. A Greek historian of Rome,⁶ writing at the close of the first century, B.C., emphasized the delightful temperature which in all seasons is free from oppressive heat or cold. The chief disadvantage was the dread malarial fever in the more swampy regions of central and southern Italy and at the mouths of the rivers. In the great age of Rome drainage and tillage largely removed this scourge, but it returned again with the decline and continued its ravages until quite recent times.

⁶ Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities*, I, 36 f.

The natural resources of Italy were far greater than were those of Greece. The Po Valley alone, with its deep alluvial soil, had more arable land, and far richer, than the whole of Greece, though much of what is now a veritable market garden was then still wooded with oaks whose acorns fattened multitudes of swine. Strabo wrote of the Po Valley: "As for the excellence of the regions, it is evidenced by their goodly store of men, the size of the cities, and their wealth, in all which respects the Romans in that part of the world have surpassed the rest of Italy." The forests have acorns in such quantities that Rome is fed mainly on the herds of swine that come from there. "The country has wonderful pitch works also; and as for wine, the quantity is indicated by the jars, for the wooden ones are larger than houses."⁷ Strabo also emphasized the great production of wool, millet, and other grains.

Though the Apennines extended over the entire length of the Italian peninsula and over half its width, the west coast had many broad, fruitful valleys in Tuscany, Latium, and especially Campania, whose soil of volcanic ash was, and still is, among the richest in the world. The Latin plain supported a relatively dense population even in the sixth century B.C. Strabo, centuries later, says of it: "All Latium is blest with fertility, and produces everything."⁸ The chief agricultural products were wheat and other grains, grapes, olives, fruits, and an abundance of vegetables and leguminous crops. But lemons, oranges, rice, maize, and the mulberry were unknown to ancient Italy. On the hills pastured large numbers of sheep, goats, and cattle, and wool was later one of the chief sources of Roman wealth. Some idea of the agricultural resources may be gained by noting that modern Italy now supports several times its ancient population. Dionysius emphasized the "threefold" productivity of the Campanian plain, the rich olive lands of central Italy, the Tuscan, Alban, and Falernian vineyards, and the abundance of wasteland fitted for pasturing sheep, goats, horses, and cows.⁹

Roman Italy had one great resource which the modern state no longer enjoys. The slopes of the Apennines and of the Sila Range were then not bare and bleak, but well wooded with beeches, oaks, and chestnuts. Dionysius could write with enthusiasm, even when Rome was at her height: "Most remarkable of all are the forests on the steep mountains, in the woodland glens, and on the uncultivated hillsides, whence is gained much excellent timber for ship-building, and much also that is suitable for other purposes."¹⁰ But an Eastern Greek might well grow rhetorical over such a resource.

In minerals, the land was comparatively poor. Rome secured iron from the island of Elba, copper from Etruria, Liguria, and Sardinia, some tin from Etruria, and silver from Sardinia. Like Greece, however, the peninsula had an abundance of excellent building stone and marble.

Later Roman writers like Livy and Cicero emphasized the advantages of Rome, its healthful hills, natural fortifications, favorable situation for river and sea trade while free from the dangers that come from too close proximity to

⁷ *Geography*, V, 7, 12, *Loeb Classical Library* (transl. H. L. Jones), Harvard University Press, 1923, by permission of the publishers.

⁸ V, 3, 5, *Loeb Classical Library* translation, by permission of the Harvard University Press.

⁹ I, 36 f.

¹⁰ I, 37, 4.

the sea, and central location so as to dominate the peninsula. But Rome certainly had no advantages over other cities of Italy in soil or climate, and little advantage in situation. The immediate region was unhealthy, the site was bad for sea trade, and the hinterland was relatively sterile. Nor were the Romans different in race or genius from their neighbors. Their position in the center of the favored western coast enabled them to keep their enemies divided and to become champions of the lowlanders against the highlanders, but their marvelous success cannot be satisfactorily explained by either geography or special genius and is still an unsolved problem.

III. SOURCES AND CREDIBILITY OF EARLY ROMAN HISTORY

The historian of early Rome is faced with a very baffling task. The oldest extant histories¹¹ of the kingdom and early Republic were not written until the close of the pre-Christian era or later, yet they tell their story of Roman beginnings in greatest detail, and with apparent exact knowledge. It is, in reality, largely an uncritical texture of legend and patriotic imagination, of value chiefly as revealing what the mature Romans believed about their past. The writers drew uncritically from earlier annalists of the third and second centuries B.C. who were also centuries removed from Roman origins. Greek historians of southern Italy and Sicily, such as Timaeus, did not become interested in the Italian tribes until the late fourth century, and the earliest Roman written tradition from the third and second century annalists is fragmentary, and was warped by a patriotic national pride in victorious Rome.¹² Traditional Roman chronology of the regal period is fanciful and that of the early Republic to 390 B.C. is conflicting and at best an approximate reconstruction by the patriotic historians of the Empire. The detailed stories of the seven kings and the heroes of the early Republic were developed in the fourth and third centuries when Rome was becoming a great power and were the result of a patriotic attempt to match the Roman with the brilliant Hellenic past. Greek legends, institutions, and heroes were appropriated to embellish the Roman story; public documents, ancestral records, and funeral eulogies were fabricated; contemporary institutions, conditions, and events were read back into the remote past and adorned with a wealth of detail to teach the Roman youth good citizenship and national patriotism. Little aid was gained from Etruscan writings, since the language was foreign to the later Romans, and few Etruscan inscriptions on stone have been found earlier than the fourth century.

The doubtful character of much of this early Roman tradition was clearly recognized by the later Roman writers themselves. Cicero frankly asserts: "The truth of History has been much corrupted by these encomiastic essays [funeral

¹¹ These are, Greek—Diodorus, *Historical Library*; Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities*; Plutarch, and Appian; Latin—Livy, *History of Rome*; other Latin sources are Varro, Cicero, Ovid (*Fasti*), and the poet Virgil. All these will be later discussed in their proper setting.

¹² The chief Roman annalists were Fabius Pictor (late third century), who wrote in Greek; Ennius (239-169 B.C.), of whose *Annales*, a national epic poem, about six hundred lines are extant; Naevius (late third century), author of an epic on the first Punic War, with a mythical introduction on Roman origins; Cato the Censor (234-149 B.C.), whose *Origines* recounted the history of Rome to his own times. Only slight fragments of their writings have survived.

eulogies], for many circumstances were recorded in them which never existed."¹³ Livy admits the legendary character of the earliest stories. To him the historic tradition is extremely uncertain even down to the late fourth century, of which he writes:

"The records have been vitiated, I think, by funeral eulogies and by lying inscriptions under portraits." "Nor is there extant any writer contemporary with that period on whose authority we may safely take our stand."¹⁴

Even one of the previous annalists, according to Plutarch, began his account, not with the traditional founding of Rome, but with the Gallic invasion of 390 B.C., declaring:

The ancient records were lost when the city was sacked by the Gauls, and those which are now exhibited as such were forged, their compilers wishing to gratify the pride of certain persons by inserting their names among the first families and the most illustrious houses where they had no cause to appear.¹⁵

Some important considerations should warn us, however, against a too complete rejection of early Roman tradition as to national origins.¹⁶ The Roman annalists from the fourth century on depended by no means entirely on their patriotic imagination. They then had at their command a considerable amount of written material both public and private, only fragments of which now survive. Of these writings, some of the accounts of the Greeks went back to the late fifth century. Though the writers could have known little of regal Rome, and though their accounts were used uncritically by the Roman annalists, they may well have preserved some valuable early traditions. Some of the public documents and records, such as archives of religious guilds, rituals, the calendar of the pontiffs, Consular *Fasti*, early decrees of the senate, laws, and treaties dating back to the regal period or the beginning of the Republic, were probably not entirely fabrications from later times and furnished some slight historic basis at least for the early tradition. Writing was certainly known to the Romans by the early sixth century.¹⁷ It seems to have been limited, however, to a few political and religious documents until the latter part of the century. The first longer document, the Twelve Tables, is usually dated at 451 B.C., and the earliest pontifical annals about half a century later. The extant Consular *Fasti* probably date from the early fourth century, after the sack of Rome by the Gauls, though such lists of magistrates were kept from the begin-

¹³ *Brutus*, 16, 62, *Harper's New Classical Library*, 1871.

¹⁴ I, Preface, 6-8; VIII, 40, 4-5, *Loeb Classical Library* translation (B. O. Foster), by permission of the Harvard University Press.

¹⁵ *Numa*, 1, *Loeb Classical Library* translation (B. Perrin), by permission of the Harvard University Press.

¹⁶ Critical skepticism of the ancient accounts of Roman origins began with Niebuhr in the early nineteenth century. Mommsen sought to retain at least an outline of the early history based on the law of the Twelve Tables and the Consular *Fasti*. More recently, the extreme skeptical wing has been represented by the Italian historian, Ettore Pais, while G. de Sanctis stands for a more balanced, constructive criticism.

¹⁷ Those who would derive the Latin alphabet directly from the Greeks of Cumae, instead of through the Etruscan, would place it at least a century earlier. Cf. Homo, *Primitive Italy and the Beginnings of Roman Imperialism*, London, 1927, p. 8. (Translated from the French by V. G. Childe.)

ning of the Republic and may have furnished some reliable data on the early chronology.

Early legends cannot be entirely discarded, since they are quite likely to preserve a kernel of truth about significant events, as Aegean archaeology has so strikingly proved of the Homeric story. The Roman senate, also, was a continuous body from primitive times and may well have handed down some valuable oral traditions. Men are proverbially slow to change their political, legal, and religious institutions, and the early Romans were extremely conservative. One may therefore draw some careful inferences about primitive Roman institutions from those of the fourth century. The notable solidarity of the early Roman family must have aided the handing down of a continuous tradition. The first law code of the Romans in the Twelve Tables also doubtless reflected previous conditions and customs in the primitive Roman community. Though the bronze originals were stolen by the Gallic invaders (387 B.C.), new copies were probably made soon after. Furthermore, though much of the city was destroyed by the Gauls, the Capitol was not burned, and hence whatever state records then existed may not have entirely perished. The first recorded treaty of Rome with Carthage (509-508 B.C.) is probably historic, as Polybius, the second-century Greek historian of Rome, cites it from a then existing state record. The historian can therefore separate from the tangle of legend some very general facts as to the political development and the political and religious institutions from the sixth century on. At best, however, only the barest outline of a history of Rome is possible even for the fifth and early fourth centuries, to say nothing of the previous period. The impression given by the annalists that we possess the early history of Rome in detailed and authentic form, that Rome was dominant in Latium almost from her founding, and that she early took the leadership in Italy is without historic foundation. The process of Roman advance was very slow, and she did not become the directing power in Italy until the end of the fourth century.

The meager written tradition is being much supplemented today, however, by a study of legends, institutions, religion, early language and place names, and especially by Etruscan and early Italic archaeology. A large and rapidly increasing mass of material on Italian prehistory is now in the museums at Rome, Florence, Bologna, Milan, and other Italian cities. Excavations have confirmed early Roman tradition on several significant points, such as the existence of an Italic settlement at the site of Rome before the date of the traditional founding by Romulus, the early assimilation of a Sabine element by the Romans, the four stages in the early growth of the city, and the Etruscan influence and régime in sixth-century Rome. The discovery of the famous Duenos Vase on the Quirinal at Rome is also of much significance for the history of early writing. Though the city has naturally yielded no such extensive discoveries of tombs and fine jewelry as have neighboring sites, such as the Alban cemeteries, Praeneste, and Veii, since Roman soil had been ransacked for over two millennia, there is abundant archaeological evidence that the city was already a strong center in the sixth century B.C. Traces of Roman walls and of several public buildings and temples from this early period, as well as the many artistic terra-cotta ornaments found in the vicinity,

indicate that Rome was this early the center of a prosperous civilization as advanced artistically as was archaic Greece. The late sixth-century foundations of the Capitoline temple are of huge proportions, 197 by 180 feet, and on the basis of mural remains archaeologists estimate the area of regal Rome to have been about 700 acres. Remains of ancient tunnels, drains, dams, and cemeteries in Latium also add to the meager data for early Latium.

Aside from the kernel of history that the early Roman legends may contain, they are especially valuable historically as reflecting directly the mind and the patriotic and ethical ideals of imperial Rome. What a people believe about their early past, though always highly colored, is an excellent index to their national psychology; and in faithful and vivid portrayal of national character and a nation's idea about its past, the Roman Livy has never been outdone. The legends also still possess significance for us, since, through the influence of Livy, Virgil, Plutarch, and other ancient writers, they have become an integral part of our literary heritage.

Chapter Two

PRIMITIVE ITALY AND ROME

I. PREHISTORIC ITALY

I. THE STONE AGES

Italy passed through the several stages of prehistoric culture with which we have already become familiar in our study of the East Mediterranean. From remotest times, the land was subject to repeated migrations both from the sea and from the north by way of the Alpine passes, resulting in an ever greater mingling of diverse races. Survivals from the Old Stone Age are not extensive, though artifacts and skeletal remains have been found in the caves and river gravels from Liguria and the Po Valley to central and southern Italy and Sicily. Italy was then connected by a land bridge with Sicily and Africa, and though glaciation did not extend to the peninsula, the animal remains reveal the same alternations of cold and warm periods as characterized the European mainland. As elsewhere, the age was marked by cave life, the use of hand axes, awls, graters, and scrapers of flake flints, dress of skins, ornaments of shells and bones, and burial in "contracted" position in shallow trenches sometimes accompanied by crude tools or weapons, and red ochre, probably for facial coloring.

By the dawn of the New Stone Age, the link between Italy and Africa was broken, and modern climatic conditions began. We now find a new people of the Mediterranean race from whom the Ligurians of northwestern Italy may have been direct descendants. The Neolithic culture in Italy has two distinct areas, southern Italy and Sicily receiving their influence from the Aegean and the Balkans, and the rest of Italy and Corsica, whose culture contacts came rather by way of Spain and from beyond the Alps. Remains of Neolithic villages and cemeteries are abundant throughout Italy and Sicily but especially in Liguria, the Po Valley, and Latium. Extensive flint workshops had now developed, and the flints were largely polished and in far greater variety, furnishing a real armory of weapons and tools. A marked advance was the invention of the sewing needle, making possible the change from skins to clothing of flax and wool. The Neolithic man had now forsaken his cave, and lived in round or oval huts deeply excavated into the soil and grouped in villages, showing an advance to a higher social organization. These were built of wooden poles, covered with branches, straw, or reeds, and plastered over with mud. The frame curved in at the top so as to form the roof. Burial was still in caves or trenches in "contracted" form, though the funerary furniture of ornaments, weapons, clothing and pottery had become far more extensive. The age is marked as elsewhere by the beginning of agriculture,

domestication of animals, and the art of the potter, whose colored vases decorated with zigzag incisions are common in Italy. The New Stone Age man in Italy had also learned something of navigation with oars and sails, and the imported daggers, copper ingots, and Minoan pottery and ornaments reveal an early connection with the Aegean civilization.

During the second half of the third millennium began a transition to the Chalcolithic or Aëneolithic Age characterized by the beginning of the use of copper and gold. Probably metals were introduced both from Crete via Sicily and also from central Europe to northern Italy. But copper long remained a luxury, and though Chalcolithic remains extend throughout the peninsula, stone was still the usual material whether in the Neolithic cemeteries of Remedello in the Po Valley or in the grottoes of Sicily.¹

2. THE BRONZE AGE

About 1800 B.C. evidences of the Bronze Age culture appeared both in Sicily and in the Po Valley. The Cretans had introduced bronze work into Sicily and Spain before 2000 B.C., as is evident from the Minoan decorated plaques and knives of olive-leaf form found in the tombs. This influence had gradually spread northward from Spain even to the upper Danube and finally reached northern Italy. As early as 2000 B.C., a new migration of Indo-European people related to the original Hellenes, from the region of Switzerland and the Danube, entered the northern lake region of Italy. These were probably the ancestors of the later Italic peoples. They were true lake-dwellers, building their houses on piles on the Italian lakes and rivers, and hence their culture has received the name *Palafitte*. They developed far more slowly than did the invading Hellenes in Greece, since they found only barbaric people in Italy, while the Hellenes entered into the heritage of the high Mycenaean civilization. Repeated waves of immigrants came during the second millennium until these people dominated the entire Po Valley. Already, by 1800 B.C., they were spreading in this region, where today over one hundred remains of pile-supported villages have been discovered, no longer built on the lakes but on land. Since the region was still marshy and subject to floods from the swollen Po and Adige, the immigrants built on large wooden platforms raised on piles and covered with clay or gravel. The form of the settlement, a trapezoid, always oriented in the same direction, so that the long street would extend north and south, probably suggested the form of the later Roman military camp. The houses grouped on the platform were of straw or wattle plastered with mud, and the whole settlement was surrounded by an earthen rampart and a wide moat filled with water from the neighboring stream. The grouping of the houses proves that these people had advanced beyond the family to the more complex social organization of the clan. The culture is called *Terramara* (plural, *Terremare*), meaning "black earth" or "fertile soil," from the fact that the mounds of refuse, ten to fourteen feet high, produced by these ancient settlements have been used by Italian farmers for fertilizer. But these mounds have yielded still richer results to the archaeologist by revealing to him a

¹ This period corresponds to the Early Minoan in Cretan culture.



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For Etruscan and Greek towns see
Reference Map of Ancient Italy.

For convenience of reference some
roads of later date are included.

Bronze Age culture far in advance of the Neolithic or the related Palafitte.

With the advent of the lake-dwellers and the Terremare settlements in Italy the method of the disposal of the dead changed to cremation. But unlike the lake-dwellers who placed their cinerary urns on platforms similar to those that supported their houses, the Terremare peoples placed them in close rows near their villages and protected them by a wall and moat. The growth of individualism is seen in the later separation of the urns by stone slabs and finally by entirely separate burial. At first the dead were burned in their clothes, and little funerary furniture was deposited with the urn, but with the development of separate burial the deposit of weapons, tools, ornaments, and other supposed necessities with the ashes became increasingly common.

By the time the Terremare people reached the Po Valley, they were already familiar with the use of bronze, and bronze arms, ornaments, implements, and trumpets are found in all their settlements. Other Terremare industries besides bronze work were the production of rough clothing from wool and flax, work in wood, bone, and horn, and the manufacture of pottery, either unbaked or baked at the open fire. The pottery is decorated with incised geometric patterns and is distinguished by peculiar crescent-shaped handles. But the Terremare people were chiefly cultivators, shepherds, and herdsmen of cattle and swine. Wheat, beans, grapes, fruits, flax, and wool were among their staple products. They are also believed to have introduced two-wheeled carts and the horse into Italy. A culture contemporary and similar in type to the Terramara, though showing some independent qualities, developed in the Venetian lake region, especially at Lake Garda.

The Bronze Age culture did not spread extensively from the Po Valley to the south, though related sites are found in Tuscany, Latium, Campania, and elsewhere. Below central Italy, however, it was chiefly due directly to Minoan influence from the East. In the later Bronze Age, the Terremare immigrants into the peninsula found natives still in the Chalcolithic stage who buried their dead and also descendants of Minoan colonists who were already using bronze. Remarkably close affiliation with the Bronze civilization of the Po Valley appears in the transitional period to the Iron Age as found in the Alban cemeteries of Latium and in some Roman remains. The fibula, the peculiar crescent handle on the vases, the practice of cremation, the tomb pits with their clay urns shaped like the hut, their funerary furniture, and the slab closing the tomb are all evidence of direct contact with the Terramara culture.

3. THE VILLANOVAN CULTURE OF THE IRON AGE (C. 1000-800 B.C.)

Toward the close of the second millennium, Indo-European immigrants from the Danube area brought the knowledge of the use of iron to the Po Valley. In the homeland they had lived in fortified places on hills or mountains, and hence continued this custom in Italy. With their better tools and weapons they gradually displaced the older Palafitte and Terremare peoples and also spread southward throughout the peninsula and to Sicily. They later gradually became divided into three distinct peoples speaking different dialects, Umbrians, Latins, and Samnites. Venetia and Apulia on the Adriatic, on the other hand, were

occupied largely by Illyrians from the opposite shore. The most complete and typical center of this Iron Age culture has been found at Villanova, five miles from Bologna, hence its name, Villanovan, though the name cannot properly be universally applied to the Iron Age culture for all Italy or even for the entire North. Cremation was still the dominant mode of disposal of the dead, as the thousands of Villanovan urns testify. The many graves were in the form of pits where the biconical urns, shaped like their huts, were deposited. The graves have yielded an abundance of funerary furniture—implements, weapons, tableware, ornaments, pottery decorated geometrically with meander, or swastika, patterns, and the *Viaticum*, or necessities, for the long journey. Throughout the Villanovan period bronze continued to be the material in most common use for weapons, and great improvements were made in the bronze industry. Iron was long a precious metal for ornament and came into general use only very gradually. Indeed, it was not abundant in Italy until the discovery of the deposits in Etruria and the island of Elba in the sixth century. The prehistoric period of Italy closes with the migration of Eastern peoples from across the sea who brought with them far superior types of culture, the Etruscans and the Greeks.

II. PRIMITIVE ITALY BEFORE ROMAN EXPANSION (c. 800-500 B.C.); ITALIC PEOPLES, ILLYRIANS, ETRUSCANS, GREEKS

At the opening of the historic period Italy was already a scrambled mixture of races formed from prehistoric times by invasion and peaceful penetration.² The common basis was the Neolithic Mediterranean stock. In the northwest arc were the Ligurians, probably the oldest settlers in historic Italy, not a distinct race, but the product of a fusion of peoples representative of the ancient Neolithic culture. The Veneti, extending from the Alps eastward to the Adriatic, and the Iapygians in the extreme south, were of Illyrian stock from the opposite Balkan shore.

I. THE ITALIC PEOPLES

The Italic peoples of Indo-European tongue migrated into Italy from the north as a result of the breakup of the so-called "Neolithic Empire" toward the close of the second millennium. Originally, they covered most of the peninsula from the central Po Valley southward, but were later limited to the central and south portions. Though closely related in race, they were divided into two dialectical groups, the Latinian and the Umbro-Oscan, or Umbro-Sabellian. The Latinian included the inhabitants of Latium, their neighbors, the Falisci, and perhaps also the Aequi, Hernici, and Volsci, though these, especially the latter, seem to have been dialectically related to the other group. The Latins, under the leadership of Rome, were later to dominate the entire peninsula.³ The chief Umbro-Sabellian peoples were the Sabines on the central course of the Tiber, and the Samnites, mountaineers and herdsmen of the

² For the location of the several peoples, *cf.* map of Primitive Italy, opposite p. 14.

³ For detail on early Latium and Rome, *cf.* Sec. III.

central and south Apennines and the plains of Apulia.⁴ Through being called in as mercenary troops the Samnites later also gained temporary control of the rich Campanian plain, where, previous to Roman expansion, they developed a strong Greco-Samnite civilization. The Samnites of the plain gained wealth through trade with the Greek cities, imitated their military organization, social institutions, building, and also the Greek arts of painted pottery and metal work, as is revealed by the contents of their fourth-century tombs. The mountain Samnites were the most persistent enemies of Rome during the fourth century and organized repeated rebellions even after their conquest by Rome. They were hampered, however, by lack of unity, definite political policy, and a strong central city.

The Umbrians of the Umbro-Sabellian group were the last of the Italic peoples to arrive in Italy. Their advent was contemporary with the spread of the Villanovan culture, and it is therefore not improbable that they introduced iron into Italy from the Danube region, but this may also have come by sea from the East. Though later limited to the region between the upper Tiber and the Apennines, they seem once to have extended also over the entire Po Valley and Tuscany. They developed no united Umbria, however, but each of their fortified hill villages of farmers and herdsmen was a separate unit. Their independent development was checked by the invasion of the Etruscans, who conquered them in the ninth and eighth centuries. Though all these Italic peoples of both groups were closely related in race, language, and institutions, their divisive interests and diverse dialects blinded them to their essential unity over against the foreign races in Italy.

Aside from the Ligurians and the Illyrian peoples above mentioned, the chief foreign races were the Etruscans and the Greeks from across the sea, and the Celts or Gauls who migrated into the Po Valley from the north during the sixth and fifth centuries. In view of the significant influence of the Etruscans and Greeks in shaping Italian culture, we must now turn to a detailed account of their civilization and the important part played by them in the early history of Italy.

2. THE ETRUSCANS

The Etruscans were the most powerful people in Italy previous to Roman expansion. They migrated from the Aegean basin to the west central coast of Italy, modern Tuscany, early in the tenth century.⁵ Greek, Roman, and Etruscan traditions are practically unanimous in tracing their origin to Asia Minor and the adjacent islands as among the "peoples of the sea" who were scattered by the Greek invasions and the breakdown of the Mycenaean civilization. This tradition is fully confirmed by the seafaring character of the Etruscans and by the most recent archaeological data. Their language also is clearly related to

⁴ The Lucanians and Bruttians in the foot of Italy were of Samnite stock, as also were a number of minor peoples, as the Picentines and Marsi.

⁵ The above date is in accord with Herodotus, I, 94, and Etruscan tradition. The oldest Etruscan tombs do not date back of the late eighth century, but their contents reveal a long period of development. Also, if they had migrated later, they would have known the Greek alphabet before their arrival in Italy. The oldest settlements are on the west coast, for example, Tarquinii.

the pre-Hellenic languages of Ásia Minor and the Aegean rather than to the Italic dialects.⁶

The Etruscans gradually penetrated inland and dominated the Umbrians and Villanovans by conquest and assimilation, since they were far in advance of the natives in arts and equipment. Using the Umbrians as soldiers, they later gained control of the entire Po Valley to the Alps. They also expanded southward into Latium by the middle of the seventh century, and soon after to the Campanian plain, making Capua their capital and gaining considerable control of the Greek cities.⁷ Evidences of their once imperial power in Italy are the names, Tyrrhenian or Etruscan sea, Tuscany, and Adriatic, named from Adria, an Etruscan colony. In the sixth century, their "empire" extended from the Alps to southern Campania, including Rome. Their power lived long in Roman tradition. Cato in the second century wrote with some exaggeration that they once held "almost all of Italy," and Livy and Dionysius later emphasized their wide expansion "over land and sea." The Etruscans were very active in sea trade, and especially as pirates, thereby receiving from the Greeks the epithet "savage Tyrrhenians." In opposition to the Hellenic colonial expansion in the West, which tended to encircle them, they were allied with Carthage against the Greeks in the Battle of Alalia in 538 B.C., the first known naval battle of the West Mediterranean, resulting in the expulsion of Greek colonists from Corsica. Hostility to the Greeks continued also in the following century.

Etruscan decline began with the recovery of independence by the cities of Latium in the latter half of the sixth century, which was soon followed by the expulsion of the Etruscans from Rome. Thus the Etruscan Empire was cut in two, and their loss of Campania to the Greeks and mountain Samnites soon followed. Twice during the fifth century (474 and 453) they met defeat on the sea at the hands of the Greeks and were forced from the Po Valley by Gallic invaders. Thus before the expansion of Rome they were limited to the region between the Arno and the Tiber.⁸

Besides a fertile soil and abundant pasture land, the Etruscans had valuable resources of timber, copper, and iron from Elba. Their resources, combined with their advanced knowledge of the arts, gave them long a distinct advantage over the Italic peoples who were scarcely out of the Villanovan stage of culture even in the sixth century. Through their expansion to Campania and their extensive sea trade, also, they learned much from the advanced civiliza-

⁶ The sole ancient exception is Dionysius of Halicarnassus, I, 30, who made them "autochthonous," natives of Italy. The theory of their Italic origin from central Europe is still held by Beloch and some other scholars, for example, Hugh Last in *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. VII. But both tradition and archaeology are against this view. An Egyptian document mentions the "Tursha" (Tyrseni) or Etruscans among the "peoples of the sea" repulsed by Ramses III. The Lydian and Etruscan inscriptions show some striking resemblances, and a seventh-century inscription found on the island of Lemnos, written in Greek characters of the Asiatic type, but in an unknown tongue related to the Etruscan, is a strong evidence for the Oriental origin of the Etruscan language. The evidence in the Etruscan tombs in Italy also points to their Oriental kinship. For an excellent statement of this view, cf. L. Homo, *Primitive Italy*, London, 1926.

⁷ Polybius, II, 17; Strabo, V, 4, 3, 242c; archaeological remains, coins, and language, also witness to the fact of Etruscan settlements here.

⁸ It is unfortunate that the twenty books of the emperor Claudius on Etruscan history and antiquities have not survived, but fortunately the fragmentary accounts of early Italy by Greek and Roman writers furnish much valuable data, and Etruscan archaeology is especially rich.

tion of the Greek colonies and Carthage. Though the language of the Etruscans is related to the primitive dialects of Asia Minor rather than to the Italic, they adopted the Greek alphabet from Cumae. Of the nearly 9,000 extant Etruscan inscriptions, few are of any length, and they are chiefly connected with burials. The longest, from Capua and now in Berlin, has 300 legible words.⁹ The earliest specimen of Etruscan writing discovered in Italy is an *Abecedarium* dating from about 700 B.C. Though the value of the letters, the meaning of several words and some noun and verb forms, and some principles of grammatical structure are now known, the language is still largely a closed book, since no specific relation to any other known language has yet been clearly established. Its resemblance to the Lydian inscriptions and the double inscription from Lemnos indicates, however, that the key to its decipherment will finally be found in the East rather than in Italy. The Etruscans seem to have produced no real literature; at least no evidences of it have survived.

Despite the failure to read the inscriptions of the Etruscans, the wealth of remains from their ancient cities and cemeteries, dating from the eighth century on, has revealed in remarkable detail their arts, crafts, life, and ideals. Having brought with them to Italy the knowledge of the arts and culture of the ancient East, they were far in advance of the primitive Italians. They did not live as herdsmen or peasants in scattered agricultural villages, but in strong walled cities built on the hilltops. The houses of the nobles had numerous well-furnished rooms, unlike the urnlike huts of the masses, which were grouped around a common courtyard. Wood and baked brick were the usual materials, and no stone house has yet been discovered. The vases and wall scenes from the tombs reveal the life of the wealthier classes as somewhat similar to that of the Greeks of southern Italy and the East. They had their athletic contests and religious festivals and were lovers of festive processions, feasts, music, and dancing. Their curved trumpet (*lituus*), similar to the religious emblem of the Hittites, was later adopted by the Romans. The Tarquinian tombs of the fifth century have revealed their luxurious life and love of show. Their noblewomen dressed elaborately with rich ornaments. They wore a long tunic and a draped mantle, but the female dress portrayed in the tombs of the fifth century appears quite modernistic in style except for the tall conical hats and long-toed boots of the Hittite type. Pencils for darkening the eyebrows, rouge, powder, and perfumes were necessary articles in milady's toilet, and her abundant hair was done up in elaborate coils, curls, and puffs. The noble Etruscan matrons enjoyed a dignified status, similar to that of the early Romans. They are portrayed as often as the men on the lids of the sarcophagi,¹⁰ and the education of girls was not slighted.

Like the Greek cities the independent Etruscan towns indulged in interstate war, which was later a large factor in their political and social decay. The rich nobility held most of the land which was worked partly by serfs from the conquered population and partly by slaves. Each city was an independent political

⁹ The inscription on the seventh-century gold fibula from Praeneste is in Latin with Etruscan characters.

¹⁰ For an analysis of the evidence from the tombs as to Etruscan women (700-400 B.C.), cf. M. A. Johnstone, *Etruria, Past and Present*, pp. 133-154.

unit, governed at first by a king and later by elected noble magistrates. Some of the Etruscan cities in northern and central Italy, however, were at times united in a very loose federation,¹¹ though such leagues were largely for religious purposes.

As we have seen, the Etruscans far outstripped the Italians in industrial arts, a circumstance which enabled them to take advantage of the rich material resources of Etruria. They cleared the forests, drained the marshes, controlled the rivers, planted vines and olive, mined iron and copper, and built walled cities of stone and extensive public works such as aqueducts, harbors, and drainage systems. Though not original, they were skillful in imitation of the Greek black-and-red-figured vases and other Hellenic art. Pottery, textiles, furniture, and artistic metalwork in bronze, gold, and silver were among their products, though much that is found in their tombs was imported from the Greeks and Phoenicians. Their bronze mirrors and candelabra, however, were favorably known even in fifth-century Athens.¹²

Though skillful engineers and builders, the Etruscans were not particularly distinctive or independent of Greece and the East in their architecture. They brought with them from the East the principle of the arch, which they used in their arched gates, drains, and tombs. In their houses, on the other hand, they copied the Greek column and atrium. Their cities were strongly fortified with walls of hewn stone and had broad paved streets and underground drains. They built substantially with stone and brick instead of with wood and wattle and were the teachers of the Romans in great public works.

The Etruscans did not lose their maritime spirit when they settled in Italy. From the early seventh century on they traded with Carthage, the Greek cities of Magna-Graecia and Sicily, and Phoenicia, as is evident from the contents of their tombs. They exchanged iron, copper, and iron and bronze work for gold, silver, and tin from Carthage, and for vases and art products from the Greeks of the East and West. Etruscan ships had commerce directly with Athens even as early as the sixth century, though they seem to have established no colonies or trading factories. At first long shapeless lumps of bronze were used as a medium of exchange, but as early as the close of the sixth century the money of Ionia was beginning to circulate in Etruria, and some Etruscan cities began to issue coins, first on the Lydian standard and later on the Euboean of the Campanian Greek cities. Their coins never attained the artistic beauty of the Greeks.¹³

The history of Etruscan art falls into two main periods, the archaic (800-400

¹¹ Such a league of twelve cities probably included Arretium, Caere, Clusium, Cortona, Perugia, Populonia, Rusellae, Tarquinii, Vetulonia, Vulci, Volaterrae, and Volsinii.

¹² Some of the chief sites of Etruscan tombs and other remains are Perugia, Orvieto, Chiusi, Vulci, Tarquinia, Bologna, Cortona, Vetulonia, Cerveteri (Caere), Volterra, Piesole, Veii, and Marzabotto, the Etruscan Pompeii. The finest collections of Etruscan antiquities are at Bologna, Chiusi, Florence, Archaeological Museum, the most informative and representative of all Etruscan museums, Perugia, Rome (both the National Museum at the Villa Giulia and the Gregorian in the Vatican), Tarquinia, and the British Museum in London. For extensive cuts and detailed analysis, cf. G. Dennis, *The Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*, 3d ed., London, 1883, 2 vols.; F. Poulsen, *Etruscan Tomb Paintings*, Oxford, 1922; M. A. Johnstone, *op. cit.*, London, 1930; D. Randall MacIver, *The Etruscans*, Oxford, 1928.

¹³ A fine collection of Etruscan coins is in the British Museum.

B.C.) and the age of full maturity and decline (400-70 B.C.). In the earliest art Oriental influence is marked, but from the sixth century on the Greek prevails. At about 400 B.C. began a distinct renaissance of native Etruscan style, which again yielded to Hellenic influence in the following century. The development of Etruscan art can be traced from the eighth century on in a variety of forms: jewelry, embossed work in bronze and silver, finely wrought gold ornaments of great variety and originality, rich furniture, bronze mirrors, cups, chests, candelabra with incised designs, ivory plaques, statues and statuettes of bronze and terra cotta, sculptural reliefs on grave steles, sarcophagi and burial urns, architectural ornaments, painted vases, and wall paintings from the tombs. The jewelry, though skillfully wrought, is somewhat heavy and lacks the delicacy of the Greek. The sculptures and reliefs, especially the animal figures, are notable for their vivid realism and technical skill, but fall far short of the Greek in balance, refinement, and restraint. Some of the best bronze figures are the "Orator" (*Arringatore*), the Florence Minerva, the Chimaera, the Capitoline Wolf, and the Vatican Mars. The wall paintings are skillful in design and are valuable for their true representation of Etruscan life and ideas. Besides attractive scenes, there are repulsive representations of the nether gods and their punishments of mortals, which later influenced Roman and medieval Italian art. Etruscan art in all its phases was much influenced by the Greeks, particularly in the form, technique, and themes of the sculpture and the vase and wall paintings. While skillful imitators, however, they were not mere copyists, but freely expressed through their art their own spirit and outlook on life, which was more akin to the Roman than to the Greek.

The Etruscans brought with them to Italy the custom of burial of the dead, though they also practiced cremation to some extent later through the influence of the Italic peoples. They buried in stone sarcophagi, and their tombs took several different forms: mounds with burial chamber, round stone vaults built in the hillsides, and "corridor tombs," or family vaults with painted friezes and elaborately carved walls.¹⁴ The tombs were stocked with sculptured figures, ornaments, vases, bronzes, and utensils which reveal the intimate details of their everyday life and, indeed, their very souls through eight hundred years of history.

The Etruscan representations of the gods and demons of the lower world reveal a gloomy and superstitious conception of religion and the life after death. They worshiped the souls of the dead, and at first offered human sacrifice to them, from which early custom gladiatorial contests are believed to have arisen. Their divinities were in triads, a god and two goddesses, Tinia (Jupiter), Uni (Juno), and Menrva (Minerva), and another triad for the lower world. Divining by inspection of the entrails of the sacrificial animals and augury by the flight of birds were both Etruscan customs. The Etruscans introduced temple worship and temple building into northern and central Italy and built a temple of Jupiter at Rome on the Capitoline hill. Foundations of temples and altar bases are found at Orvieto, Florence, Fiesole, Marzabotto, and other sites. In early Etruria the religion was inseparable from the state,

¹⁴ Archaeologists distinguish at least seven types. Cf. Pls. I and II.

the ruler was also priest, and the religion was a powerful means of political domination of the people. The tomb paintings of late date portray two terrible infernal spirits, Charun and Tuchulcha, which have probably given an exaggerated idea of the gloom and superstition of the earlier religion. Many beneficent as well as evil demons, male and female, are represented, along with the double-headed ax as a charm. The religious doctrine was developed into an elaborate code, the *Etrusca disciplina*, giving rigid rules of divination and ceremonial for every occasion in the life of the individual and the state. This was translated into Latin in the first century B.C., and incorporated into the Roman system, and Roman boys were sent to Etruria to learn it.

Since the Etruscans brought with them from the Orient an advanced culture, they may be truthfully called the civilizers of early Italy. Without them either the Greeks would have expanded northward, or Rome would have entered into the heritage of a poor, backward country. Homo has well said: "If Rome could claim the title of mother of the Italian people, let us not forget that Etruria could justly claim the name of grandmother."¹⁵ They introduced into Italy and Rome an urban civilization where before had been only scattered agricultural villages. Wherever they went they founded cities and sometimes promoted their political union, as in Latium. They transformed Rome from a loose group of farm villages to a powerful, populous city (*urbs*), gave the city its name, Roma, and started it on its later career of expansion and power in Italy. A number of the later characteristic Roman political usages and institutions, such as the threefold tribal division, the idea of *imperium* as expressive of the supreme power, the use of the chariot in the city,¹⁶ the *fasces* (rods), the *toga praetexta*, the ivory scepter surmounted by an eagle, the judicial ceremonial, religious ritual, and much in the Roman festivals and shows, were Etruscan before they were Roman.

Through their extensive trade with the Greeks, Carthage, and the East, they spread throughout northern and central Italy the knowledge of Greek, Phoenician, and Etruscan arts and crafts. All the Italic peoples, except the immediate neighbors of the Greeks, also gained the art of writing with the Greek alphabet directly or indirectly from the Etruscans, for the Latin alphabets are descended from the earlier Etruscan forms, and the Oscan and Umbrian from the later. The Greek alphabet came to Rome, probably through the medium of the Etruscans, early in the seventh century, as did many other of Rome's loans from Greece.¹⁷ In religion also Rome owed much to the Etruscans. Her Capitoline tradition of Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva, her use of augury and divination, her pedantic ritual and tendency toward the gloomy, superstitious, and materialistic, were all Etruscan, as were also her gladiatorial combats.

One of the greatest debts of Italy and Rome to the Etruscans was in building, for from them they learned to build permanently with hewn stone, and

¹⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 128, by permission of the publishers.

¹⁶ From this developed the curule chair, a symbol of an office open only to patricians, in Republican times.

¹⁷ For the older view that the Romans received the Greek alphabet directly from the Greek colony of Cumae, cf. L. Homo, *op. cit.*, pp. 8 and 97. The oldest known specimen of Italic use of the alphabet, on the famous Praeneste fibula and the Duenos Vase, probably date from the late seventh century.

to undertake great public works such as temples, fortifications, aqueducts, bridges, dikes, and sewers. According to a Roman tradition, which archaeology to some degree supports, it was under Etruscan influence in the sixth century that Rome was first fortified by a wall. The fruitful principle of the arch was also introduced into Italy by the Etruscan immigrants.¹⁸

The extent of the military debt of Rome to the Etruscans is uncertain and has probably been overemphasized. Neither her early arms nor her battle formation can be definitely traced to them. On the whole, the influence of the Etruscans on Rome is usually overestimated in some respects. Though they ruled Rome politically for a time in the sixth century, they were never numerous in the city, as is proven by the lack of Etruscan elements in the Latin language and the very limited number of Etruscan burials found in Rome and the immediate vicinity. Etruscan culture dominated Rome even in the seventh century, but Rome was never an Etruscan city racially, and even her culture was basically Latin rather than Etruscan.¹⁹ Rome's leadership of central Italy in the sixth century, however, under the last Etruscan king, doubtless inspired her ambition in her later struggle for supremacy.

3. THE GREEKS

The other immigrants from the East who became the great civilizers of the Italic people were the Greeks. From the early eighth century until the close of the sixth came the bold Hellenic pioneers colonizing the entire shores of Sicily, except the extreme west, and of southern Italy from the Bay of Tarentum to Cumae on the Bay of Naples, the northern vanguard of Greek civilization in Italy.²⁰ They even colonized Massilia in southern Gaul, but were excluded from western Sicily, Spain, and Corsica by Carthage, and from Sardinia and upper Italy by the Etruscans.

These Greek frontiersmen introduced into Italy their characteristic Hellenic social and political institutions, their religious cults and mythologies, their industrial arts and crafts, their coinage, their science and philosophies, their sculpture and architecture of stone, their alphabet and their literature. The Greek colonies were at their height in the sixth and fifth centuries, having become wealthy and luxurious through agriculture and trade. The Greek historians, the fragmentary accounts of the Western philosophers such as Pythagoras and his successors, the Eleatics, and Empedocles, the early development of Sicilian rhetoric, the artistic coins, the remains of theatres, and the noble temple ruins of Sicily and southern Italy still bear eloquent witness to this early Greek prosperity and brilliant culture in the West.

For several reasons, however, the Greek cities of Sicily and Italy were beginning to show signs of decline by the late fifth century. Carthage and the Etruscans were allied, as we have seen, to check their further expansion in the West

¹⁸ Homo finds no evidence, however, that the Romans received the principle from the Etruscans, and points to the "covered side of the drains connected with the *Cloaca Maxima*" as having arches earlier than any yet known in Etruria.

¹⁹ For perhaps an overconservative estimate of Etruscan influence on Rome, cf. the sections on early Rome by Mr. Hugh Last in *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. VII.

²⁰ For detail on Greek Western colonization, cf. Vol. I, Chapter Twelve, of this work; also the index of Vol. I on Sicily and Magna Graecia.

Mediterranean. The Samnites, Lucanians, and Bruttians were a constant menace to the southern Italian colonies. As early as 421 B.C., the Samnites defeated the Greeks, and thereafter only such strong cities as Tarentum, Thurii, and Rhegium were able to oppose their encroachments. The Sicilian Greeks were saved from the threat of Carthage by Dionysius, tyrant of Syracuse, but they paid dearly for it with loss of freedom and their consequent decline. After 339 B.C. Carthage was permanently master of the west half of the island. As in the motherland also, the Western Greeks of the fourth century were cursed with interstate wars, political disunity, party strife, and decline of civic morale, which were later to make them an easy prey to Rome.

The Italian Greeks, however, especially Cumae, wrote the first chapter in the ever-expanding story of Hellenic influence on Rome and the West, both directly and indirectly through the Etruscans. They had friendly relations with Rome until the third century and aided in freeing Latium from Etruscan rule. After the expulsion of the Etruscans from Rome in 509 B.C., Greek culture rather than Etruscan became dominant there. When the Romans occupied Latium and Campania, the Greek influence became still stronger, and later received a new impetus by the Roman conquest of Magna Graecia in the third century. As we have seen, it was with the advent of the Greeks in the West that the history of primitive Italy began to be written, for they collected and wrote down the oral Italian tradition, fusing it with their own early legend and mythology. Thus later Roman tradition as to Italian and Roman origins was mingled with Hellenic folklore and reveals far more of the Hellenic heritage of Rome than it does of actual Roman origins.

The Greeks in Italy acted as intermediaries between the East and the barbarian West. Even the primitive Italian cemeteries bear witness to the import of geometric, Proto-Corinthian or Chalcidian pottery, figurines, spindle whorls, and glass or enamel ornaments. Later, trade with the Greeks greatly increased, and the Italians, like the Etruscans, imitated the Greek vases both in form and decoration, though crudely and with coarser materials.

With trade came Greek civilization to the Italic peoples, the art of writing from Cumae through the Etruscans, Greek arts and crafts, Greek architectural forms and decorative designs, sculptured images of their gods, and the Greek cults and mythologies by which the Roman gods were made personal and human. The Apollo cult was introduced into Rome by 433 B.C. or before, and the ancient temples of Ceres and the Castores reveal Hellenic religious and artistic influence in Rome early in that century. The Romans also early adopted the Greek Sibyl (prophetess) of Cumae as their own. From the Hellenic West later gradually spread to Rome and her neighbors the literature, science, philosophies, social life, and customs of the Greeks, and to some extent, their political, legal, and military institutions,²¹ though this belongs to a later chapter. We shall see this Hellenic influence on Rome ever widen and deepen with her territorial expansion.

²¹ In these latter respects, however, the claims for Greek influence have probably been much exaggerated.

III. EARLY LATIUM AND ROME TO THE CLOSE OF THE SIXTH CENTURY

I. LATIUM

Ancient Latium, extending south of the Tiber to Cape Circei and inland to the foothills of the Apennines, was of late volcanic origin, and hence still hardly habitable in the Neolithic Age. The northern section, now the Roman Campagna, is a plain cut by deep ravines and overshadowed by the Alban Mount that rises over 3,000 feet above the sea level. Lower Latium was originally swampy from the periodic overflows of the Tiber. Before the use of artificial drainage, the spongy, volcanic soil became saturated with moisture, which evaporated in summer, causing a heavy, pestilential air. The central location of Latium in Italy, however, its fertile soil of volcanic ash, and its access to the sea were later to be distinct advantages. The constant necessity of defense against the warlike Volscians and Aequians also developed a rugged and fairly unified people.

The earliest historic settlers in Latium at the close of the Bronze Age were close kin to the Terramara folk who practiced cremation. These mingled with the sparse Neolithic population and with later arrivals, an inhuming people, probably of Sabine stock, to form the Latins or "people of the plain." They long held only the northern uplands, since lower Latium was then scarcely habitable, and the land beyond the Alban Mount was controlled by the Volscians. Since early Latium had neither harbors nor natural wealth, it was slow to attract either Greeks or Etruscans. Until the close of the eighth century, therefore, the Latins made but slight advance in civilization. They had no cities, but remained isolated communities of rude shepherds and farmers, outside the currents of commerce and culture in Italy. Their round or elliptical huts of wood or wattle covered with thatch and clay were clustered in rude hill villages for defense. The doorway was often the sole opening for light and air, and the only escape for the smoke of the open hearth was a hole in the roof.²² In cemeteries outside the village circle, they deposited hut-shaped urns containing the ashes of their dead.

From the seventh century on Latium advanced much more rapidly in culture through contact with Carthaginian and Greek traders, and especially through the influence, and possibly domination, of the Etruscans. As we have seen, the invaders taught the Latins to change from rural village to city life, and to build cities fortified with walls of stone and beautified with temples like their own. A quite intensive cultivation and a fairly large population may perhaps be inferred for sixth-century Latium from the remains of drains and dams that still survive.²³ The tomb furnishings also reveal the development of distinct inequalities of wealth.

Early Latium comprised no single state, but a large number of independent

²² An interesting example of the hut is the so-called *Casa Romuli* on the Palatine.

²³ Cf. T. Frank, *Economic History of Rome*, 2d ed., 1927, Chap. I, and his *Economic Survey of Rome*, Johns Hopkins Press, 1934, Vol. I, Chap. I, though his inferences from the slight data are now being questioned.

communities, each with its fortified town and district (*pagus*). During the sixth century, however, many of the smaller towns were absorbed by the stronger centers. The tradition of the common origin of Latins, expressed in their ancient annual festival of the Latin Jupiter on the Alban Mount, aided unification, as also did the mutual danger from hostile neighbors. A very loose league of independent Latin towns held assemblies at the shrine of Diana near Aricia, and even had a common executive. The historic league of eight leading Latin cities belongs to the sixth century, and was probably organized to withstand complete domination by Etruscan Rome, but an earlier league may well have existed for defense against the Volscians.

2. EARLIEST ROME

Ancient Rome (Roma) was situated on the left bank of the Tiber about fifteen miles from its mouth. In imperial times it included the traditional seven hills²⁴ with their adjoining ravines, and also a part of the Janiculum height on the right bank, but early Rome was far less extensive. Excavations have revealed permanent settlements on part of the site of Rome as early as the close of the Bronze Age before 1000 B.C., centuries before the traditional date of the founding by Romulus in 753 B.C. The story of the founding of Rome by the Trojan, Aeneas, is a fourth-century legend that arose as a result of the desire of the Greeks to connect the new Roman power with older Eastern civilization. The later Roman version that the son of Aeneas, Ascanius, founded Alba Longa, and that a descendant, Romulus, founded Rome seeks to square the Greek legend with the early leadership of Alba Longa in Latium and its connection with Rome. Archaeology agrees, however, with the later Roman historians and poets that the first important settlement was on the Palatine, probably from Alba. Here in 1907 were discovered the remains of a small village with earthen ramparts, and its cemetery in the lower land north of the later Forum. The settlement was probably made in the tenth century by Latins who felt the need of a citadel against the advance of the new Etruscan invaders. The burials are of the Terramara type as in Latium. Somewhat later, as the cemeteries prove, other settlements were made on the Esquiline and Caelian hills, and during the ninth century the Quirinal and Capitoline were occupied by Sabine invaders.

During the following century several of the colonies were united into the *Septimontium*, or league of the seven heights, an event commemorated by the later Roman festival. The Septimontium included only a part of the traditional seven hills and was as yet no central city, but only a loose aggregation of rural villages. There were no common fortifications, and the name Roma was still unknown.²⁵

The earliest real city with the name Roma was *Roma Quadrata*, the rectangular Palatine city, dating from the late seventh century. The city now in-

²⁴ These were the three isolated heights, Capitoline, Palatine, and Aventine, and the adjacent spurs, Quirinal, Viminal, Esquiline, and Caelian. For the relative advantages and disadvantages of the site, cf. Chapter One, Sec. II, end.

²⁵ The Septimontium, however, may be an invention of later antiquarians to explain the name of the festival. Cf. Platner and Ashby, *Topographical Dictionary of Rome*, pp. 472 ff.

cluded all the traditional seven hills except the Aventine, which was not added until the fourth century. The Capitoline, however, was the citadel for the whole and was not strictly included in the four regions. As we have seen, the word "Roma" (Ruma) originated with the Etruscans, who first taught the Latins to change from rural village to city life. Around the new city they built a stone wall of tufa blocks, which probably followed the *pomerium*, or "divine boundary," that ran outside the walls. The city now developed rapidly to a prosperous and powerful community, under Etruscan leadership, and soon expanded its territories by the destruction of Alba Longa.

As is evident from this account, the historic Romans were a mixture of Latin, Sabine, and Etruscan, with possibly some pre-Italic elements. The Roman tradition of a strong Sabine strain is well supported by archaeology, while the Etruscan element was quite limited, as we have seen. The Romans were essentially a Latin people in race, language, institutions, and culture.

3. ROME UNDER THE KINGS

We have seen that there is an almost complete lack of contemporary records of early Rome, and that the accounts of the later Roman historians and poets for this period are largely artificial attempts to explain the origins of existing Roman political and religious institutions in a spirit of national patriotism. In view of this, a detailed history of the regal period of Rome is manifestly impossible. That Rome was ruled by kings, however, during the late seventh and sixth centuries is unquestionable. The consistent Roman tradition of an early kingship is supported also by the survival of the title, *rex*, king, in the priestly title, *rex sacrorum*. The addition of an important Sabine element to the population, the destruction of Alba Longa by Rome, the temporary rule by some Etruscan kings of both Rome and Latium under whom Rome held the political and commercial leadership of central Italy and expanded to the coast, and the final expulsion of the Etruscans and the fall of the kingdom are undoubted kernels of truth in the legends. Regardless of the historicity of the traditional names of the six kings after Romulus,²⁶ also, some of their alleged accomplishments were probably realized during the regal period. Some early king, if not Numa, left his stamp on the primitive religious institutions and added two months to the calendar. Alba Longa was conquered in the sixth century by some king famous for military leadership, whether by Tullus Hostilius or not. Though excavations disprove the tradition that the port of Ostia was built under the kings, yet regal Rome did expand to the mouth of the Tiber. The first Tarquin, while seemingly a faint foreshadow of his successor, is at least symbolic of the advent of a stronger Etruscan political influence in sixth-century Rome. Though the ascription of the so-called Servian Constitution²⁷ to Servius Tullius is undoubtedly false, his personality is too vivid to be entirely legendary. The Servian wall was a fourth-century product, but archaeologists have discovered some parts of it that may well date from the earlier time. Historians generally accept the unanimous and persistent tradition that the

²⁶ Numa Pompilius, Tullus Hostilius, Ancus Martius, Tarquinius Priscus, Servius Tullius, and Tarquinius Superbus.

²⁷ Explained in Chapter Four.

last king of Rome, whether Tarquin the Proud or not, was an Etruscan tyrant who had seized the power by military force and was finally expelled about 509-508 B.C. by the outraged nobles who also put an end to the monarchy, though the details of the story are doubtless legendary. The later strong aversion of Romans to the title *rex* and the decline of Etruscan power in Campania and Latium at the close of the sixth century are an added confirmation of this event.

Whether we may properly speak of an Etruscan dynasty in Rome is open to grave question. The last Tarquin may have been the only king of truly Etruscan origin. The historic reality of the first Tarquin is very vague. If historical, he may well have been a native of Rome, who was connected with the Etruscans through marriage. There is no antipathy to him as an Etruscan in Roman tradition. Servius Tullius is highly regarded in Roman tradition as if a true Roman and no foreign interloper. But the dominance of Etruscan culture in seventh- and sixth-century Rome and a temporary political régime of Etruscans, during which Rome enjoyed marked commercial prosperity and territorial expansion, are not open to question. The significant influence of Etruscan civilization on Rome and Italic peoples resulting from this period of cultural supremacy and political leadership in northern and central Italy has been previously analyzed.

4. POLITICAL AND SOCIAL ORGANIZATION UNDER THE KINGDOM

As in the early Greek city-states, Rome seems to have been an elective monarchy. The king was probably chosen from one of the noble families by the nobles and confirmed by the whole citizenship. He was the leader in war, chief priest, and judge. His *imperium*, or supreme authority, was symbolized by the twelve *lictors* who bore before him the *fascēs*, bundles of rods enclosing an ax, suggestive of his right to inflict scourging or death. But the royal power was limited by custom and the public opinion of the community, which was expressed through a senate (*senatus*), or council of nobles, and an assembly of the whole citizenship, the *comitia curiata*. The senate was a merely advisory body called at the king's will and probably assisted him in the administration of the state. At the death of the king, members of the senate served as *inter-reges* in turn, each appointing his successor, and managed the government during the interval until a king should be chosen. The *comitia curiata*, which was based on the division of all free Romans into three tribes and thirty *curiae*, was occasionally summoned by the king to secure the sanction of the people on all departures from customary law, such as grants of citizenship, adoptions, wills, and questions of war or peace. It also approved the choice of a new king by the senate, but it had no legislative power. Probably the kingship did not decline gradually as in early Athens, since the last king seems to have ruled practically as a despot. In any event, the tradition of an internal revolution by the Latin nobles, who overthrew the monarchy and ended the Etruscan régime, is doubtless historical.

The unit of early Roman social organization was the family, which included the clients and slaves, and was notable for its social and economic solidarity.

Its sole legal personality was the *pater*, father, who had theoretically the power of life and death within the family. Like the king, however, he was restrained by public opinion and custom, and the Roman matron had a position of dignity in the home. The larger social unit was the *gens*, or clan. Thus the upper-class Roman usually bore three names: a *praenomen*, or given name, a *nomen* to indicate his gens, or clan, and a *cognomen*, or family name.²⁸

The rigid class divisions probably existed in the regal period, though the condition of the poorer classes was probably more favorable when their noble oppressors were still restrained by the king. A striking contrast between rich and poor already appears, however, in the elaborate jewelry and other evidences of wealth in the tombs of the nobles as compared with the peasant dugouts. The origin of the several classes is unknown. Probably the patricians and their clients were the descendants of the old population of the *Septimontium*, while the plebs held the newer settlements, the Quirinal, Viminal, Aventine, and Velabrum. The patricians were large landholders of noble birth who could trace their ancestry in the patrician *gentes* and could furnish full military equipment. Their heads served in the senate as the king's advisory council, led in war, and had sole knowledge of the custom and the technical ceremonial of public religion. The plebeians were free citizens, included in the *curiae* and hence may have voted in the occasional meetings of the *comitia curiata*. It is improbable that they differed racially from the patricians, but they belonged to the small farmer and artisan class. They had the rights of *commercium* (trade), of property-holding, and of defending themselves against accusation, but not the right of *conubium*, the religious form of marriage, permitted only for patricians, and were therefore excluded from intermarriage in patrician families.²⁹ Their ignorance of the technical religious ceremonial debarred them from serving in the senate or in any public, political, or religious office. They were also the victims of injustice through their unfamiliarity with the uncoded customs of the community. While the monarchy lasted, however, the king was probably their protector against patrician injustice. The clients were probably the descendants of strangers or the inhabitants of conquered lands. They were not free, but legally dependent upon patrician patrons. Some were artisans, but the majority probably lived on small plots outside the city, and paid their patron rent in kind. They also tilled the lands of the patricians and attended them in war. Below these classes were the slaves, still very limited in number until Roman expansion.

5. EARLY ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

The early Romans were an agricultural and pastoral people, to whom the gods of agriculture were especially important. They counted their wealth in cattle and flocks, as the Latin word for wealth, *pecunia* (*pecus*, flock) indicates. Trade was by barter, and artisanship was only slightly developed and chiefly in the home. The chief arts were the making of rude pottery and

²⁸ The cognomen, however, was a later development.

²⁹ The other forms of early Roman marriage were *coemptio*, theoretically a purchase or mutual mock sale, and *usus*, practically equivalent to a modern common law marriage, both legal, but lacking the rites of the state religion.

bronze arms and tools. Iron was still rare until the sixth century. The life of the early Romans was quite similar to that of the other Latins, and previous to the coming of the Etruscans it was very rudimentary and little affected by outside influences. Private land tenure had already developed under the kingdom, but some lands were held by the state as public property for rental, and extensive tracts were used as common pasture. The patricians, however, even under the kingdom, probably had the advantage in the use of both public and common land. As we have seen, the Etruscans did much to develop Roman industry and trade in the sixth century, and for a time after their expulsion, Rome experienced a distinct setback economically as well as in political leadership.

6. PRIMITIVE ROMAN RELIGION

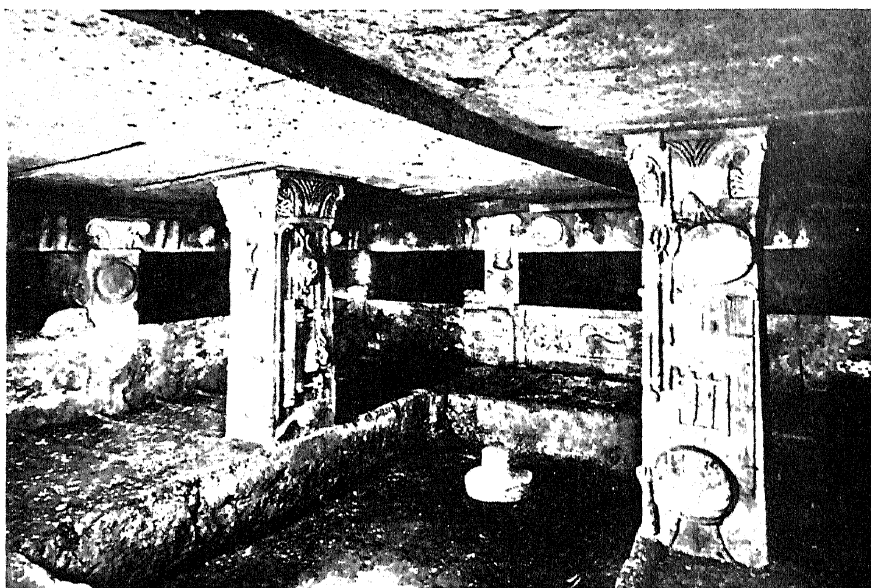
The religion of the primitive Romans, like that of the Greeks, had no priestly caste. In the family the father served as priest, as did the king for the public ceremonial. There existed, however, probably already under the kingdom, several special priestly colleges for individual gods or for special purposes,³⁰ but even these were open to high civil officials. The *Haruspices* inspected the vitals of the sacrificial victim to learn the will of the gods, and the *Augurs* assisted the king to interpret the auspices or omens. The function of the *auspicium* was not so much to learn the future as to secure luck on the side of the Romans in any undertaking. Since the plebeians were ignorant of augury and the religious ceremonial, they were excluded from the colleges of pontiffs and augurs.

The characteristics of primitive Roman society are seen in the prominence of household and farm gods. The house and hearth were sacred to Janus, the Spirit of the Doorway, and Vesta, the Spirit of the Hearth-fire, and Mars was originally a god of the farm as well as of war. The *Penates* guarded the household stores, the *Lar Familiaris*, once a farm spirit, watched over the family property, and the *Genius*, or guardian spirit, protected the general life of the family. Before the influence of the Etruscans and Greeks, the Romans used neither images nor temples in worship. They had practically no mythology, and their gods were impersonal forces, *numina*, rather than personal beings made in the image of man. Like the early Greeks, their conception of a future life and the abode of the dead was extremely vague. Roman religion was also intensely practical like the primitive Roman farmer himself. Its ceremonial was in the nature of a magical bargain binding the god, *religio*, and was very rigid and technically pedantic in form, known only to the patrician families. The religion was essentially materialistic and had little relation to morality. Yet its emphasis upon obligation to the gods helped develop in the early Romans a strong sense of duty. In their relations with the gods as with men, strong emphasis was placed upon law (*jus*), what was allowed (*fas*), and what was forbidden (*nefas*) by religion.

³⁰ These were the *Flamines*, who burned sacrifices to a special deity, the *Fetiales*, who sanctioned treaties, the *Salii*, Leapers, dedicated to the service of Mars, and the *Pontifices*, or chief priests of the state. The chief function of colleges of augurs, pontiffs, and fetiales was to preserve the knowledge of forms and ceremonies, and to advise the king regarding them. The fetiales could hardly reject a treaty on other than formal grounds.



Upper: Capitoline Wolf Suckling Romulus and Remus. Though archaic, this is a remarkably vital bronze. Fifth century B.C. Capitoline Museum, Rome. The twins are probably from the late fifteenth century A.D. (*Anderson*) *Lower:* Bronze Chimaera from Arezzo. Etruscan sculpture of third century B.C.(?). Archaeological Museum, Florence. The tail is a restoration.



*Upper: Etruscan Tombs of the Stuccoes at Cerveteri (Caere). Reliefs and painted stucco adorn the rock walls. The ground-plan is that of an Etruscan house. (Alinari) Lower left: Painted Etruscan Terra-cotta Statue of Apollo found at Veii, one of a group of figures representing the contest of Apollo and Hercules over a doe, sixth century B.C. Musco Papa Giulio, Rome. Lower right: Life-size Etrusco-Roman Bronze Statue of the so-called *Arringatore* (Orator), third or second century B.C. Archaeological Museum, Florence. The statue is a remarkable forecast of Roman portrait sculpture.*

The earliest known Roman state cults, as seen in the ancient calendar of public festivals that dates back to the sixth century, also reveal the supreme agricultural interest of the community. Such were the state cults of Vesta and the Penates, and the annual festival of the Ambarvalia for purification of the fields. But greater gods for public worship also early developed, such as Mars, Jupiter, and Quirinus, who were somewhat less vague in personality and power than were the *numina*. Through the influence of the Etruscans, these yielded place to a new triad, Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva. Jupiter, once a god of the sky, became the chief god. Juno, his wife, was the protectress of all Roman matrons. Minerva was the protecting divinity of artisans and craftsmen, and Mars, who gave his name to the *Campus Martius*, became the patron of the Romans in war. Naturally, Greek and Etruscan influences first affected the state cults by introducing temple worship, other chief divinities, the use of statues and images, and the impulse to the humanization of the impersonal *numina*. Greek influence came to the Romans of the regal period through Cumae and indirectly through the Etruscans, but especially in the early Republic through the Sibylline Books, a collection of oracles gained from Cumae which was consulted by a special body of priests in time of public crisis. Through these were later introduced the cults of the Greek divinities, Apollo, Demeter, and Dionysus. The increasing tendency also, with the advance of Greek influence, was to identify Greek with Roman gods and to transfer the Greek myths to their Roman counterparts, thus opening the way for the development of a Roman mythology on the basis of the Greek.

7. PRIMITIVE ROMAN CHARACTER

Later Roman patriotic tradition painted an idealized portrait of the primitive Roman farmer previous to his alleged corruption by the influx of wealth and Greek influence. He is pictured as a man of sterling integrity, stern dignity, stoic endurance, rugged simplicity, hard economy, and sturdy industry, a brave patriot, who left his plow only at the call of his country to meet a temporary military crisis. An austere puritan obsessed with a profound sense of duty, a hardheaded practical utilitarian, innocent of philosophy, imagination, or culture, his very rudeness was the strength of Rome who conquered her Italian neighbors just because she deliberately remained the most backward of all. But such a picture of the early Roman as an utterly crude and uncultivated backwoodsman is doubtless overdrawn, since Rome was already a large city with extensive trade under domination of the Etruscans and continued to be of some importance after their overthrow. There are also some evidences of a developing artistic and intellectual life in the fifth century.

Doubtless the pristine virtues of the Roman founding fathers have also been overdrawn, as is usual in the patriotic history of all nations. But, allowing for such exaggerations, the general outline of the picture is probably substantially correct, at least for the ruling landed aristocracy. In addition to the above qualities, they are represented as hard-bitten conservatives with a supreme respect for ancestral custom (*mos maiorum*), in which the fathers carefully trained their sons, so as to become replicas of themselves. What meager educa-

tion existed was physical, moral, patriotic, and vocational in agriculture and war, anything but liberal. The organic unity of the family and the state was strongly emphasized. The outlook was thoroughly materialistic even in religion, which had little or no relation to ethics, as we have seen. Religious observance was in the nature of a bargain with the gods, and prayer was for material rather than spiritual blessings. Yet the primitive Roman's discipline and stern sense of obligation gave to his life a strong moral emphasis. *Gravitas*, a dignified seriousness, the outgrowth of his early struggles, and *pietas*, a dutiful performance of his obligations to gods, kinsmen, and state, were his supreme virtues. But despite his seriousness, he found opportunity for relaxation in such public festivals as the Great Games after harvest and the Saturnalia, following the winter sowing in December.

Though the later Roman writers may have exaggerated the simple life of the early Roman aristocrat, it was doubtless primitive enough. The *atrium*, or central hall with open hearth,⁸¹ served the family for all purposes except sleeping. Cakes or porridge of wheat or oatmeal supplemented by beans and vegetables were their staple diet, with sour wine mixed with water to wash it down. Meat was reserved for festival days. Olive oil served for butter, and scrub fruits for dessert. Practically all the simple needs of the family were supplied by the land, though these might be supplemented by barter in the markets on every eighth day. Rome was a narrow world of rude simplicity, whose leading citizens beset by hostile neighbors were provincial farmers of homely virtues and little culture.

8. THE WORLD IN THE SIXTH CENTURY B.C.

When the last Tarquin was ruling in Rome the great power in the East was the Persian Empire. The Greek Ionian cities of the Asia Minor shore were included in this vast empire, and the Greek city-states, led by Sparta and Athens, were about to face their supreme conflict with its great King Darius. In the West were the Greek city-states of Sicily under the leadership of Syracuse, and Magna Graecia, the Italic peoples of Italy, and the two great powers, Carthage, and the Etruscan Empire, extending from the Po Valley to southern Campania, and including Rome and most of Latium. Rome under Etruscan leadership was being prepared for her future period of expansion and power in the Italian peninsula. Meanwhile, the barbarous Celts of the north and west were already threatening the Etruscan domination in the Po Valley.

⁸¹ Perhaps, however, the hearth was not in the atrium.

Part Two

THE EARLY ROMAN REPUBLIC (c.509-265 B.C.)

3. *The Expansion of Rome and the Political Organization of Italy*
(c. 509-265 B.C.)

4. *The Constitutional and Social Development of Rome Resulting
from Italian Expansion* (c. 509-287 B.C.)

Chapter Three

THE EXPANSION OF ROME AND THE POLITICAL ORGANIZATION OF ITALY (c.509-265 B.C.)

I. THE CRISIS OF ROME IN THE FIFTH CENTURY

We are now to trace the first steps in Roman expansion, which led to the unification of Italy and laid the foundation of Rome's later mastery of the civilized world. As we have learned, primitive Italy, by geography, race, and language, seemed destined for anything but unity. Even a common geographical name was lacking to the peninsula, since the Oscan *Vitellii* was then applied only to a small district in the extreme south. Yet unification was finally accomplished by one small city of Latium. It required nearly 250 years of constant conflict involving many dangerous crises in which Rome was repeatedly on the defensive, and even then the process of unification was far from complete. The gradual success of the young Republic was not due to its farsighted dreams of dominion or Italian unity, for the conservative Roman farmers, like their Italic neighbors, were notable for neither bold initiative nor imaginative genius. Rome had dogged persistence and was wise in her alliances and political policies, but by a few changes of fortune the sequel would have been quite different. The victory resulted largely from the mistakes and disunity of her opponents. It was a matter of "muddling through." Yet the Romans had the memory of the earlier wide dominion of regal Rome, when the city, under the Etruscan kings, held the leadership of all central Italy.

The expulsion of the Etruscan dynasty and the overthrow of the monarchy in 509 had critical results for Rome. Soon after, the Etruscan prince, Lars Porsena of Clusium, attacked the city and destroyed her fortifications, which were not rebuilt for 150 years. Rome was temporarily disarmed, and lost all lands on the right bank of the Tiber. The city was in danger of returning to its primitive condition as a loose group of agricultural villages. But a victory of Latins, Romans, and Italian Greeks over the Etruscans at Aricia soon forced their permanent "withdrawal" from all Latium. The suzerainty over Latium, however, which Rome had enjoyed under the Etruscan régime, was lost. All the Latin cities now asserted their independence, and the majority of them organized a defensive league with a new center independent of Rome. The Romans were therefore limited to their city and the immediately adjoining lands, and lost greatly in both political and commercial prestige. Surrounded by enemies, they were even in danger of losing their independence to Latium. The passing of the Etruscan dynasty as the protector of the plebeians against patrician oppression also resulted in the rise of bitter strife between the social classes which gravely endangered the unity and weakened

the military efficiency of the state. During a large part of the fifth century Rome was constantly on the defensive against hostile neighbors and made little headway toward recovery of her old leadership in central Italy.

After some years of hostilities the Romans won a partial victory at Lake Regillus, which resulted in a treaty with the Latin League about 486 B.C. that lasted for nearly 150 years.¹ The treaty provided for perpetual peace and a permanent offensive and defensive alliance between Rome and the League, in which each was to furnish equal forces for allied campaigns and share in the booty of war. Private rights of contract, *commercium* and *conubium* for the citizens of each contracting party in the other state were mutually guaranteed, and no change in the agreement was to be made except by unanimous consent of both parties. The treaty clearly reveals that fifth-century Rome was only the equal ally, and not the leader, of Latium, though the fact that Rome's vote was equal to that of the whole Latin League proves that the Republic was by no means to be despised. The reason for the alliance was the common danger for both from the Etruscans, the Aequi, and the Volsci, but it also had natural roots in the common race and culture of Romans and Latins. It proved of especial advantage to Rome in securing a friendly Latium to fight her battles. Thus also the League was weakened so as to yield later to Roman rule. An added advantage came through the early inclusion of the Hernici, on the east border of Latium, in the alliance.

Aside from the alliance of Rome with the Latin League, the key facts necessary for an understanding of fifth-century Italy are the decline of the Etruscan power, and the aggressive advance of the Sabellians (the Samnites, Lucanians and Bruttians), who by their expansion changed the political and racial map of Italy. The Sabines had conflict with Rome during the first part of the century, but later became gradually assimilated to the Republic.² The more immediate danger was rather from the Aequi and Volsci, who were pushed to conflict with Rome and the Latins through the drive of the Sabellians and through the attempt of the Latins to expand southeastward into Volscian territory. The Aequi had developed a navy and a port at Antium, and held a considerable part of the Latin plain. Early in the fifth century the Volsci had made a raid even to the vicinity of Rome. The details of the conflicts are lost in obscurity. Coriolanus, the hero of Roman story against the Volsci, seems hardly historical. Cincinnatus, who is reputed to have left his farm work to lead the Romans to victory against the Aequi, is less vague. In any event, the menace of these two highland peoples was practically destroyed by about 430 B.C., and the Latins were able to expand at their expense throughout Latium, including the coast.

The most serious enemy of Rome during the fifth century was the powerful city of Veii, only twelve miles to the north, across the Tiber. A citadel of Etruscan power in southern Etruria, Veii was a flourishing town over two centuries before Rome was more than an agricultural village. Its wealth, ex-

¹ Regillus was not such a victory as was claimed by Roman tradition, but the historicity of the battle is supported by the ensuing treaty, which is itself attested by Livy, Cicero, and Dionysius.

² The theory of Ettore Pais that Rome was conquered by the Sabines in the first part of the century is not well founded.

tensive trade, and contact with Greek civilization are revealed by the rich contents of its tombs and the sculptural remains from its temple. During the fifth century the city made many raids into Roman territory and repeatedly defeated Roman forces. Not until nearly the close of the century was Rome strong enough to take the offensive. The final conflict began about 402 (407) B.C.³ According to tradition, Veii held out against the Roman siege for eleven years,⁴ though the Etruscan federation brought no aid, whether from jealousy or because of the imminence of the Gallic invasions. One Etruscan city, Caere, was allied with Rome. Since the siege required the absence of troops from Rome for long periods, the custom of paying the soldiers was introduced, the first step toward the establishment of a permanent armed force. Rome destroyed its ancient enemy, sold the population into slavery, and annexed the territory as Roman public land, nearly doubling the area of the Republic. Soon after all southern Etruria was brought under the régime of Rome.

By the beginning of the fourth century, Rome was ready to take the leadership in central Italy. Through the fortunate alliance with the Latin League and the Hernici, the Volsci and Aequi had been thrust back. Through the conquest of Veii, Roman territory had more than doubled to 800 square miles. Rome was now the recognized leader of the Latins and the chief state in central Italy. Etruscans and Italian Greeks were already on the decline, and the stage seemed set for Roman expansion over the peninsula.

II. THE CELTIC INVASION

(387 (390) B.C.)

Hardly had the Roman army returned loaded with the spoils of Veii, however, when Rome suddenly faced a far more serious crisis, which rudely checked its advance, the invasion of the Gauls. During the last decades of the fifth century Celtic tribes from beyond the Alps had repeatedly swarmed into the Po Valley. They easily conquered the country from the River Ticinus to the Adriatic as far south as Ancona, since the Etruscan rulers of the upper class were never numerous and were limited to the towns. The invaders did not exterminate the population, but took over the Etruscan civilization. Henceforth the Po Valley was predominantly a land of peasants and was known as *Gallia Cisalpina*.

The Gauls were a barbarous people still in the tribal stage and engaged in constant inter-tribal and inter-clan strife. Though largely pastoral, they practiced a primitive agriculture. They were a tall, blond race, whose reckless and ferocious attacks in open field struck terror into the most seasoned Roman soldiers. But their inefficient weapons of soft iron, their ignorance of siege operations, and their utter lack of military discipline unfitted them for extended campaigns of conquest. Thus their plunder raids in undisciplined hordes failed of any permanent domination of Italy south of the Apennines.

³ When two dates are given in this and the following chapter, the first is usually the preferred date according to the revised chronology, and the one in parentheses is the traditional date from the Roman annalists.

⁴ The traditional Roman hero of the war was Camillus.

About 387 (390) B.C. a new horde of Celtic invaders, probably the Senones, crossed the Apennines into central Italy and laid siege to the Etruscan city of Clusium, eighty miles north of Rome. Clusium appealed to Rome as the recognized leader of central Italy. The haughty demands of Rome's embassy, as the story goes, so angered the Gauls that they raised the siege of Clusium and marched on Rome. At the Allia River a few miles north of the city, they met and utterly routed the whole Roman army of 40,000 men, who fled in terror from their fierce attack. The Roman population took refuge in the neighboring towns, leaving their ill-fortified city to the tender mercies of the invaders, who burned and thoroughly looted it. Traces of ashes, skeletal remains, and arms in the Forum and on the Palatine still tell the story of the fire and destruction. The capitol, however, which was strongly fortified and manned by a small garrison, defied the invaders. Fortunately, the Gauls were bent on plunder rather than conquest. After remaining seven months they forsook Rome to repel an invasion of the Veneti in the Po Valley, having exacted, according to tradition, 1,000 pounds of gold (\$225,000) from the Romans as ransom for their ruined city.

The Romans now under the efficient leadership of Camillus at once rebuilt their city, and a few years later fortified it with a new wall of stone, the so-called Servian Wall. Camillus thoroughly reorganized the army, making the rigid phalanx more flexible by division into maniples. From this time the Romans began the use of the iron helmet, a stronger shield, and a more effective iron-pointed spear. Camillus also undertook political reforms, enlarging the citizen population by establishing a broader basis for citizenship. It required a generation, however, for Rome fully to recover from the Gallic invasion.

After a respite of about twenty years the Gauls made another plunder raid even into the territory of the Aequi, unopposed by Rome. Two decades later, however, Rome proved herself the defender of Italy against the barbarians by turning back another horde. Soon after, in 334-333, a truce between the Gauls and Rome was concluded, which lasted unbroken for the remainder of the century. But the danger from the Gauls was not ended. We shall find them joining the Samnite League against Rome in 298-290 and again in 284, and later allying with the Carthaginian Hannibal in Italy. About 100 B.C. new Gallic hordes from beyond the Alps threatened Italy, and the danger was not removed until the final conquest of Gaul by Julius Caesar.

III. ROMAN EXPANSION

(to 338 B.C.)

The burning of Rome by the Gauls was only a temporary disaster and was followed by the building of a new Rome far better fortified than the old. The opportunity was seized by the Aequi, Volsci, and Etruscans to revolt, but it resulted in Rome's securing a still stronger hold on their lands, especially in southern Etruria, where several colonies were established. As the chief power in central Italy, Rome now concluded a treaty with the warlike moun-

tain Samnites in 354 B.C. which probably defined their respective spheres of influence and was prophetic of their future inevitable clash.

About ten years later Capua and the Campanians, threatened with complete domination by the invading Samnites, sent an embassy to Rome for aid, offering alliance. According to Livy the senate at first politely refused to intervene in view of the treaty of Rome with the Samnites, but finally yielded out of pity. But probably humanitarian sentiments had little weight in the decision. The deciding reasons were economic, military, and strategic, which Livy himself puts into the mouth of the Capuan embassy. Capua was the largest and richest city in Italy. Campania's fertile soil would furnish the needed wheat land for Rome, and the horses for its cavalry. Control of Campania would enable Rome to attack the Volscian and Aequian enemies from the rear and would mean the political encirclement of the Latins by Rome. On the other hand, a Samnite Campania was of gravest danger to Roman power in central Italy. In any event, the Roman senate voted for intervention, and the assembly readily ratified the action. Thus Rome started on the road which was to lead to her final conquest of all central and southern Italy.

With the enthusiastic aid of the Capuans and Latins against the common enemy, Rome took the Samnites unprepared and won an easy victory in the first war. The peace in 341 B.C. left the Romans in full control of Capua and Campania, and in a strategic position to dominate Latium. When the Latins, awaking to their precarious position, later presented a statement of grievances to Rome and demands for equal political rights with Romans in franchise and in the magistracies and senate, Rome bluntly refused their demands. In the war that followed, the leading Latin cities (Tibur and Praeneste), joined by the Volsci, Capua, and Cumae, were finally defeated by Rome and her allies.⁵ The war was ended in 338 B.C. by the Roman reduction of the Volscian port at Antium. Thus Rome had won complete control as far south as Naples, and had an area of 4,250 square miles and a population of 1,000,000.

The Latin League was dissolved, the cities were isolated by separate treaties with Rome, and were not even permitted at first to have the rights of *conubium* and *commercium* with each other. Some were given citizenship without suffrage (*sine suffragio*). Others were made allies, bound by individual treaties on harsh terms. Only Tibur and Praeneste retained their autonomy, but lost the right to undertake independent wars. The league fleet was seized, and new Roman maritime colonies were established at Antium and Tarracina. Rome was henceforth the capital of Latium. The danger of Latin and Volscian rebellion was ended, and Rome added their military strength to her own. The Roman conquest was, however, in some ways a blessing in disguise for the Latins, since by it they gained protection and some share in the later profits of Roman expansion. They retained their rights of trade and inter-marriage with Romans, and any Latins settling at Rome were granted full citizenship.

⁵ The Hernici, some of the Latin cities, and the upper classes in Campania had remained loyal to Rome. Cf. maps (B-E) of Roman Expansion in Italy, opposite p. 110.

The conquest was followed by the establishment of a series of Latin colonies in the Volscian and other conquered lands to maintain control and relieve the pressure of the poorer population in Rome and Latium. Capua and most of the other Campanian cities retained their local autonomy in alliance with Rome, received rights of trade and intermarriage, and enjoyed her powerful military protection against further invasions of the mountain Samnites. Rome, on the other hand, retained control of foreign affairs, gained the military aid and access to the wealth of Campania, and extended Roman political influence to the Bay of Naples.

IV. THE WARS OF THE SAMNITES AND THEIR ALLIES FOR ITALIAN INDEPENDENCE

(327-290 B.C.)

Rome, with her greatly increased power, prestige, and resources, was now brought face to face with the Samnites, and a war to the death for supremacy in Italy was practically inevitable. Federation was in the air. The drive for unification of the multitudes of diverse peoples of the peninsula was on, and it only remained to determine through which people, Roman or Sabellian, the unification should be accomplished.

The Samnite federation was more extensive than the Roman, and in the independent spirit and fighting quality of its rugged frontiersmen, it was fully the equal of Rome. The Roman federation, on the other hand, had the advantage over the Samnite isolated mountain communities in centralization, numbers, civilization, wealth, and in long experience in organized warfare. Rome had also won the first round of the struggle by expelling the Samnites from Campania in 341 B.C. Since then, the Romans had continued to encroach on Samnium by colonizing Fregellae, and taking Naples into the Roman alliance, so as to shut off the enemy from access to the Western sea. At first the Samnites were unable to oppose them, owing to a war with Tarentum and Alexander of Molossi, but on his death they demanded of Rome access to the sea. With the flat refusal of Rome to withdraw began an uncompromising war of nearly forty years that left Samnium a desolate waste. The final victory was Rome's, but the independent spirit of this brave people was not to be finally subdued for two centuries later.

During the first period of the long, bitter war (327-312) the Samnites fought Rome unaided and were able to hold their ground until nearly the end. Finally in 321 a Roman army was trapped in the Caudine Pass and starved to surrender. As the price of their freedom, the consuls agreed to give up all Roman gains in Apulia and probably Fregellae on the Liris, gave 600 Roman knights as hostages, and pledged not to renew the war. The Roman soldiers were obliged to pass under an improvised yoke of Samnite spears, and marched home unarmed. The later patriotic Roman annalists glozed over the disgrace of defeat by the tale that the senate denounced the treaty, returned the two consuls in chains to the Samnites, and at once renewed the

war, brilliantly avenging the defeat.⁶ In actual fact, the truce seems to have lasted until 316 B.C. Meanwhile Rome used the breathing space to effect a needed reorganization of the army to meet the Samnite mountain tactics of small mobile divisions armed with javelins and short swords for hand-to-hand fighting. Henceforth the Roman army was divided into maniples of only 120 men each with open spaces between for flexible maneuvering, a reform which contributed much to its success both against the Samnites and Rome's later enemies in Italy and beyond.

On the renewal of the war in 316 B.C. Rome sought to encircle Samnium from the east and west and founded a colony at Luceria as its eastern base. This dangerous division of Roman forces resulted in a Samnite campaign that threatened both Latium and Rome. The Samnites besieged Tarracina and aroused revolt in Campania. They also regained control of Luceria in Apulia. But fortunately for Rome, Latium remained loyal and the Roman army finally won a decisive victory at Bovianum. Rome had won control of Apulia, and the Samnites were also permanently isolated from access to the Adriatic on their north frontier by a strong line of Roman fortifications.

From this point (312 B.C.) the conflict between Rome and Samnium widens to a general war against Rome for Italian independence. The Gauls, Etruscans, and Umbrians, as also the Hernici and other Italian peoples of the central Apennines, fearful of the rapid advance of Rome, were ready for revolt. The Greek cities also, especially Tarentum, began to change from friendly neutrality to fear, due to Rome's encroachment in Apulia. The Samnites were thus able to organize a great alliance of peoples from the Gauls to the Greeks of Tarentum to oppose the common enemy. Unfortunately for them, however, old local jealousies and the clever Roman policy of "divide and rule" caused many of the cities of Etruria and Magna Graecia, several Italian tribes of the central Apennines, and even the Lucanian kinsmen of the Samnites to remain inactive. Even Tarentum, whose future destiny was to be largely determined by the outcome, gave itself only halfheartedly to the struggle.

Nevertheless, it was a grave crisis for Rome. Faced with enemies on all sides and at a distinct disadvantage in numbers of fighting men, the times called for a superior leader. He appeared in Appius Claudius, the censor. By a radical reform in the old census classes, the basis was broadened from land to include all wealth, greatly increasing both the military and taxation resources of the state. The reform of the army in armament and its organization into smaller units for flexibility was further carried out in accord with the lessons learned from the Samnites. Cavalry was made a more efficient aid to the infantry, and even the beginning of a naval force was voted in 311 B.C.⁷

Rome was fortunate also in its central position and the lack of unity in the enemy forces, which enabled the Republic to defeat each separately. In 310 B.C., by two great Roman victories, all central Etruria was forced to submit temporarily, and another Roman army, by its repeated victories and ravages in Samnium, forced the Samnites to offer peace in 304 B.C., agreeing to give up their claim to Campania and to enter the Roman federation. The lesser mem-

⁶ Cf. Livy, IX, 12, 1-4; Dionysius of Halicarnassus, XVI, 3 ff.

⁷ Livy, IX, 30, 4.

bers of the coalition were then obliged to follow suit. This gave Rome a breathing space to establish its power in Italy. The military road to the south, the Appian Way, was continued, new colonies were established to secure Campania, and others in the central Apennines to separate the enemies of the Republic and isolate the Samnites from their allies.

About 300 B.C. the crisis for Rome again became menacing. New hordes of Gallic invaders had crossed the Alps and aroused their kinsmen in the Po Valley in alliance with some of the Etruscan cities. Once more the indomitable Samnites seized this opportunity to organize a new and more formidable coalition against Rome, including most of Italy, to fight for Italian independence. But Tarentum and the Greeks were fatally listless, and Rome, now much better prepared, was again victorious fighting on both fronts of Etruria and Samnium. Bovianum, the ancient capital in the very heart of Samnium, was captured,⁸ and the country was ravaged with fire and sword. But still the Samnite fighting spirit was not subdued. In 296 B.C. a Samnite army made its way to the north along the east coast and joined the Gauls near Sentinum. Here the Romans won a decisive victory over probably the strongest allied force that they had yet faced. This battle was a milestone in Rome's conquest of Italy, for it marked the end of Samnite resistance, as well as a definite check on the Gauls. The Umbrians and Gauls now gave up the struggle, and the remnants of the Samnite forces finally surrendered in 290 B.C. The Samnites lost their independence and entered the Roman federation as allies. Another Roman colony of 20,000, planted at Venusia on the south boundary, effectually completed their "encirclement" by Rome.⁹ This left the Republic free to reduce the rebellious Etruscan cities of the north and the Italic peoples of the central Apennines to submission. Though the victory of Rome at Sentinum was, in a sense, the death knell of local freedom in Italy, it was a victory for Italian unity and civilization.

The Samnite wars with their wide alliances were epochal in the military history of Rome. Forced to fight on all fronts and at such distances from home, the Republic was obliged to plan its campaigns on a far more extensive scale, to reorganize its army for more flexible maneuvering, and to develop the more skillful strategy of indirect attacks and encirclement of the enemy. It was this ability to adapt itself to the new and critical situation that enabled Rome to win over the allied enemies at Sentinum.

Even after the submission of the Samnites, a fresh coalition of Etruscans, Gauls, and Lucanians was formed, but Rome, now entrenched in Samnium, central Italy, Campania, and Apulia, prevented the effective union of its enemies. In 284 B.C. the Etruscans and Senones (Gauls) disastrously defeated a Roman army at Arretium.¹⁰ But the following year Rome crushed further opposition of the rebellious alliance at Lake Vadimon. Gauls and Etruscans made peace, and Rome annexed the land of the Senones to the Rubicon and founded the colony of Sena Gallica. The next year the Lucanians in the south were also completely subdued. By 280 B.C. all the Etruscan cities had sub-

⁸ This event was the occasion for a brilliant narrative by Livy and Virgil.

⁹ Other colonies were established at this time at Minturnae and Sinuessa.

¹⁰ Polybius, II, 19, 7-8.

mitted to Rome and were included in the Italian federation as allies. As a result of the Roman defeat of the Gauls, they turned their invasions eastward to Macedonia and Asia Minor, where they were finally defeated by the Hellenistic rulers of Macedon and Pergamum.¹¹ All Italy, from the bounds of Cisalpine Gaul to Apulia and Lucania in the south, was now included in the Roman sphere of influence, and all central Italy was permanently and thoroughly Roman. Only Magna Graecia, led by Tarentum and Bruttium, still remained outside the Italian federation. Roman annexed and allied territories now comprised about three-fourths of the peninsula, or about 31,000 square miles.

V. THE CONQUEST OF MAGNA GRAECIA

(281-266 B.C.)

Through the defeat of the Samnites and Lucanians, Rome was now brought face to face with Magna Graecia. The coming conflict had been years in preparation. The prolonged struggle with the Samnites had caused Rome gradually to occupy all approaches to the Greek cities from the north and west, as also to dominate the Adriatic shore to the very frontiers of the Greeks. Tarentum had joined the Samnite coalition against Rome, and in 303 B.C. Rome had found it necessary to agree that no Roman ships should sail beyond the Lacinian promontory. More recently, through Rome's aid of Thurii against the Lucanians, the city had entered the Italian federation, and Locri, Croton, and Rhegium had accepted Roman garrisons, thus giving the Romans the control of the Strait of Messina.

On the whole, however, relations between the rising Republic and the Greek cities of Campania and the south had been distinctly friendly. Rome had a sentimental regard for the advanced Hellenic civilization, and the Greeks felt more of a kinship with the Romans than with any of the other peoples of Italy. Heraclides of Pontus even gave "barbarian" Rome the honor of calling it a Greek city.¹² Cumae aided Rome to expel the Etruscans from Latium, thereby opening it to Greek influence, and after the Roman occupation of Campania in 341 B.C., the two peoples were brought into still more intimate contact. Even Rome's siege and capture of Naples, twenty years later, caused no permanent antagonism, since the city was later granted full autonomy under the Roman *foedus aequum*.

The Greek cities of Magna Graecia had an old, wealthy civilization, but their people were luxurious and effete, lacking in military and civic spirit, effective leadership, and political unity. Depleted of man power by chronic civic strife, the massacres of tyrants, and the repeated attacks of wild Italian tribes, they had been on the decline for over half a century, while the young and virile Rome was making its most rapid advances in Italy. Since the end of the Italian Empire of the tyrant Dionysius I (367 B.C.), the Greek cities of southern Italy had been repeatedly attacked by the Lucanians and other southern Italian tribes. Tarentum had taken the lead as protector and had

¹¹ Cf. Vol. I, Chapter Thirty.

¹² Cf. L. Homo, *op. cit.*, p. 201.

several times during the century called in the aid of adventurers with their Greek mercenaries from Sparta, Epirus, and finally Agathocles, tyrant of Syracuse, who annexed the Bruttians to his empire and took over some of the Greek cities of the southwest.¹³

The crisis became more imminent through the dissolution of his kingdom at his death in 289 B.C. Thurii, attacked by the Lucanians seven years later, and distrusting its neighbor, Tarentum, appealed to Rome for aid. The conservative Roman senate, weary of the long wars with the stubborn Samnites and their allies, and satiated with new lands, was slow to accept the call. But the plebeian tribal assembly, with its recently acquired full legislative powers, was more adventurous and insisted on intervention.

Rome turned back the Lucanians and set up a garrison in Thurii, while a small Roman fleet appeared in the Bay of Tarentum. The previous treaty of 303 B.C. excluding Roman ships from the bay was probably now obsolete, as Rome already had three harbors on the Adriatic. But the Tarentines, indignant at the alleged breach of faith, attacked the Roman fleet, sinking four ships and seizing Thurii. When Roman envoys were sent to protest against the outrage, the Greek populace denied them a hearing and cast at them the "filth" of the streets, which the stern Roman envoy declared would be "wiped out with blood." The war which was to end Greek independence and secure for Rome the domination of the entire peninsula was now on.

Tarentum had potential allies in the Samnites, Lucanians, and Bruttians, but the swiftness of the Roman armies in occupying the strategic approaches in the first campaign rendered their aid difficult and drove Tarentum to appeal to Pyrrhus of Epirus.¹⁴ Pyrrhus was a nephew of Alexander of Molossi, a relative of Alexander the Great by marriage, son-in-law of Agathocles, and a prominent figure in the politics of the early Hellenistic Age. He had fought at Ipsus, was appointed governor of Greece by Demetrius Poliorcetes, and had married the daughter of Ptolemy I of Egypt. Ambitious, adventurous, a military leader of long experience, and skilled in strategy, he probably dreamed of being a second Alexander, who would establish a vast empire in the West, including Epirus, southern Italy, Sicily, and perhaps North Africa. His present kingdom included not only Epirus but also Illyria, Acarnania, and Corcyra. He thus controlled the Adriatic and the Straits of Otranto, and had one of the best-organized and best-disciplined armies of professional soldiers in the Hellenistic world. But he lacked the stability and persistence to become a great general.

Pyrrhus readily accepted the call of Tarentum. He came with an army of over 20,000 heavy infantry trained in the same tactics of the Macedonian serried phalanx which had made Philip and Alexander invincible. The army was supported by 3,000 highly trained cavalry, and 20 elephants, then an

¹³ For the political history of Hellenistic Sicily and Magna Graecia in the fourth century, see Vol. I, Chapters Twenty-six and Thirty.

¹⁴ The life of Pyrrhus by Plutarch is the only continuous extant account, but it seems to be based on near contemporary Greek and Roman sources, especially the work of the careful Hellenistic historian, Hieronymus of Cardia, now lost.

entirely new factor in Italian warfare. His plan of campaign was to win by breaking up the Italian confederacy. Such a well-trained force, together with its Greek allies, constituted the most formidable enemy that Rome had yet faced, though the Republic was distinctly superior in man power, unity, and dogged persistence. When Pyrrhus arrived, Rome had already three armies at strategic points to prevent the Etruscans, Samnites, or South Italians from joining him, and to limit his campaign to the south.

When the armies first met at Heraclea (280 B.C.), the seasoned Roman veterans of the Samnite wars were about a match for the Greek phalanx of Pyrrhus, but his superior generalship and his elephants, which struck terror into the Roman horses, won. The victory was dearly bought with a loss of 4,000 soldiers, however; hence the later term "Pyrrhic victory." Pyrrhus failed to capture the Roman army, but won to his standard more of the southern Greek cities and the Bruttians and Lucanians. Disappointed in his bold dash to within forty miles of Rome, in order to arouse the Roman allies of central Italy to rebellion, he returned to Tarentum and offered peace to Rome with return of all prisoners on condition that Rome cease hostilities against the Greek cities, grant them full autonomy, and return all land taken from his allies in Samnium and southern Italy. The strong peace party in the Roman senate might have yielded, except for the last point, had not Appius Claudius, in a patriotic speech that was still famous in Cicero's day, aroused his colleagues to reject the offer.

Pyrrhus lost his initial advantage by passing the winter months at Tarentum without further aggressive action. In the spring of 279 B.C. he was blocked by a Roman army at Ausculum in his attempt to reach central Italy by way of the east shore. Here the elephants of Pyrrhus again turned the tide in his favor, yet the Roman army was able to hold its fortified camp, and Pyrrhus returned baffled to Tarentum. Rome now began negotiations for peace which Pyrrhus welcomed. He was disgusted with the inaction of his Greek allies and desired to accept the invitation from the Sicilian Greeks to lead them against Carthage, as a second Agathocles.¹⁵ He was therefore now ready to make peace on the sole condition of the independence of Magna Graecia. But Roman resistance was stiffened by the appearance of a Carthaginian navy offering aid against Pyrrhus in order to prevent his projected Sicilian campaign: Carthage little realized that it was Rome, not Pyrrhus, who was soon to threaten her political future. The old treaty of 306 B.C. between Rome and Carthage was strengthened by new articles of defensive alliance. They agreed that "If either signatory shall make a separate peace with Pyrrhus, he shall make a stipulation that he may aid the other in whichever country he is attacked." Each was to furnish and pay for its own soldiers, but Carthage agreed to provide ships and transport. Carthage also seems to have advanced silver to her ally, since silver coinage now appeared in Rome, stamped with the "horse's head of the Punic Arms."¹⁶ By the treaty Carthage succeeded in

¹⁵ The threat of Gallic invasion in Macedonia may also have influenced him for peace. See Vol. I, Chapter Thirty.

¹⁶ See T. Frank, *Cambridge Ancient History*, Cambridge University Press, Vol. IX, p. 648 f., for the text of the treaty as given by Polybius, III, 25, and critical comments, on which the above

blocking peace between Rome and Pyrrhus, and Rome gained silver to pay its allies, and an alliance to discourage the further campaigning of Pyrrhus in Italy. The defensive alliance meant little in actual fact, however, since each would have been suspicious of the other's intervention either in Italy or Sicily. But the treaty is especially significant as marking the first intervention of Carthage in Italy due to the invasion of Pyrrhus.¹⁷

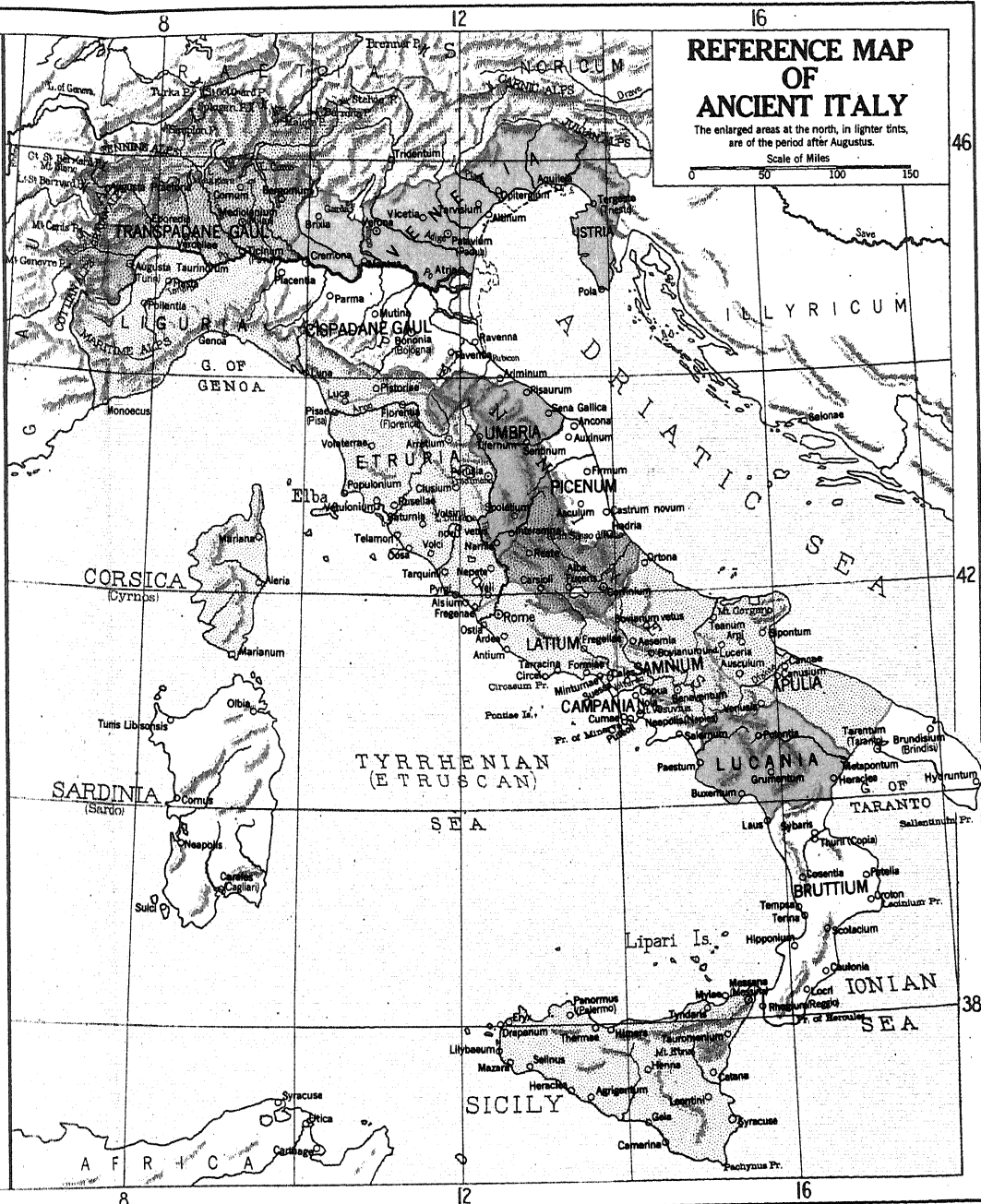
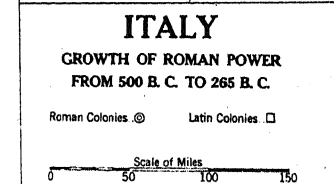
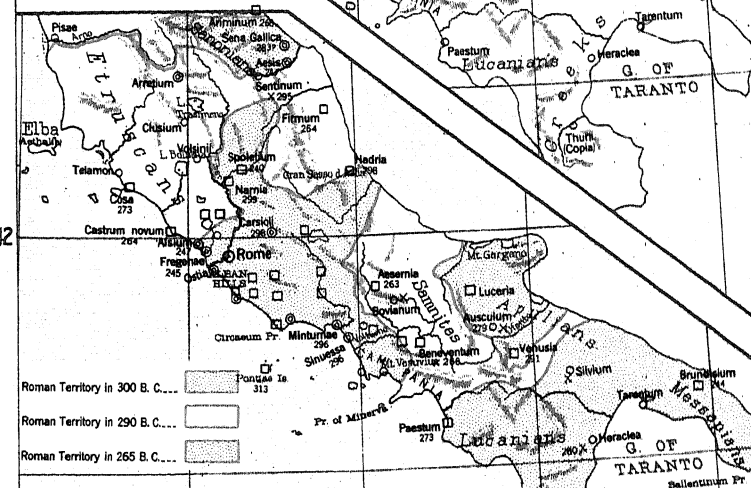
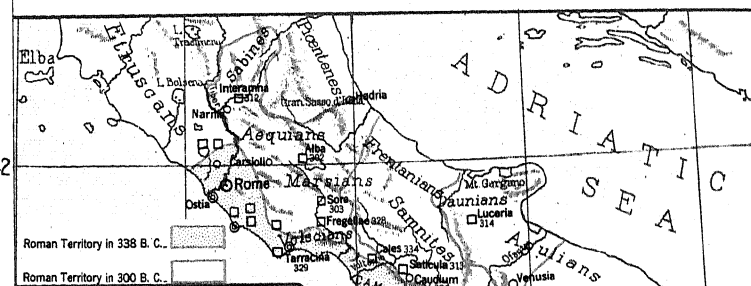
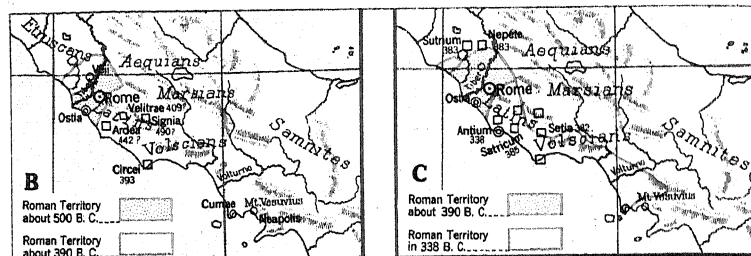
The aim of Carthage to block the intervention of Pyrrhus in Sicily failed, for Pyrrhus, now leaving garrisons in Tarentum and some of the other Greek cities, sailed with an army of 10,000 men to aid the Sicilians against their common enemy. Sicily had been in a state of anarchy after Agathocles. His Campanian mercenaries had seized Messina and were ruling as tyrants over several cities, while the advancing power of Carthage in the island was not being opposed by any effective, united effort. On Pyrrhus's arrival the cities, even including Syracuse, opened their gates to him and accepted him as king of the Sicilians, and general of the forces, now numbering 30,000 men. In less than two years he had driven Carthage from the entire island, except the extreme western citadel of Lilybaeum, and had expelled the Carthaginian fleet temporarily from Sicilian waters. He even dreamed of invading Carthage, but the declining loyalty of the Greek cities and the report of Rome's advances in Italy in his absence caused him to return to Tarentum. On the way a Carthaginian fleet sank over half of his ships.

Meanwhile, Rome had won over Heraclea as an equal, autonomous ally, and Croton, Locri, and some other Greek cities had accepted Roman control. The Lucanians, Samnites, and Bruttians were also lost as allies to Pyrrhus, making his situation now critical, since his army was greatly reduced. But he regained Croton and Locri and increased his army by new recruits at Tarentum. Failing in his plan to arouse again the Samnites and Lucanians, he undertook a surprise night attack on a Roman army near Maleventum, but suffered a disastrous defeat, barely escaping with his life. His army now lacked the old training and morale, and Rome had adapted itself to his tactics. Rome established colonies at this site and at Posidonia (Paestum), and changed the name

statement is based. He accepts the text of Polybius rather than the frequent emendations of modern scholars.

According to Roman tradition the above treaty was preceded by several others. (1) The treaty of 509 B.C. (see Polybius, III, 22, for document) which delimits the respective spheres of the two states. This treaty is commonly accepted by scholars, but see L. Homo, *op. cit.*, p. 211, who considers the terms "absolutely impossible" for that date. (2) The treaty of 348 B.C. (Livy, VII, 27, 2, and Diodorus, XVI, 69, who considers it the "first") assigned the whole of Latium to Rome, and Carthaginian Sicily and Africa to Carthage. About 343 B.C. this pact seems to have been redefined (Polybius, III, 24) so as to include in Carthage's preserves the south coast of Spain. (3) Livy, IX, 43, 26, refers to a "third" treaty in 306 B.C., which seems to have excluded Rome from all Sicily, and Carthage from all Italy, though Polybius denies its existence. It was perhaps to this treaty that the new articles of defensive alliance were added against Pyrrhus in 279-278 B.C. The earlier treaties were primarily commercial. The last two were distinctly political, owing to Rome's advancing power.

¹⁷ Since the early sixth century, the Tyrrhenian Sea had been the object of strife among the Western powers. At first it was between Carthage, the Etruscans, and Massilia. The latter was soon eliminated and the Etruscans retired, after their naval defeat by Syracuse at Cumae (474 B.C.). Henceforth the competition was between Carthage and Syracuse, until after the death of Agathocles (289 B.C.). After this Carthage had practically a complete monopoly of the sea, until it was now being threatened by Rome's triumphant advance. But even yet Pyrrhus was, to Carthage, the chief threat to her sea power.



of Maleventum ("Illcome")¹⁸ to Beneventum ("Welcome"), one of the many instances in history of how wars result in a change of names. Pyrrhus now, utterly discouraged, quietly embarked with little more than a third of his original army for Epirus (275 B.C.), having left his general, Milo, in control of the citadel at Tarentum, promising, perhaps sincerely, to return later with reinforcements. But he was not destined to return, for three years later he lost his life in a petty conflict in Greece.

The defeat of Pyrrhus by Rome made a strong impression throughout the Hellenistic world. The year following the proud Ptolemy Philadelphus of Egypt sent an embassy with a message of congratulations to establish friendly relations with the militant young Republic of the West, the first recognition of Rome as a world power. Lycophron, the Hellenistic tragedian, in his tragedy, *Alexander*, also honored Rome with the title, the scion of Troy who is fated to avenge the wrongs committed against Priam's city.¹⁹ Many of the Greek cities now submitted to Rome. Milo, the general of Pyrrhus, still held the citadel of Tarentum, but was faced not only by a besieging Roman army but also by the opposition of the Tarentines themselves. When the Carthaginian fleet appeared in the bay perhaps in response to the appeal of the Tarentines, he preferred to yield to Rome, receiving safe conduct to Epirus to seek further aid.

Tarentum now surrendered to the Romans who destroyed its walls, imposed a Roman garrison, and established a Roman garrison there. The city entered the Roman federation in 272 B.C. as a naval ally of Rome on a basis of extensive local autonomy, but like the other Greek port cities, she was obliged to furnish ships to her ally on demand.²¹ Among the Tarentine captives brought to Rome was a child, Andronicus, later Livius Andronicus, who was to be one of the fathers of Roman literature.

With the fall of Tarentum the center of Greek opposition to Rome was lost. The disunity and military weakness of the Greek states had made the result practically inevitable from the start. Only an entirely new morale and the complete submergence of the Greek love of local independence under a strong military monarchy could have saved Magna Graecia from Rome's domination, and even this would then have been probably too late. By 270 B.C. all Magna Graecia, even to Brundisium and southern Italy, had yielded to Rome. Five years later the rebel Samnites and northern Etruscans had been fully pacified, and Rome was master of the entire peninsula.²² Her Italian federation now extended throughout Italy to the valley of the Po, an area of 80,000 square miles. Italy was by no means yet thoroughly unified, but its eventual unification was now an assured fact. The days of probation and

¹⁸ Perhaps, however, the Greek name *Malventa* meant "full of apples."

¹⁹ T. Frank, *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. VII, p. 281, places the reference later.

²⁰ Later Roman tradition, hostile to Carthage, interpreted her intervention as a treacherous seeking to wrest the prize from Rome's hands by joining her enemies, and Carthage might well have been jealous of Rome as the conqueror of all Italy, now that the danger from Pyrrhus was ended.

²¹ This has been thought to indicate that Rome was beginning to feel the need of a war fleet. Even forty years previous, two officials had been appointed over the shipping. But Roman ships were as yet few and not fitted with decks for sea fighting.

²² But the Brutian League in southern Italy kept sufficient independence so that it issued its own coins until the close of the third century.

primitive obscurity for Rome and Italy were now ended. Rome was a world power, and Italy was Roman.

VI. THE REASONS FOR ROME'S SUCCESS

Rome had now brought all Italy into an Italian federation under its leadership. This had not been due to a conscious and consistent policy of aggressive expansion. At least, until the last phase, it had been largely a process of meeting each crisis as it arose. Much of the time the Republic was on the defensive, though, like modern nations, it often posed unjustly as the injured party. The growing pressure of population, as indicated by Rome's extensive colonization, and ability to retain its full military strength despite repeated losses through war, may well have been a factor in the expansion, but it probably did not serve as a conscious basis of Roman policy.

There were sufficient reasons, however, in the central location of Rome, the dogged persistence and practical common sense of Roman character, the thorough Roman military organization, and Roman political and military strategy for the final outcome. Rome was also fortunate in her enemies. The Gauls were disunited barbarian hordes whose raids were neither efficient nor persistent. Both Etruscans and Greeks lacked unity, and this was partly true of the Latin League, the central Italic peoples, and even the Samnites, who were Rome's most stubborn foes. The Samnite coalitions were also inefficient and never more than halfhearted, and the Greeks were weakened by intercity and internal strife, and by lack of martial spirit and leadership.

Fortune also fought on the side of Rome in other respects. The Etruscans in the north were much weakened by the Gauls, and in the south by Syracuse and the Samnites, who expelled them from Campania. The Latin League was worn down by fighting Rome's battles against the Volsci and Aequi, and was therefore later an easier prey for Rome. Tarentum and the southern Greeks were weakened by repeated attacks of Lucanians and Bruttians. Pyrrhus lacked persistence and failed to arouse the Italian peoples against their conqueror. Above all, Rome retained the friendly neutrality of Carthage throughout.

The young Republic could not have won against so great odds, however, had it not been for the wise political and military strategy of its early statesmen, centering in the senate. They early developed a strong citizen militia, and soon (by 400 B.C.) a paid army.²³ They learned from their enemies, readily adapting their tactics both to the mountain Samnites and to the Pyrrhic Greek phalanx and new elephant warfare. Repeatedly they used diplomacy to secure alliance or neutrality of a people until they were prepared to use force. Especially during the last century of the struggle, they followed the method of "divide and rule" (*divide et impera*), opposing the development of a strong state in central Italy and protecting the weak against the strong.

Rome also retained its own internal unity, despite the bitter strife of parties, by repeated liberalizations of the government and grants to the masses.²⁴ The common soldiers were kept loyal and in good morale by sharing in the spoils

²³ For detail on the Roman military system see below.

²⁴ See Chapter Four for detail.

of war and by a growing sense of power and confidence resulting from repeated successes. The Roman policy was always to take the offensive even in a defensive war, and never to make peace with a defeated enemy on equal terms, but to require a perpetual treaty of alliance placing its troops at the disposal of Rome. Thus were Rome's military resources continually expanded, while the repeated widening of its sphere of influence brought the Republic ever into contact with new hostile frontiers. Voluntary allies were gradually transformed into dependents of Rome, forbidden to break the alliance, and whenever a strong state was conquered, a portion of its territory was appropriated for colonies, or *ager publicus*, for the advantage of the Roman estateholders and the poorer masses.

A striking example of Rome's practical efficiency in securing control of conquered lands was her remarkable system of roads to strategic points. These ancient "railways" later formed a veritable network over the peninsula as the military and government highways, the arteries of trade and communication through which the unification and Romanization of Italy were effected. Already, before the middle of the third century B.C., some of the greatest trunk lines were started. The Appian Way (*Via Appia*), one of the oldest and the most famous, built in 312 B.C. from Rome to Capua, had extended to Venusia in southern Italy by 263 B.C., and was later to reach Brundisium. The *Via Latina* extended southeast from Rome. The *Via Flaminia*, striking northward from Rome toward Ariminum on the Adriatic, had already reached Narnia. A third highway, extended eastward into the central Apennines to Alba Fucens.

The Roman roads are notable for taking the shortest line straight to their goal regardless of all obstacles, and for their solidity which has never been outdone. Many still survive in part, and have served as the foundation of modern roads. The thorough construction is still known from the surviving remains and the references of Roman writers. For the chief roads the loose earth was removed down to a solid foundation. This was filled in with appropriate materials and rammed. The structure often had four layers, flat stones usually set in mortar, a masonry of small stones or coarse concrete, a layer of finer concrete, and finally a pavement of hard polygonal blocks perfectly joined together. The whole was often three feet in thickness. The main paved highways were about fourteen feet wide, and on either side, separated by raised stone borders, were unpaved walks, each about seven feet in width. Many of the less important roads had a surface of concrete or small pebbles set in mortar or sometimes of clay or hard gravel instead of paving, but in these roads the level of the road was higher and the surface more rounded.

As new Italian lands came within the sphere of Rome's special interest, Latin and Roman colonies with garrisons were planted at strategic points to hold the frontier or encircle hostile neighbors. These served as outposts of Roman power and radiating centers for the dissemination of Latin language and influence. They also relieved the pressure of population and social discontent at home. Thirty-five were located in Latium alone. These determined the course of the Roman roads as they were built. Some of the more important Latin colonies established during the centuries of conquest were Ardea and Satricum in

Latium, Fregellae, Interamna and Minturnae in Campania, Alba Fucens and Carsoli in the central Apennines as wedges between Rome's enemies to the north and south, Sutrium and Nepes in southern Etruria, Beneventum, Venusia, and Luceria in Samnium, and Paestum and Brundisium in southern Italy. The majority of the Roman colonies were maritime. Their colonists retained full Roman citizenship and did garrison duty instead of regular military service. Such were Antium and Anxur (Terracina) on the coast of Latium, and Ariminum, Sena Gallica, and Castrum Novum on the Adriatic shore. By the beginning of the second century B.C. twenty-two such colonies had been established.

The chief reason for Rome's success in keeping control of conquered lands, however, was the senate's wise methods of organization. The peoples and cities were, at first, isolated from each other by prohibition of *commercium* and *conubium*, and by granting different privileges to each, through separate treaties, so as to remove any common basis for alliance against Rome. Strategic cities such as Naples and Heraclea were tied to Rome by special advantages. All were alike only in being secondary to the Roman state, but the subject relation was at first not stressed, and the impositions were not extreme. The cities were called allies rather than subjects, and even the least privileged enjoyed a considerable degree of local autonomy. Other reasons why Rome did not treat all conquered peoples alike were their diverse cultural status, and their having entered the Italian federation by different means, some voluntarily and some under compulsion.

VII. THE ROMAN ORGANIZATION OF ITALY

After the conquest of Magna Graecia, then, the status, rights, and relations to Rome of the different peoples of Italy may be defined about as follows: There were three distinct types, each with its special rights and privileges. (1) *Roman citizens* were either full citizens of Rome, or citizens *sine suffragio*, who enjoyed private rights but lacked the Roman franchise and the right to hold office. The full citizens were residents of Rome and adjacent Roman territory and the members of citizen colonies which were mostly maritime. Such colonies were not numerous, and usually a colony did not include more than 300 citizens, who were excused until the Punic wars from service in the legions, in view of their frontier garrison duty. These usually held directly at least one-third of the land of the district. The Roman communities with private civil rights but without the suffrage were the so-called *municipia* (municipalities) including the old Latin and some other towns. They preserved their entity, enjoyed different degrees of local autonomy, had the private rights of *commercium* and *conubium*, and some hope of the ultimate grant of full Roman rights. They were amenable to both military service and taxation. By 265 B.C. strictly Roman land including both of the above types had an area of nearly 10,000 square miles. It extended from southern Etruria at Caere through Latium and Campania and northeast through the Sabine territory to the Roman Adriatic colonies. (2) *The Latin Allies* were also quite intimately bound to Rome by racial and other ties. Aside from a few older towns of

Latium and a few federated cities whose rights were defined by special treaties, these comprised largely the Latin colonies, especially those in Latium and on the great roads, which were settled by colonists from either Latium or Rome. Such colonies often had from two to six thousand population. Each colonist received a land lot of 30 to 50 *jugera* (20 to 34 acres). They enjoyed private rights of *commercium* and *conubium* with both Rome and the other Italian colonies, but not Roman citizenship, except that one whose son was of military age might become a citizen by returning to Rome. The Latin colonies had full local autonomy even in matters of coinage and census. They furnished their military contingent to Rome, but as Latins rather than Romans. They served, not in the Roman legions, but in special divisions of infantry and cavalry. (3) *The Italian or Federate Allies (Socii Italici)* formed the bulk of the people of Italy, a multitude of distinct cities or districts, each bound by a separate "perpetual"²⁵ treaty (*foedus*) defining its peculiar relation to Rome. The treaties were very diverse. A few strategic cities, such as Praeneste, Naples, Heraclea, and Tarentum, were granted a *foedus aequum*, with full local civic rights, and possibly full Roman citizenship in case of change of residence to Rome. The rest were practically under a Roman protectorate, though all were autonomous, retaining their own laws, language, government, local institutions, and even coinage. They were all on the same basis in their common obligation to furnish their military quota to Rome and to yield to Rome control of all their foreign relations. The allied troops were not included in the Roman legions, but were organized in special divisions of infantry and cavalry under local officers, and each community must pay for the equipment of its own contingent, but the larger divisions were under the direct command of Roman generals. The troops were fed at Roman expense and received a share in the division of the booty.

Thus by the middle of the third century Rome was the head of a great military and diplomatic federation of a multitude of cities and districts whose only relation to each other was their common political alliance with Rome. Through it Rome had 700,000 infantry and 70,000 cavalry eligible for war service, of which 400,000 infantry and 44,000 cavalry were from the Latin and Italian allies.²⁶ As the Romans expanded beyond Italy all the above-named rights were gradually withdrawn. The earlier generous policy of Rome changed to a policy of jealous exclusion from the growing advantages of Roman citizenship, and there was a gradual equalization of pressure upon all the peoples of Italy.

Already the name Italia was applied to the whole peninsula, and the inhabitants were called Italici by outsiders. But the process of unification had only begun in 265 B.C. It was to require still two centuries of gradual Romanization of language, law and culture, and generations of struggle and suffering together against common dangers, broken by repeated rebellions of some of the allies against Rome, before Italy was to be welded into a united nation.

²⁵ The Etruscan cities were usually granted treaties only for a term of years, probably because of a Roman suspicion of their alien speech and customs. Cf. map (B) opposite p. 14.

²⁶ On the above numbers, cf. L. Homo, *op. cit.*, pp. 232-234, and citations. Of course, Rome could not maintain such an army in the field.

VIII. THE MEANING OF ROMAN UNIFICATION TO THE PEOPLES OF ITALY

As the price of unification, the Italian peoples were obliged to lose their political independence, furnish troops for the Roman army, and pay their part of the expense of both army and administration.²⁷ As seen above, there were all degrees of loss of independence from direct annexation to Rome to the status of those favored cities that received the *foedus aequum*. But the great majority of cities were bound by "inferior" treaties which deprived them of the right of independent interstate relations, national army, and national independence. These theoretical differences of status by treaty, however, were rapidly leveled by the difference in power between Rome and any other city, especially when Rome began to expand beyond Italy, and controlled the entire political, financial, and military resources of the peninsula for her own advantage. In reality, the cities of the whole Italian federation were isolated from each other, related only by their common subjection to Rome. Even the right of local autonomy meant little, in any case where Rome found it to her advantage to interfere.

As to the military obligation, all Roman citizens of both grades, except those in Roman colonies, must serve in the legions, and these also after the close of the third century. All noncitizens throughout the Italian federation must furnish their quota of troops and horses as determined by the Roman consul each year.²⁸ These soldiers, once mobilized, passed entirely out of the control of their native city, though it must provide their pay and equipment, Rome furnishing only their food. The natives served as local officers in the army, but had no hope of promotion to the higher ranks which were monopolized by Romans. The allies were also usually at a disadvantage in the division of the booty.

The noncitizens must also pay for the privilege of being governed by Rome. They were exempt from the special direct tax on capital (real and personal after 312 B.C.) imposed irregularly on all Roman citizens of both grades, but they paid a fully equivalent amount in money and produce. Many cities were also obliged to pay an annual rent (*vectigal*) to Rome for use of part of the public domain (*ager publicus*) which Rome regularly confiscated from a conquered district. Payments in kind were also imposed to meet the expenses, often unduly heavy, of Roman magistrates incident to their travels over Italy. Besides these imposts, an indirect tax, the customs duties (*portoria*), fell alike on all.

Yet the advantages of Italian unity were by no means all on Rome's side, as is evident from the fact that the members of the Italian federation largely remained loyal to the Republic both in its crisis against Pyrrhus and later against Hannibal. The *pax Romana* had ended the chronic condition of interstate and civic strife in Italy, and had made Rome the protector of the federation from

²⁷ For more detail on the following paragraphs, cf. L. Homo, *op. cit.*, pp. 229-244, to whose discussion I am much indebted.

²⁸ The Greek port cities were required to furnish and equip ships.

foreign invaders and pirate raids on Italian coasts. Also, the very character of the federation as no mutual league of Italian states, but an exclusively Roman league with each of the cities, which Rome carefully kept isolated from each other, caused each city to look to Rome for its peculiar privileges. On the other hand, the danger of a too extreme leveling of all to impotence before Rome was wisely obviated by its system of all grades of freedom and privilege below Roman citizenship. The possibility of rising to full citizenship, which Rome never excluded, attracted the more privileged, who coveted all its accruing advantages, political, economic, and social.

Furthermore, all Italy benefited from Rome's development of economic unity that came with political unification through the great network of Roman roads. The economic advancement of Italy was also much stimulated by Rome's extensive public works, drains, aqueducts, bridges, and harbors, and by the direct improvement of agriculture and trade. The Roman unification gave to Italy a new potential power both politically and economically, and all Italians in time would enter into its heritage. The Italian federation, with its 47,200 square miles and its three-quarters of a million men of military age, under the efficient Roman leadership had become the outstanding military power in the whole Mediterranean world.

IX. THE EFFECTS OF EXPANSION ON ROME

The key to the understanding of the development of Roman civilization is Roman expansion and its reflex effects on the Romans. For military and territorial expansion is never an isolated fact in a nation's history, but subtly changes every phase of its internal life for better or worse, and always begets a multitude of new and baffling domestic problems. We must therefore repeatedly reckon with this fact in our study of the Romans, who gradually expanded from a small backwoods rural community to a world empire, through which their government, army, economic and social organization, culture, moral and religious ideals, everyday life, and even the status of every individual citizen were utterly transformed. Intricate problems arose that, never solved, led to the downfall of the nation. But there is an additional fact that makes Roman expansion of peculiar significance not only to Roman but also to Western civilization: the resulting thorough Hellenization of Rome through its conquest of western and eastern Greece and the Hellenistic Orient. A brief consideration of the initial effects of the conquest of Italy is therefore desirable at this point, though any discussion of the constitutional effects must be deferred until the next chapter.²⁹

I. MILITARY EFFECTS AND THE ROMAN MILITARY SYSTEM TO 265 B.C.

We have seen that the chief factor in Rome's success through nearly 250 years of repeated military crises in Italy was her army. The Romans were a nation of fighters. The army was, perhaps, their most fundamental institution,

²⁹ For a detailed analysis of the results, *cf.* Chapter Seven, after Rome's conquest of Carthage, Greece, and the East.

intimately associated with their whole history, constantly shaping it, and being shaped by it. From extempore bodies of chief citizens called from their farms to serve in a brief border skirmish near home, it rapidly developed, in this period of stress, to a paid, thoroughly organized national militia for continuous and distant service, on a basis of universal conscription of all property-holders.

The Romans early learned from the Etruscans and Italian Greeks the long, deep phalanx formation with its armament of long lances and shields. Each citizen must furnish his own armor for the heavy infantry, or serve in the light troops. Expanding military needs made necessary the increasing dependence upon the smaller property-holders both for military service and taxation (*tributum*). Thus the primitive organization by *curiae* was early changed to the centuriate organization³⁰ of the entire citizenship into five census classes on a property basis, as later described. The first class of 80 centuries served in the first four ranks in full armor. The second and third classes (40 centuries) were less fully armed, and the other two (50 centuries) were light armed troops for skirmishing. The first class also furnished 18 centuries of cavalry. Each class was divided into an equal number of juniors (17 to 46 years of age) for field service, and seniors (46 and above) for garrison duty in the city.

During the fourth century, in the struggles with the peoples of the central Apennines, the Romans were obliged to adapt their military organization, tactics, and army to mountain warfare. From their enemies, the Samnites, they learned the manipular formation whereby the legion of 4,000 infantry was divided into 120 (or 60) maniples, with ample space between each division and rank and file for flexible maneuver. The long thrusting pike was discarded for the Samnite javelin (*pilum*) for hurling, and the short sword for hand-to-hand fighting. Cavalry also became a more essential part of the whole organization. The property qualification now became secondary to age and experience, since the state furnished some of the equipment, and universal conscription was required of all citizens from 17 to 46 years of age, who had 4,000 *asses* or more, 16 campaigns in the infantry or 10 in the cavalry. The consuls commanded the army, aided by tribunes of the soldiers and subalterns. The ordinary soldier could not rise above centurion as the captain of a manipule. As Rome extended her control in Italy, the army was divided into legionaries (Roman citizens) and allies, who constituted at first one-half of the entire army.

The Roman army was notable for its iron discipline. The consuls had absolute *imperium* in the field, and the individual was subordinated to the military machine and the interest of the state. The earlier principle of dependence upon a national militia had its drawbacks, but the constant wars and the long term of liability to service, twenty-nine years, developed a large body of seasoned veterans, thoroughly trained. A striking evidence of their discipline compared with that of the Greeks is that, no matter how arduous their day of marching or fighting, at nightfall they must build a thoroughly fortified camp with moat, earthen ramparts, and palisades to secure them from surprise at-

³⁰ The military century was originally 100 men.

tacks. The camp was always built according to fixed rules, so that every soldier knew his exact place and work.³¹

The combination of political and military leadership in the same officials, the consuls, with consecutive service limited to one year, was a distinct handicap to military efficiency. The consuls were primarily civil officials, elected for political rather than military ability, unaccustomed to managing large forces, and sometimes lacking in technical knowledge of tactics and strategy. They frequently bungled and were slow to adapt themselves to extraordinary conditions or the unusual strategy of a hostile military genius. Nevertheless, the requirement of ten campaigns before holding public office insured that by no means would they be inexperienced in military life, and thanks to a thoroughly disciplined army, they were able to "muddle through" many tight places to final success. But the time would come when world expansion would create such overwhelming responsibilities as to necessitate using as military specialists those generals that had proved themselves great.³²

Though the Romans were essentially a peasant people unaccustomed to the sea, they early developed some maritime trade with Massilia, Hellenic Sicily, and even Greece. Their ships must also have been armed as protection against the then prevalent piracy. But the constant internal crises and land campaigns, as well as Roman conservatism, made them slow to develop a navy. Their utter weakness on the sea is well reflected in the late fourth-century treaty with Carthage which practically excluded Rome from western ports, except Sicily and Carthage, and in the still later treaty with Tarentum forbidding Roman ships to pass beyond the Lacinian promontory.³³ As early as 311 B.C. Rome had two naval officials (*duoviri navales*), and by 267 four quaestors of the fleet, and a Roman squadron was sent to Tarentum in 282. Yet the terms of Rome's treaty of alliance in 279 B.C., whereby Carthage agreed to furnish transports and warships against Pyrrhus, and the naval weakness of Rome in the first years of the first Punic War prove that her navy was insignificant until the middle of the third century. Carthage ruled the West Mediterranean, and Roman ships were there only on sufferance.

2. ECONOMIC EFFECTS

As a result of the conquest of Italy also, economic changes of great significance were already in process. The economy of the early Republic was almost entirely agricultural and autonomous. The expulsion of the Etruscan kings had resulted in a marked decrease in Rome's territory and a practical cessation of sea trade. In the treaty with Carthage (509-508), the emphasis is almost wholly on the trade rights of Carthage rather than of Rome.³⁴ When the centuriate assembly was established early in the fifth century, wealth was still reckoned

³¹ For the form of a Roman military camp, see Marquardt, *Handbuch der römischen Alterthümer*, Vol. VI, p. 104.

³² For an interesting detailed analysis of the Roman army in the second century by a contemporary Greek who knew it at first hand, see Polybius, VI, 19-42.

³³ The need for such a treaty is good evidence of a fairly extensive Roman commerce, however.

³⁴ If the traditional date must be shifted to a century and a half later, this is all the more significant.

only in terms of land. What little trade existed was by barter or at best by the use of copper ingots weighed for each transaction. Rome had no state coinage until the middle of the fourth century, and then only copper, though Etruscan and Greek coinage circulated there to some extent. Early foreign coins found in Rome are very rare, since the city was not in the currents of Italian trade until about the middle of the fourth century.

By 265 B.C., at the completion of the conquest of the peninsula, Rome was still largely agrarian. The repeated additions of new vast tracts of rich land to the *ager publicus* kept the agricultural interest of the Romans predominant. Land rather than trade or industry continued to be their chief investment. Agriculture was very much more developed both extensively and intensively. New and more scientific methods of farming were learned from the Greeks. New agricultural products were introduced, and vine and olive culture began to appear. The growth of large estates, made more possible by the expansion of slavery, was in process, and the agrarian problem, due to the monopoly of the best public lands by the patricians, was becoming acute.⁸⁵

The influx of new wealth, however, and the broader contact with the world that came with expansion brought knowledge of new products, creating new wants and the beginnings of rude luxury. With territorial came trade expansion. The needed supplies for a large army and for the growing needs of an expanding state made necessary extensive imports. The centuries of self-sufficiency were giving place to dependence on a larger world. Rome took over the coast cities in Latium and Campania and established maritime colonies on both the west and the Adriatic coasts and even at Ostia at the mouth of the Tiber by the middle of the fourth century. Expansion brought increasing contact with the highly developed sea trade, money economy and industry of Etruria and the Greek cities. A new commercial interest is evident in the later Roman treaties with Carthage. The beginnings of a Roman navy appeared, and finally with the conquest of Magna Graecia the Republic faced an era of commercial and naval expansion.

With wider trade and more intimate contacts with the Greek states came the beginnings of a money economy for Rome and the necessity of a state coinage. The first Roman coinage, about the middle of the fourth century, was the copper *as* weighing a pound of twelve ounces. During the wars with the Samnites and Pyrrhus, silver drachmas from Campania and Magna Graecia circulated in Rome, but the constant rise in the price of copper relative to silver due to the war made necessary the gradual debasement of the *as* to only one-sixth of its original weight. As at Athens, in the days of Solon, the transition to a money standard in Rome was a cause of much suffering, debt, and social discontent among the poorer farmers. After the defeat of Pyrrhus (269-268) the old bronze *as* became obsolete, and Rome now established a real state system of silver coinage. The unit was still the two ounce bronze *as*, with the ratio of bronze to silver at 120:1. The silver unit was the *denarius*, corresponding to the Attic drachma, with a value of ten bronze *asses* (about twenty cents). A smaller silver piece was the *sestertius*, equal to one-fourth of a

⁸⁵ See Chapter Four on this problem, and Livy's account of it.

denarius. Before the end of the century the Roman denarius, instead of the Greek drachma, became the standard throughout the entire peninsula, and even the Greek cities ceased their independent coinage except for copper, which Rome still permitted.

In their family life the Romans had probably not yet changed much from that of the early Republic. The one large hall (*atrium*) still served all the purposes for home life of master and family, including the servants. The fare was still of the simplest, hard wheat cakes or oatmeal porridge, beans, vegetables, and fruits, with meat only for festival days. Olive oil served for butter, and wine diluted with water was the common beverage. The old solidarity of the family under the authority of the father, the early ideals of family life, and the dignified but limited status of the Roman matron had also probably changed but little before 265 B.C.

3. CULTURAL EFFECTS

Before the conquest of Magna Graecia the education of the Roman boy was in the hands of his father without the aid of a tutor. It was extremely narrow and vocational, moral, limited to physical and military training, lessons in agriculture, the inculcation of cleanliness, order, obedience, self-control, endurance, dignity, reverence for elders, *pietas*, or loyalty to parents and national heroes, *gravitas* (seriousness), pride in family tradition, reverence for ancestral custom (*mos maiorum*), and devotion to the commonweal. Only the merest elements of reading and writing were included. It was an education for life in a simple community of stolid, unimaginative, practical Roman farmers with little mental initiative, and conservatively satisfied with their customary routine. The only literature as a basis for the education of the youth was the laws of the Twelve Tables in their crabbed Latin, a few treatises, funeral eulogies, sepulchral inscriptions, and later some beginnings of political oratory, such as the specimen from Appius Claudius (279 B.C.) preserved for us by Livy. Contrast the masterpieces of Homer that served for the earliest education of the Greek boy. Through contact with Hellenic culture in Magna Graecia and later in Greece, Roman literature was to find its beginning in crude Latin translations and imitations of Greek classics, epic, tragedy, and comedy.³⁶

The unimaginative, practical Roman religion, with its impersonal gods, intense conservatism, and pedantic ritualism, had early received Hellenic influence through the Etruscans, and directly from Campania. The Roman gods were being identified with the Greek divinities, and were taking on their personal character. More intimate contact with the Greeks brought much more direct and extensive influence. Roman ritual became more rich and colorful, the gods grew more human, and anthropomorphic, and the luxurious poetic myth and legend of Hellas, with its stories of the intimate relation between gods and men, became Roman. Soon, with wider expansion, Hellenistic philosophies and religious mysticism and skepticism would invade conservative Rome, transforming and undermining its traditional religion and ethics.

³⁶ For detail on early Roman literature, see Chapter Seven.

Chapter Four

THE CONSTITUTIONAL AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT OF ROME RESULTING FROM ITALIAN EXPANSION (c. 509-287 B.C.)

The long ordeal of foreign wars and crises incident to Rome's expansion in Italy was inseparable from an internal ordeal, the centuries of bitter strife between patricians and plebeians. Each struggle conditioned the other, and through their interaction the whole constitutional and social structure of the young Republic was gradually transformed. These internal changes can therefore be understood only in the light of the contemporary Italian conquest. Through the growing military and administrative needs of the state due to expansion, the machinery of government became far more complex; through the vast tracts of rich public land gained by expansion, the conflict between the classes for its exploitation became much more acute; and through the military necessities arising from expansion and foreign crises, the patricians were repeatedly obliged to yield to the demands of the plebeians, whereby they finally attained full civic, social, economic, and religious equality. These facts will be fully illustrated in the following analysis.

I. THE EARLIEST CONSTITUTION OF THE REPUBLIC

The passing of the kings was at first a distinct misfortune for the plebeians, who thereby lost their protectors against aristocratic oppression. For the early Republic was no popular government, but a narrow oligarchy run by and for patricians. Yet even from the first, the Romans recognized the basic principle of the final sovereignty of the citizenship, since theoretically the authority of a magistrate (*imperium*) was conferred by a vote of the people in their assembly, confirming the nomination of him by his predecessor. In the early Republic, however, there was slight disposition to challenge the magistrate's authority.

The constitution of the early Republic differed from that of the kingdom only in substituting for the king two patrician magistrates chosen annually, called at first praetors and later consuls. These retained the royal prerogatives of *imperium* and *auspicium* (the authority to take the auspices). Like the kings, they were at first the commanders of the army, supreme administrators, judges, and high priests. Like the kings also, they nominated their successors, and summoned the assembly when occasion demanded. Even the emblems of royalty, such as the purple, curule chair, and attending lictors with *fascēs* symbolic of *imperium*, were retained, except that the ax, giving the power of life and death, could not be borne within the city. Their power was also limited

by the two basic principles of Roman magistracies, annuality and collegiality. After serving one year they must return to their peers in the patrician senate to face the responsibility for their official acts, and they might also limit each other by veto. By recognized custom, also, they were expected to take counsel of the senate in important matters of state, and almost from the first a citizen had the right of appeal to the assembly from a consul's decree of capital punishment. Though the Roman magistracy was collegial, the group did not act by majority vote, even in those magistracies which later included more than two members. Each had the full *imperium*, and each might nullify the other's act, yet such a seemingly clumsy system worked fairly well, for the consuls alternated the authority in the field, and in case of a deadlock the senate might be called upon to decide. Divided authority, however, was often a handicap in war.¹

In grave foreign or domestic crises a dictator, for a term not to exceed six months, was substituted for the two consuls. As possessing sole and absolute authority, he was attended by the entire twenty-four lictors with rods and axes both within and outside the city. The dictatorship was practically equivalent to a temporary decree of martial law. Especially during the fifth century, when Rome was surrounded by enemies and often on the offensive, the device was frequently resorted to. But it was also a convenient party weapon of patricians against the rebellion of the plebeians.

The senate, the stronghold of patrician power, was composed of 300 heads of the patrician *gentes*, nominated for life by the consuls. As under the kings, it was only an advisory body to the magistrates. Its sanction was necessary to the validity of acts of the assembly. It might settle a dispute between the consuls, and in the extreme case of the loss of both consuls it appointed an *interrex* until new consuls were chosen. But its powers were at first merely advisory, and only custom required the consuls to call it in consultation. By this very fact, however, the senate, as the center of patrician privilege and magisterial experience, and as the only permanent body to undertake continuous political and military responsibility, gradually became the most important power in the state. But the history of the Republic to 287 B.C. is, on the whole, an era of the power of the magistrates.

The *comitia curiata*, also a heritage from the kingdom, comprised all the citizens, including plebeians, but as the old clan assembly, it was dominated by the heads of clans. The vote was by a majority of *curiae*, not by individuals, and if the plebeians had a vote, the organization was such that it meant little. The assembly voted on nominations of magistrates and important matters of state such as peace or war that the consuls saw fit to present for its consideration. It had no power to initiate legislation, and its action might be vetoed by the senate on technical grounds. Early in the history of the Republic, it was superseded by the *comitia centuriata*, retaining only certain religious functions and the formal right to confer the *imperium* on elected magistrates.

In early Rome civic religion was an essential part of the machinery of government. All important public acts such as the opening of the assemblies must

¹ Cf. below, p. 63, n. 10, for further explanation of the college according to the consular *Fasti*.

be preceded by religious ritual with which the magistrate must be familiar. Since the ritual was pedantically technical and known only to patricians, it long served as another obstacle to the admission of plebeians to the magistracies.

The shock of the overthrow of the kingdom was somewhat relieved not only by granting full *imperium* to the consuls but by continuing the *rex* (king) as a strictly religious functionary. Soon after, he became merely the king of the sacrifices, *rex sacrorum*. The head of the state religion was henceforth the *Pontifex Maximus*, assisted by a college of priests and by certain priestly guilds for specific ceremonials. The *Pontifex Maximus* was elected by the assembly; the other priests gained office by nomination or co-optation. The important political service of divination was performed by the college of augurs under the authority of the consuls. Like the Greeks, the Romans never developed a separate priestly caste. Their priests were state officials, the same as the magistrates and senators. Thus no priestly hierarchy ever dominated the state as in the ancient Orient, and the public religion became an increasingly formal affair.

II. THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CONSTITUTION TO 287 B.C.

I. THE CENTURIATE ASSEMBLY

The organization of the army into centuries for purely military and financial purposes may well have been accomplished under the last Etruscan kings. In any event, early in the fifth century a political assembly of the centuries (*comitia centuriata*), based on a previous military organization of the citizenship, assumed the legislative, elective, and judicial functions of the old *comitia curiata*. Such a political organization of the whole citizenship on a military basis was dangerous to exclusive patrician privilege, but the critical situation of Rome, surrounded by enemies throughout the early Republic, made the inclusion of the plebeians absolutely necessary. The patricians, therefore, saw to it that wealthy classes should dominate in the vote.

In its completed form² the whole citizenship, patricians and plebeians, was organized into centuries³ on the basis of property in land. The assembly was divided into five classes, according to their relative wealth, each having an allotted number of centuries for voting purposes. The centuries were also divided equally between seniors (46 years of age or above) and juniors (under 46). The number of centuries allotted to the respective classes were 80, 20, 20, 20, and 30. Outside the five classes were 18 centuries of cavalry (first class), 2 of skilled artisans (second class), 2 of bandsmen (fourth class), and 1 century of proletarians (landless citizens). The vote in the assembly was by centuries. Since the first class, with the 18 centuries of cavalry, had a majority (98) of the total of the 193 centuries, and since they had the privilege of voting first,

² The organization did not reach its final form until the late fourth century when the basis of reckoning was changed from landed property to the copper *as*. The classes ranged then from a property value of 100,000 *asses* to 11,000 (Livy) or 12,500 (Dionysius).

³ The term now came to signify a voting group of indefinite number.

the patricians, if unanimous, could easily control the assembly. At first, however, the military and financial duties were fairly proportionate to privilege. The number of centuries assigned to each class probably corresponded to the number of centuries of soldiers furnished. Each soldier must provide his own equipment, and this expense increased with the class. Also, the *tributum*, or general property tax, was imposed on all in proportion to their wealth. The fifth class was in the light infantry, and the proletarians were exempt from military service except in time of crisis.⁴ The significant fact is that before the close of the fifth century there was no distinction between patricians and plebeians as regards taxation and military service in proportion to their property. The military crises of Rome in Italy had rendered absolutely necessary the growing extension of all state burdens to the plebeians, which fact made their gradual advance to full equality with the patricians inevitable.

The centuriate assembly elected the magistrates, accepted or rejected proposals presented to it by the consuls, had the right to declare war,⁵ and served as a final court of appeal for citizens against the death sentence pronounced by a magistrate. Until late in the fourth century, however, custom probably demanded that its decisions be ratified by the patrician senate before having the validity of established law. At first also it was wholly dependent for summons on the patrician magistrates, except in the matter of war and judicial appeal.

2. THE NEW MAGISTRACIES

Meanwhile, to meet the insistent demands of the plebeians for political rights, and the growing military and administrative responsibilities of a fast-expanding state, new magistracies were created, which relieved the consuls of some functions or performed new ones created by the new conditions. About the middle of the fifth century the two *quaestors*, previously mere assistants of the consuls and appointed by them, were given the dignity of independent magistrates, elected by the assembly. In the year 421 the number was doubled, two taking charge of the public treasury as *quaestores aerarii* and two assisting the consuls on campaigns. The booty from war and the growing complexity of public finance made necessary this division of labor. Another reason for the increase may have been the opening of the office to the plebeians about this time.⁶ With the break in the sole authority of the consulship by the establishment of a new magistracy, the Romans initiated a principle that was to be basic in the whole constitution of the Republic as new magistracies arose, the *cursus honorum*, or official career from the lowest to the highest offices.

Contemporary with the establishment of the quaestorship as a magistracy, the two plebeian aediles, formerly subordinates of the tribunes, were raised to the status of elected officials, chosen by the plebeian assembly. They had oversight of public places, streets, public works, and games, supervised markets

⁴ The five classes were not necessarily created simultaneously, but may well have been added gradually.

⁵ The senate also assumed increasing power in war and peace, as we shall see.

⁶ Though no plebeian seems to have served until 409. As a result of the conquest of Magna Graecia, the number was again doubled in 267. During the first century it was raised to twenty and finally in 45 B.C. to forty.

and the grain supply, and acted as police in the city.⁷ Since their powers also affected the patricians, a curule aedileship, open only to patricians, was established in 366, but soon after plebeians were admitted to it in alternate years. The two colleges had practically the same functions, but probably served in different districts in the city, and no member in either college could veto the acts of the other. The sacrosanct privilege of the plebeian aediles was later lost, and they finally gained admission to the senate as magistrates.

About 435 (443) the growing burdens on the consuls, their frequent absence on campaigns, and the increasing importance of the census due to the development of the centuriate organization made necessary the establishment of a new patrician magistracy, the censorship.⁸ Only ex-consuls were eligible for election, but the office did not have *imperium*, and hence was not attended by lictors. It was another commission of two elected by the centuriate assembly at the opening of each five-year period to serve eighteen months. Originally, their chief duty was to take the census of the citizens and their property so as to determine their relative obligation to military service and property tax on the basis of the five census classes. All citizens were summoned to appear in the Campus Martius, even though exempt from service. At the conclusion of the census the censor performed a lustral sacrifice of a boar, ram, and bull (*suovetaurilia* [Pl. IV]), dismissed the citizenship, deposited his census lists, drove a nail into the wall of a certain temple, and laid down his office. Any unfinished business was attended to during the remainder of the five-year period by the other magistrates.

The censors early acquired the management of public finance, both the collection of revenues and public expenditure, duties which became very weighty when Rome expanded beyond Italy. They later farmed out the taxes in the provinces to the highest bidder, disposed of the public lands by sale or rent, sold state concessions, let contracts for public works in Rome and on the Italian roads, and settled disputes as to taxation between the citizens and the state or its contractors. By the close of the fourth century the censors had acquired the important duty of compiling the actual roll of senators by inquiry into their daily life, character, and property. This was a natural development from their detailed inquiry into the affairs of the citizens in the census. As a result, the censors became general supervisors of public morals, through which fact the term took on its modern meaning. Some of them later considered themselves as conservers of the old rugged Roman ideals against the socially disintegrative tendencies that came with expanding world contacts. The censorship was practically unaccountable to the people, though the fact that joint action was necessary in each case placed some limitation on irresponsible measures. As a result of Roman expansion, the office gained vast political and moral significance, and was above all other magistracies in dignity. After the year 351 one of the censors might be a plebeian, and a few years later this became obligatory.

⁷ For tribunes and plebeian assemblies, *cf.* below, Sec. III. The aediles were technically not magistrates until later. The word *aedile* (*aedes*, building) indicates that they had supervision of public buildings from the first. Their slight judicial powers were soon lost.

⁸ An additional reason was the desire to reserve some of the functions of the consulship for patricians, since the plebeians were admitted to the consular military tribunate the year previous.

In the year 436 (444) the critical military situation that required an increase in the number of magistrates with *imperium* caused the creation of a board of military tribunes of consular rank.⁹ The usual number in the board was three or four until the year 405, during the siege of Veii, when the number was raised to six, which continued to be regular thereafter. They had full consular *imperium*, but unlike the consuls could not delegate their authority and did not enjoy the special privileges of ex-consuls. In the year 362 (366) after ten years of stubborn patrician opposition, the consulship was permanently restored, with the provision that one consul should be a plebeian.

As compensation for yielding exclusive control of the consulship and their preferred position in the distribution of the public land at this time, the patricians gained two new elective magistracies, the praetorship and the curule aedileship. The return to the system of two consuls instead of six military tribunes also made necessary the creation of a new magistracy with *imperium* to relieve the military and administrative burdens of the consuls. The praetor was at first different from all other Roman magistrates in having no colleague, but he was then considered to be a colleague of the two consuls.¹⁰ As such, he held the *imperium*, but was attended by only six lictors, and later, with the increase in the number of praetors, by only two. A colleague was added in the year 242, and the number was later raised to four (227) and six (197) in order to furnish provincial governors.

The praetor *urbanus* was the administrative officer in the city in the absence of the consuls, and served as judge in civil suits.¹¹ In case of emergency he might also assume command in the field. The second praetor was given charge over suits involving strangers in the city, and hence was called praetor *peregrinus*. The praetor's primary function was thus the administration of justice in Rome, and later throughout Italy and the provinces. At the beginning of his term of office the praetor published an annual edict (*edictum perpetuum*), stating how he would interpret certain laws and how he would rule in certain doubtful cases. Each succeeding praetor continued most of the previous edicts with additions or changes that seemed advisable. It was largely through these edicts that the great system of Roman civil and criminal law was developed during the Republic. In the same manner, through the edicts of the praetor *peregrinus*, was developed the Roman *jus gentium* (law of nations) for dealing with foreign peoples.

As stated above, annuality was a basic principle of Roman magistracies, and after the year 342 a ten-year interval was required before re-election. In view of Rome's extensive military campaigns, often on several fronts at once, this law was utterly impractical. The annual change in leadership proved to be of increasing inconvenience through the loss of experienced leaders in the midst

⁹ Tribunes of soldiers in high command had existed from the beginning of the Republic, so that it was only necessary for the centuriate assembly to invest some of these with the political powers of the consul.

¹⁰ Perhaps the best explanation on the basis of the consular *Fasti* is that, in 366, the college was standardized, and two men set apart as consuls and another as praetor. All may well originally have been *praetores*, so that the college was never only two in number before this.

¹¹ After the establishment of courts called *Quaestiones perpetuae* to try provincial governors accused of extortion, their jurisdiction was extended to criminal cases.

of critical military operations. During the campaign at Naples in 325 (326),¹² therefore, the senate, for the first time, prolonged the command of the consul in the field after the expiration of his term, not as a consul, but "in place of a consul" (*pro consule*). Resorted to rarely at first, it later became a regular occurrence. Thus arose the promagistracy, first the proconsulship, and later the proprætorship, to meet the exigencies of military expansion. After 81 B.C. the consuls and prætors regularly remained in Rome as civil magistrates for one year, after which they were sent to the provinces as military governors for a second year. A plausible reason for the later growth of the promagistracy was the reluctance of the senate, as the citadel of special privilege for ex-magistrates, to multiply the number of magistrates needed as provincial governors.¹³

This lengthening of the term of office was a sinister prophecy of the later dictatorships of Roman generals for indefinite periods, the domination of the civil by the military power, and the final substitution of one-man rule for republican government. The combination of civil and military administration in the same office of consul or prætor often made for inefficient military leadership at first, and later led to military domination over the civil government, since a consul or prætor as military governor exercised practically unlimited authority in his province. At first the danger was checked by the senate's control of appointments, supply of troops, finance, and foreign affairs, and by the fact that the promagistrate must later return to the senate and render an account of his stewardship. But eventually the ambition of the generals broke over all constitutional barriers and dominated the state.

In summary, by the beginning of the third century, the development of the magistracy was practically complete. It consisted of a series of colleges, elected annually, each, except the quaestors, who were associated with the consuls, having a distinct jurisdiction. Within each college each magistrate acted independently, but deadlock was partially avoided by the consuls alternating the power in Rome each month, and when in the field each day. If the situation became serious, a dictator was appointed. Election to the magistracies followed a regular required order later called the *cursus honorum*, from quaestors, aediles, censors, and prætors to consuls, and censors who were usually ex-consuls. Only the consuls, prætors, and an occasional dictator possessed *imperium*, by which they could command the army, summon the assembly, and have jurisdiction over civil and criminal cases. But all magistrates had the power of arrest by which they could enforce order in the city. The high powers of the magistracy and the reverence for constituted authority and law in this first period of the Roman Republic reflect well the practical sense and solid conservatism of the early Roman both individually and in his relation to the state. As yet, Rome was like the ancient Greek city-states, in the direct relation of the citizen to his government; in the non-separation of powers, administrative, legal, and judicial, or political and military; and in making no distinction between the notion of the state and its government or political personnel. But it differed markedly in its size, with an adult male citizenship of

¹² One Roman tradition makes the first case as early as 465 B.C.

¹³ See F. B. Marsh, *The Founding of the Roman Empire*, 2d ed., Oxford, 1927.

about 350,000; in its conservative regard for law and custom; and in the balance of social classes and of the parts of the government, the initiative being held by the higher magistrates, controlled by the exclusive senate as an effective check on the supremacy of the democratic assemblies. But this constitutional equilibrium was later to be rudely shattered by territorial expansion beyond Italy and by party strife between the senate and the people in the assemblies for political control and agrarian advantage.

III. THE STRUGGLE OF THE ORDERS

Coincident with the development of the magistracies, and a significant factor in the process, was the struggle of the plebeians with patricians for political and social equality through which the whole organization of the state was gradually transformed. Like the development of the magistracies, it was largely determined by the exigencies of the military situation in the early Republic. With the overthrow of the kings, the status of the plebeians became much more precarious, since the patricians, now unchecked, had exclusive control over magistracy, senate, and assembly, with military dictatorship in reserve for a crisis. In the prolonged struggle every plebeian advance was bitterly contested by the patricians, who had the initial advantage of tradition, wealth, individual and class prestige, political experience, monopoly control of the whole machinery of government, and the support of a large body of clients. But as a result of class exclusiveness, the patricians had decreased greatly in numbers by 366 B.C., while the clients of the defunct families swelled the numbers of the plebeians. Meanwhile, there arose among the plebeians an increasing number who could vie with the patricians in property and ability, and who became ever more insistent in their demands for political and social recognition for their class.

The determining factor in the plebeian advances, however, was the ever-growing need of men and money to meet the acute foreign crises which repeatedly threatened the very existence of the state. This demand must increasingly fall on the plebeians, and with growing state burdens in tax and military service must inevitably come new state privileges. The foreign crises were usually associated with domestic crises, the threat of civil war, and the refusal of the plebeians to fight the battles of the state until new concessions were granted. The social discontent was enhanced by the growing burden of debt on the small cultivators, due to absence on military campaigns and the property tax. This was greatly aggravated by the harsh custom of enslavement for debt. Persistent tradition of repeated unsuccessful attempts of ambitious patricians to capitalize on the conditions by seizing political control is sufficient evidence of such social discontent.¹⁴

The struggle centered about the following disabilities of the plebeians. Politically, they lacked any recognized organization or representation as a class and were excluded from all political office in senate or magistracy, while their vote in the assembly counted for nothing. Judicially and legally, they were utterly at the mercy of the patrician judges, since the legal custom was still uncodi-

¹⁴ For example, Spurius Cassius (478), Spurius Maelius (431), and Marcus Manlius (376).

fied and known only to the patricians. Economically, besides the problem of debt, they were at a grave disadvantage in the distribution of the *ager publicus* gained through Italian expansion, since the patricians had exclusive control and reserved the most extensive and the choicest lands for themselves. This was also an obstacle to the political advance of the plebeians as it affected their status in the census classes. Thus the agrarian problem became ever more acute as one of the chief sources of social discontent. Religiously, their ignorance of the pedantic technicalities of the civic worship excluded them from the priestly offices, and since all political procedure was introduced by religious forms, this served as another barrier to political recognition. Socially, also, they were constantly faced with their inferior status by their exclusion from the privilege of intermarriage with patrician families. By the year 287, through repeated concessions and compromises won from the patricians, all these disabilities were removed, and the two old orders were on a basis of substantial equality. Meanwhile, the standard of class distinction had shifted from patrician birth and property in land to general wealth and the tradition of officeholding in the family.

I. THE TRIBUNATE AND THE "COMITIA TRIBUTA"

According to Diodorus, the first advance of the plebeians was in securing protection against unjust or oppressive acts by patrician magistrates. In 471 B.C.¹⁵ they won from the patricians the election of four tribunes of the plebs, who could protect all who appealed to them even against the magistrate in the exercise of his regular functions. The tribunes were supported in their authority by an oath of the plebeians declaring accursed and to be put to death without trial any person who acted contrary to the tribune's veto or violated the sanctity of his person. The name was probably derived from the plebeian tribunes of the soldiers (*tribuni militum*), who had probably led them in the revolution.¹⁶

The establishment of the tribune involved also the recognition by the patricians of a legally constituted plebeian assembly on a tribal basis for their annual election. The number of tribunes, four, suggests that, originally, this assembly was composed of the citizens of the four city regions or tribes, and that the tribunate was established through the influence of the city plebs. The tribal assembly was presided over by tribunes. Whether there were two tribal assemblies, one including patricians, *comitia tributa*, and presided over by a magistrate, and another, *concilium plebis*, strictly plebeian, and presided over by a tribune, is still unsettled, but it seems improbable.¹⁷

The tribunes were at first assisted by plebeian aediles, who were also elected

¹⁵ The Livy tradition, apparently later, sets the date at 494 B.C., as a result of a Volscian crisis, when two tribunes were appointed, and merely attributes the doubling of the number to 471 B.C.

¹⁶ The *tribuni plebis* should not be confused with the *tribuni militum* or the *tribuni militares*. (See below.)

¹⁷ Roman tradition makes no mention of the establishment of a tribal assembly including patricians and does not distinguish clearly between the *comitia tributa* and *concilium plebis*. With the later passing of the old distinction between plebeian and patrician, the tribal assembly may have been attended by all citizens, and presided over by either a magistrate or a tribune. Cf., however, Botsford, *Roman Assemblies*, who presents some plausible reasons for two tribal assemblies.

by the tribal assembly, but these soon developed separate functions as magistrates. Henceforth, the plebeians were no inchoate mass. They had their own recognized political organization, a tribal assembly, and elected officers to lead them in their future struggle for equality. The compromise had resulted in a double set of political institutions for Rome, whose only remote analogy is the Spartan Ephorate.

Since not only the plebeian assembly but also the *comitia curiata* and eventually the *centuriata* was organized on a tribal basis, some knowledge of the development and meaning of the Roman tribes is necessary to an understanding of the functioning of the assemblies. The original three (city) tribes which were expanded to four probably before the fall of the kingdom, included only patricians. In the early years of the Republic seventeen rural tribes were added. On the organization of the citizenship by centuries for military purposes, all freemen with landed property from two acres and upward were included, regardless of their membership in a clan.¹⁸ At intervals during the fourth century new tribes were added with Rome's expansion, bringing the number to thirty-three. The final addition of two was in 241 B.C., making a total of thirty-five. Thereafter, new citizens were apportioned among old tribes. In 312 Appius Claudius admitted landless freemen and freedmen to the tribes, but in the conservative reaction of 304 they were all assigned to the four urban tribes, which were now so large that individual votes were of slight avail. Thus was the position of the senate and nobility strengthened.

The above account reveals the importance of the tribe as a political unit in the Roman constitution, since the three assemblies were based on it. Membership in a tribe was the mark of citizenship and was indicated in the legal name. It was at first determined by residence or ownership of land, but change of residence did not involve a change of tribe, unless one settled in a colony. By the close of the fourth century the property basis was broadened from land to general wealth. The crowding of the landless masses into the four urban tribes in 304 by the aristocrats so as to retain control of the government and keep the rural interests in power is an early example of other such cases of manipulation of the tribes which we will later have occasion to notice. As Rome expanded over Italy and new citizens were added, their assignment to tribes became of vital interest to the older citizenship and the ruling class.

The tribune was not a magistrate and bore no insignia of office. His function was at first purely negative, to veto any act of a magistrate or colleague, and to intervene against the passage of any law that seemed inimicable to plebeian individual or collective interest. He could legally inflict death on a magistrate who persisted in a vetoed act, but his own person was inviolable. These two advantages, together with the frequent foreign crises, aided the growth of his power. But his veto was at first only upon overt acts within the city, not upon legislation, and must be presented in person, on appeal of a plebeian, at the moment of action. He was also checked by his colleagues, and his power, like that of the magistrates, was temporarily abrogated under a dictatorship. He must not absent himself from the city for a whole night, and

¹⁸ Cf. above, Sec. II, 1, for the organization and functioning of the centuriate assembly.

must keep his door always open. The increase of the number of tribunes to ten¹⁹ greatly expanded their protective power. The plebeian assembly was now formally organized as an Assembly of the Tribes, and included all rural as well as urban tribes. The following year (448), by the Valerio-Horatian laws, the acts of the plebeian assembly were probably made valid as law, if accepted by the senate.²⁰ These were called *plebiscita* in distinction from *leges* passed by the assembly, presided over by a magistrate. This meant that the plebeians could now initiate legislation. It was the first momentous step in the transformation of the tribunate from a purely negative to a positive function. As the tribunes were generally public prosecutors also, the plebeian assembly became a court for trial of magistrates.

Between this time and 366 (362) the tribunate in its relation to the senate and magistrates was greatly changed. The increase to ten and the bitter struggle of the plebeians for admission to the consulship during this period made conflicts in government more frequent. Peaceable opposition by the tribune to a proposal was recognized to be more practical than his use of force against its execution after its passage. Thus arose the custom of permitting the tribunes to sit in the senate, instead of outside as before, so as to raise formal objection to proposed legislation there. This at first greatly enhanced the power and initiative of the tribunes in legislation. The senate even sometimes requested them to present senatorial proposals to the plebeian assembly for its approval. By 287 B.C. they had gained the right even to convoke the senate and lay matters before it, since the senate hoped thereby to accustom them to presenting proposals direct to that body for approval before bringing them to the assembly. After the Hortensian law (287) made fully valid for all citizens the acts of the tribal assembly without the consent of the senate, the tribunes rapidly became practically magistrates, and later in the century were given the official rank of senators. With the final admission of the plebeians to all magistracies, the tribunes were no longer the representatives of a class, but of the rights of the whole citizenship against the encroachment of the state. But being elected by an exclusively plebeian assembly, they never became technically magistrates.

As will appear later, the development of these general and positive functions of the tribunate destroyed its original purpose. By the early third century the tribunes had become subservient instruments of the senate.²¹ Instead of seeking to abolish the office, the aristocratic senate nullified it by making it finally a mere step in the *cursus honorum*. The senators could also usually persuade at least one tribune to veto any obnoxious act of his colleagues. It was this evil result that the Gracchi sought to end in 133 B.C. by restoring the old popular leadership of the tribunes.

¹⁹ Probably in 449 (442) after the overthrow of the second Decemvirate and restoration of the plebeian tribunate; cf. below.

²⁰ These laws also re-established the earlier guarantee of the right of appeal to the assembly from the decision of a magistrate in cases of life or death.

²¹ Livy, X, 37, 11, *mancipia nobilium*.

2. THE DECENVIRATE AND THE CODIFICATION OF THE LAW

By the middle of the fifth century the plebeians made another distinct advance through the codification and publication of the law: They had long been totally at the mercy of the patricians who alone knew and interpreted the unwritten custom. As early as 444 (451) B.C. a tribune proposed that a commission be elected to codify the laws. The patricians stubbornly fought to keep their monopoly, but were finally obliged to compromise. A decade later a commission of ten men, *decemviri*, was elected for one year to accomplish the task, during which time both consulate and tribunate were abrogated. At the close of their term, a second commission was elected to complete the work. Their conduct became so obnoxious to the plebs that they staged another secession,²² resulting in the overthrow of the decemvirs and the restoration of the consulate and tribunate. The number of tribunes was now raised to ten, their power was definitely recognized as legal by the patricians, and the old right of appeal to the assembly from the decision of the magistrate in capital cases was confirmed.

Twelve tables of law were produced, ten by the first commission and two by the second. These were now accepted as law by the centuriate assembly and published as *Leges XII Tabularum*, so that henceforth the law was known and common to the entire citizenship. Livy calls the Twelve Tables the "source of all public and private law," but they seem to have been almost entirely devoid of constitutional provisions, and many branches of law receive only incidental mention. The code was civil and criminal, with some regulations as to legal procedure.²³ Some forty-odd fragments of the laws have survived, as cited by Cicero, Roman antiquarians, and jurists. Some of these show close similarity with the Solonian and other Greek legislation, but this is due to the influence of the Greek cities in southern Italy. The story of a visit of a commission to Athens to study the laws of Solon is perhaps a later legend. Most of the known laws were clearly native and original.

The Tables were destroyed by the Gauls in the sack of Rome, but were doubtless soon after renewed. According to Cicero, the Roman boys were required to memorize them in the school, a striking contrast between early Roman education and that of the early Greeks who learned to read from the immortal epics of Homer. As the basis of early Roman education and the first stage in the development of the splendid system of Roman law, the code is of momentous historical significance. Naturally, however, it reflects the narrow interests and to some degree the crude language of a primitive peasant state of the fifth century, though the citations by later Roman writers have

²² The story of Virginia by Livy, made famous by Macaulay, is of course a later legend.

²³ Until the end of the nineteenth century the Tables were universally accepted as authentic. In 1898 Ettore Pais, *Storia di Roma*, Turin, I, 566 f., presented the theory that they were a private compilation of about 312 B.C., and that the whole account of the early decemvirate legislation was a later invention to magnify the authority of the laws. Others have argued for a still later date (197 B.C.). But the weight of evidence is against such theories, and most competent scholars still accept the early date of the code as authentic. On the whole problem, see L. Homo, *Roman Political Institutions*, p. 46, n. 1.

lost much of their archaic form. The language is terse and falls easily into a rhythm that must have aided the memory.

The laws²⁴ probably represent the earlier traditional usage with little softening of their original harshness. They are almost entirely absolute imperatives without qualifications, and the forms for suits to recover claims, and for sales, wills, and other business dealings are elaborately technical and formal. As is common in an early society, crimes of violence against the public order are emphasized, and the secular punishments are extremely harsh, though the number of crimes punishable by death is quite limited. Death is inflicted by flogging, hanging, beheading, burning at the stake, or casting from the Tarpeian rock. Bribery, libel, slander, sorcery, and even theft are capital crimes. The rights of property are sternly placed above human life, and theft is worse than violence. Yet usury is punished, and interest is restricted to ten per cent a year. Just dealing is insisted upon, and even business agreements by word of mouth are legally valid.

The creditor may still bind his insolvent debtor with fetters of not over fifteen pounds' weight and may finally put him to death or sell him into slavery. In case there are several creditors, they may cut him to pieces. The code still recognized the power of life and death of the father over his wife and family, and the widow must obey her deceased husband's heir. The law of blood revenge (*lex talionis*), or the right of self-help, is still recognized in case reparation is refused. "If a man break the limb of another, and make not satisfaction, let there be retaliation" (*talio*). But the principle of "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth" is somewhat mitigated by leaving the way open for a money payment. The son may still be sold into temporary slavery by his father, though some amelioration of the older custom appears in that he is freed from the *patria potestas* after the third sale. Other examples are the law granting thirty days of grace before the infliction of a penalty imposed by the praetor, the new forms of wills and the new laws of marriage, more flexible for the plebeians and not so bound by religious ceremony, though intermarriage between patricians and plebeians is still forbidden. There is also a tendency to prefer the later to the earlier form of an enactment, so as to protect from the oppressive use of precedent by the magistrate. The primitive usage of distinguishing between the values of persons is still followed. For example, the fine for maiming a freeman is twice that for maiming a slave. Sumptuary regulations are strongly emphasized, such as legislation against too much show of gold or wealth at funerals,²⁵ and the prohibition against women disfiguring themselves in mourning for the dead. On the whole, the fragments of the Twelve Tables represent the best source material for our knowledge of the state of Roman economy and society in the fifth century B.C.

3. THE CANULEIAN LAW

Only four years after the final publication of the code, plebeian tenacity against the violent resistance of the patricians secured the passage of the

²⁴ For all fragments of the laws relating to economic life, see T. Frank (ed.), *An Economic Survey of Rome*, Vol. I, pp. 13 ff., Johns Hopkins Press, 1933.

²⁵ An interesting evidence of ancient dentistry is the exception: "But if the teeth of the dead are bound with gold, let no one be prosecuted for burial or cremation of the corpse with that gold."

Canuleian law which permitted marriages between patricians and plebeians. Thus the stigma of social inferiority of the plebeians was completely removed. The law was a significant step in the development of a unified Roman citizenship. Henceforth, mixed marriages became increasingly common, and patricians, who were connected by marriage with a prominent plebeian family, sometimes supported plebeian leaders such as Licinius, in 367 (362) B.C., in their demands.²⁶

4. THE ADMISSION OF PLEBEIANS TO THE MAGISTRACIES

Thus in a little over half a century, thanks to the foreign military crises, the plebeians had gained legal and social equality and had secured their own recognized political organization with their tribal assembly and tribunes as their legal champions and spokesmen. But these advances only made them ever more insistent on admission to the senate and the patrician *imperium* in the magistracies. This the patricians fought bitterly at every stage, and when a necessary compromise was grudgingly granted, they cleverly deprived the plebeians of part of the fruits of their victory by establishing a new exclusively patrician magistracy that took over some important functions of the old.²⁷ This was also a secondary reason for increasing the numbers in a magistracy.

The first break over the patrician barrier was in the year 421, when the quaestorship, which had been made a magistracy in 447, was opened to the plebeians. The number was then raised to four so that two might accompany the consuls as paymasters in their campaigns. By this time also the plebeian aedileship had practically attained the dignity of a magistracy. But the most bitter struggle centered about the consulship so as to break the patrician monopoly on the *imperium*. As usual, it was temporarily settled by a compromise. According to Roman tradition, in the year 444 (436), the patricians agreed to the establishment of the military tribunate with consular power (*tribuni militares consularis potestate*), to which the plebeians were eligible. Each year it should be decided whether the chief magistrates would be consuls or military tribunes. But this new gain of the plebeians long remained only nominal, for the patrician senate made the decision each year, the election of consular tribunes was by the patrician-controlled centuriate assembly and must be ratified

²⁶ Among the Romans, no special marriage ceremony was required, provided there were no legal impediments. But the following ceremonies were used: (1) *Confarreatio*, a religious rite before the *Pontifex Maximus* or priest of Jove, witnessed by ten citizens. Until 445 the plebeians were excluded from this religious form. (2) *Coemptio* (joint purchase), a symbolical sale (*mancipatio*), of the woman by her family to the husband. Six witnesses were required, one of whom acted as a "balance holder," as symbolizing the act of sale. Both of these forms brought the woman into the power of her husband (*in manum viri*), as if she were his own daughter. Her property became his, and she had henceforth no legal existence apart from him. (3) *Usus*, without forms, practically a common-law marriage, which did not make the wife *in manum viri*. If, however, she remained continuously in the home of her husband for one year, by *usus* she came permanently under his power. According to the Twelve Tables, she could avoid this by absenting herself from her husband for three nights each year, thus interrupting *usus*. This third form of marriage, guarded by the above law, became the prevailing form in the later Republic. Still later, even the other two forms did not confer *in manum viri*, owing to the growing frequency of divorce.

²⁷ Of course the growing complexity of administration in an expanding state made new magistracies necessary, but there is a significant relation between the dates of their establishment and those marking the admission of the plebeians to the earlier ones.

by the senate, and since the number was left indefinite, the senate could reject an elected plebeian on religious technicalities. Thus no plebeian was actually elected to the office until 400 (396) B.C., when the crisis of Veii demanded the choice of the best leaders of whatever class, and the increase of the number from three to six. Indeed, though military tribunes served fifty-one out of the seventy-odd years to 367 (362), plebeians were elected to only six of the colleges, a striking evidence of the superior organization and power of the patricians.

Even though the plebeians had been elected several times after the year 400 to an office with *imperium*, they were ineligible to the consulship until 367 (362). In that year, according to tradition, the Licinian-Sextian laws permanently restored the consulship in place of the military tribunate, and provided that each year at least one consul must be a plebeian, though the latter provision was not regularly followed until 340. As seen above, the patricians sought compensation for their loss of the monopoly of the consulship by the establishment of two new patrician offices, the curule aedileship and the praetorship, which assumed part of the functions of the consuls. All these changes, together with the agrarian provisions of the Licinian laws, made the year 367 (362) epochal in Roman tradition. It was during the previous two decades, when Rome was surrounded by enemies, and still faced the danger of Gallic invasions, that the necessity of unity within the state forced these great concessions from the patricians.

5. THE AGRARIAN PROBLEM

The agrarian phase of the Licinian-Sextian laws may best be discussed here as furnishing the economic background for the plebeian-patrician struggle. Large tracts of the extensive new lands, repeatedly added to the Roman state through expansion, were set apart as *ager publicus* for cultivation or pasture by the citizens at a fixed rental. Quite naturally, the patricians, who controlled the government, monopolized the lion's share of the lands as practically their own, even failing to pay the rental to the state. The injustice grew increasingly acute, since the number of patricians was constantly on the decline, while the plebeian population was expanding by leaps and bounds both by natural increase and by the addition of large numbers of new citizens from Latium and elsewhere. Thus arose the agrarian problem. The situation was all the more galling for the plebeians, since their landed possessions determined their political status in the census classes. The evil was also aggravated by the Gallic invasions, poor seasons, and the prevalence of debt among the small farmers. According to tradition, the tribunes repeatedly protested, and proposed laws for alleviation of debt and distribution of land among the poorer citizens. Some memory of these struggles has survived in the half-legendary stories of Spurius Cassius (478), Spurius Maelius (431), and Marcus Manlius (376), who fell as martyrs to the popular cause, the victims of their fellow patricians' revenge.²⁸ The establishment of Latin colonies, and the division of the Aven-

²⁸ Though largely legendary in details, there seems to be no adequate reason for denying all historicity to these stories of Livy, since the reasons for social discontent certainly existed.

tine into lots for the poorer masses (456), served as escape valves by which the patricians allayed the social discontent.

Finally, the devastation from the Gallic invasions and poor seasons brought the struggle to a crisis. According to tradition, as a part of the patrician compromise of the Licinian-Sextian laws by which the plebeians were admitted to the consulship, an agrarian law was passed limiting the amount of arable land to be held by any individual to 500 *jugera*, about 310 acres. Also, no citizen was permitted to pasture more than 100 cattle and 500 sheep on the public land. A further law provided that interest paid on indebtedness should be deducted from the principal, and that the balance should be paid in three annual installments. However, the financial relief was only temporary, for there were repeated new attempts to solve the difficulty during the following decades. The land law also seems to have been largely a dead letter, since considerably over a century later, the agrarian problem was still the central point of attack in the reforms of the Gracchi.²⁹

6. OTHER PLEB ADVANCES: THE HORTENSIAN LAW

Soon after the admission of the plebeians to the supreme magistracy, the consulship, a plebeian was appointed to the dictatorship in 356 and was elected to the censorship in 351. In 339 a law was passed requiring one of the censors to be a plebeian. Two years later the praetorship was also opened to plebeians, and soon after, the curule aedileship was held by them in alternate years.³⁰

With the opening of all magistracies to the plebeians, all excuse for excluding them from the religious offices had vanished. By the passage of the Ogulnian law (300 B.C.), this last citadel of patrician privilege was taken. The number of pontiffs and augurs was then increased to provide for their admission. This ended the patrician resort to the auspices or to other technical religious forms to block desired liberal legislation. An interesting evidence of the growing influence of the masses appears in the revolutionary proposal of the censor, Appius Claudius Caecus³¹ to include even the sons of freedmen in his list of senators, and to permit the city proletariat to enroll in any of the nineteen rural tribal districts instead of in an urban, thereby greatly increasing their political power. But such measures were still too radical for the conservative Roman leadership and were refused recognition.

The final advance of the plebeians to complete political equality came through the Hortensian law (287). The pressure of debt caused by the long Samnite war resulted in another secession of the plebeian farmers to the Janiculum hill when their demands for relief were refused. To meet the crisis, Hortensius, a plebeian, was made dictator, and he secured the passage of the law by which all bills passed by the tribal assembly were fully valid without the approval of the senate. Thus the *comitia tributa* was now more

²⁹ For full references, ancient and modern, and an excellent summary of the reasons for acceptance of Livy's account of the Licinian-Sextian laws, which many scholars have interpreted as a mere reflection of late second-century conditions back into the fourth century, see T. Frank, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 26-28.

³⁰ Some would place this law as early as 364.

³¹ His censorship is noteworthy for the construction of the famous Appian Way, and the first Roman aqueduct, the *Aqua Appia*.

independent than the *centuriata*, and soon became the chief assembly for legislation, since the senate's approval was still necessary to validate the acts of the latter. The importance of the *centuriata* rapidly declined, though it still retained the exclusive right to elect the higher magistrates and to declare an offensive war. It was presided over by a magistrate, while either a magistrate or a tribune might preside over the tribal assembly, except when tribunes and plebeian aediles were elected. Both now included all the citizens. About 241 B.C. the assembly of the centuries was totally reorganized by tribes, and the classes were placed on a money basis. Since the number of centuries in each class was now equal, the assembly was thoroughly democratized. Some advantage was still given, however, to wealth and age, in the fact that while the number of individuals in the upper-class centuries and in the senior divisions was naturally smaller, each division had equal voting power with the larger groups.³²

We have seen the tribunes gradually increasing in power and importance, securing the right to sit in the senate, and even to address and convene it. By virtue of their original function also, they had gained the right of prosecuting any magistrate before the *comitia tributa*. The Hortensian law now greatly increased their importance in legislation. As guardians of the welfare of the whole citizenship against the encroachment of the magistrates, they were henceforth practically, though not technically, magistrates. The struggle of the orders had resulted in the creation of two distinct sets of government machinery, the tribunes, plebeian aediles, and tribal assembly, over against the senate and the curule magistracies. But the practical necessities of effective government gradually incorporated the plebeian institutions into the general machinery of the state by granting to the tribunes positive and practically magisterial powers and by finally opening the tribal assembly to all citizens.

7. THE NEW NOBILITY AND THE SUPREMACY OF THE SENATE

While the final complete triumph of the plebeians in their long struggle for political and social equality meant a liberalization of government and a far broader popular basis for full civic rights, it by no means meant the victory of democracy over aristocracy. The popular assembly had not secured practical control of legislation, and the aristocratic senate, in reality, held a stronger grip on the entire government than ever before. By its practical control of the magistrates who returned to the senate after their term, and by its dominant influence over the tribunes who now had a part in its deliberations, it found means very largely to make sure that only bills which it approved should be considered by the popular assembly. Through the centuries of Italian expansion, the senate, as the only continuous body and the center of political leadership and experience, had been increasingly forced to bear the responsibility of finance and foreign policy. It had therefore gradually assumed practical control of the administration of the state in both domestic and foreign affairs.

³² Each of the thirty-five tribes was divided into *seniores* and *juniores*, and the citizens in each of these two divisions were assigned to five classes on a money basis, the *juniores* and *seniores* in each class each forming a century. There were thus 350 centuries plus 18 of knights, 4 supplementary, and 1 of *proletarii*, making a total of 373.

The heads of the old patrician families had gradually lost their importance both in numbers and power, but the senate itself, now composed of wealthy plebeians as well as patricians, was more firmly entrenched than ever, despite the Hortensian law.

Some plebeians of wealth and influence had quite early gained admission to the senate, and their number had rapidly increased with the admission of the plebeians to the magistracies, the new opportunities for gaining wealth through expansion, and the shifting of the basis of the census classes from land to general wealth.³³ The constant decrease in the number of the patrician families and the growing custom for ex-consuls and later ex-praetors to be enrolled as senators also contributed to this end, after the admission of the plebeians to these offices. This custom was made practically obligatory by the Ovinian law at the close of the fourth century, which required the censor to give the preference to ex-magistrates in drawing up the list of senators. Thus the senate, which was entirely patrician in the fifth century, had become one-third plebeian before the close of the fourth, and before another century had passed the plebeian senators were well in the majority.³⁴ In distinction to the senators from the old patrician families (*patres*), the plebeian senators were called *conscripti*, "enrolled," hence the later official form of address, "conscript fathers."

While the plebeians were advancing to political equality, then, a "new nobility" centering in the senate, and based on wealth and the tradition of officeholding in the family, had gradually arisen through a fusion of wealthy families of the two orders by intermarriage and association in senate and magistracies. Though the basis was broadened, the new aristocracy was fully as exclusive as the old. It became increasingly difficult for a "new man" (*novus homo*) to gain admission to the senatorial class, except through outstanding ability, as in the case of Cicero. The basis of class conflict now shifted from the old patricians and plebeians to the haves and have-nots, centering in the new senatorial nobility and the city plebs, or proletariat. The senate, by assimilating to itself new blood from the best plebeian families, had come out of the long struggle of the orders with new political and social prestige as the supreme power in the state.

Polybius, the Hellenistic historian of Roman expansion in the second century B.C., with the true interest of a Greek intellectual in constitutions, expresses great admiration for the nice balance of the three elements in the Roman constitution, the consuls, senate, and assemblies. Each possesses "sovereign powers," yet "their respective share of power in the whole state had been regulated with such a scrupulous regard to equality and equilibrium that no one could say for certain, not even a native, whether the constitution as a whole were an aristocracy, or a democracy or a despotism." The consuls are "supreme masters of administration" both in civil and military affairs. The senate has "full control of the treasury," foreign affairs, and, indirectly, of criminal justice

³³ In 319 B.C. a law was passed legalizing this change.

³⁴ By 179 B.C. the numbers were 216 and 88.

in Italy.³⁵ The people in their assemblies are "the sole fountain of honor and punishment," "the only court to decide matters of life and death," "the bestowers of offices" by election, "the absolute legislative power," with final authority in questions of peace or war or the ratification of treaties. Each seems to be absolutely sovereign in its own realm, yet to his mind, each distinctly checks and balances the other two.³⁶

In reality, Polybius, though a practical statesman as well as a historian, and an intimate of the leading statesmen of Rome, greatly overemphasized the significance of the equilibrium and interdependence of the several divisions of the government. He failed to see that the senate was actually supreme both over magistrates and assemblies. He was ignorant of the historical process by which it had gradually assumed its powers during the foreign crises. He did not realize that these powers were largely a matter of superior political experience and prestige rather than of law, that they had been successfully challenged before by tribune and magistrate,³⁷ and would soon be fatally challenged again by the Gracchi and their successors. As an aristocratic Greek, opposed to the evils of radical democracy in the Greek primary assemblies, he also naturally placed too high a value on the virtues of the aristocratic element in the Roman constitution. Like most human institutions, it was full of contradictions, largely the accidental result of a historic patchwork process of trial and error, compromise and adjustment, to meet immediate crises. It would serve the purpose fairly well for another century, but must eventually break down with the strain of war and world expansion, as we shall see.

³⁵ In case a public investigation was necessary, it sent a magistrate with *imperium* to investigate and punish.

³⁶ Polybius, VI, 11-18, Shuckburgh translation, by permission of The Macmillan Co. This analysis of Polybius, through the eighteenth-century French political theorists, exerted some influence on the emphasis upon the principle of checks and balances in our American constitution. The entire passage deserves a careful reading.

³⁷ By Gaius Flaminius as tribune, consul, and censor, 233-217 B.C.

Part Three

EXPANSION ON THREE CONTINENTS

(265-133 B.C.)

5. *The Struggle of Rome and Carthage for the West
Mediterranean* (265-201 B.C.)

6. *Roman Expansion and Foreign Policy in the Hellenistic East* (200-133 B.C.)

7. *The Aftermath of War, Expansion, and Contact
with Hellenism* (265-133 B.C.)

Chapter Five

THE STRUGGLE OF ROME AND CARTHAGE FOR THE WEST MEDITERRANEAN (265-201 B.C.)

I. INTRODUCTION

We are now to trace the fateful step of the Romans beyond Italy which finally led to their world supremacy. By the conquest of all Italy, Rome had made its debut into world politics as a great power. The other great powers in the third century were Carthage in the West, and the three Hellenistic empires in the East, Ptolemaic Egypt, Seleucid Syria, and Macedonia. Lesser powers were the kingdom of Pergamum in Asia Minor, the two Greek federal leagues, and Syracuse under the tyrant,¹ Hiero.

I. CARTHAGE

Carthage, a Phoenician colony of the late ninth century, situated on the splendid harbor near the site of modern Tunis, had dominated the West Mediterranean for three centuries. With the loss of Phoenician independence to Babylon and Persia in the sixth century, Carthage became independent, winning control of the other Phoenician colonies on the North African coast and establishing others. During the century the Libyans were reduced to serfdom, Numidia, the east and south coasts of Spain, and Sardinia were conquered, and the west coast of Sicily was colonized. By the third century the Empire extended over the North African coast from Libya to beyond Gibraltar, and included Sardinia, Corsica, over half of Sicily, and the smaller islands of the West Mediterranean.

Like their founders, the Carthaginians were a nation of merchants. They sought tin in Britain, gold, ivory, and precious stones in the African interior, and metals in Sardinia. From its rich trade, customs duties, and tribute, as also from the rich wheat lands of North Africa, Carthage had become one of the wealthiest cities in the world. Its maritime policy was distinctly mercantilistic and exclusive, regulated by navigation acts and trade restrictions. The western Mediterranean was a "Carthaginian lake," its *mare clausum* ("closed sea"). From the sixth century on, its consistent policy had been by treaty and a powerful navy to exclude the shipping of both the Sicilian Greeks and the Romans from the Tyrrhenian Sea.

The government of Carthage was republican in form. A popular assembly elected the two annual magistrates, *suffetes*, and the generals, and had opportunity to vote occasionally on affairs of moment, but the state was ruled by an

¹ For the Greek meaning of the term, cf. Vol. I, p. 176.

oligarchy of merchants and great landlords. High birth and wealth were necessary qualifications for civic or military office. A senate of leading citizens acted as a council for the magistrates, but a small inner committee largely determined policies. Carthaginian civilization was far more advanced and less provincial than the Roman. It was characteristically Phoenician, materialistic, with apparently little creativeness in higher culture, and a cruel and sensual religion, though it produced men of energy, practical military and engineering genius, and bold initiative on the sea. Its conflict with Rome was another significant chapter in the age-long conflict of Semite with Indo-European² and of Orient with Occident.

2. PREVIOUS RELATIONS OF ROME AND CARTHAGE

Until the Roman conquest of Magna Graecia, Carthage had looked upon Rome as a check upon the Greek cities. Since the Romans were essentially a continental people with little regard for trade, there had been no reason for jealousies or conflict of interests. In the several treaties with Carthage above discussed,³ Rome readily signed away any rights to maritime activity in the Tyrrhenian Sea and West Mediterranean as if of no importance. The treaty of alliance in 279 B.C. was against a common enemy, Pyrrhus, and was dropped as soon as the danger was passed. With Rome's conquest of Tarentum, a coolness developed between the two powers. Since Rome now controlled all the Greek harbors of southern Italy such as Naples and Tarentum, long enemies of Carthage, the new world power now appeared to Carthage in a new light as the future aggressive champion of Greek interests in Sicily and on the sea.⁴

3. COMPARATIVE RESOURCES

In resources the two powers were fairly well matched. Carthage had a distinct advantage in her vast wealth, her powerful navy that commanded the western seas, her far-flung trade, and long maritime experience. Rome had neither navy of any consequence nor a body of experienced seamen, and at first no such sources of wealth, though the Greek cities would later do much to meet these shortcomings. In infantry the advantage was probably with Rome, whose thoroughly disciplined army of citizen soldiers was seasoned by many long campaigns. The army of Carthage, on the other hand, while numerous and well trained, was too largely composed of mercenaries and troops raised by forced enlistment, less loyal and probably less intelligent. Carthage was clearly superior, however, in the number and quality of its cavalry, in war elephants, in knowledge of the latest Hellenistic tactics and strategy, and especially in engineering. The Carthaginian generals also had better training and genius, were not changed annually as the Roman consuls, and were chosen for their military rather than their political ability. For war purposes, Carthage also had the advantage in its more centralized government, and in the separation of the military from the civil service. Both had extensive

² No racial connotation is implied in the use of the term, but only linguistic.

³ Chapter Three, p. 45 f., n. 16, dated 509, 348, 343, and 306.

⁴ Rome had long had an alliance with Massilia.

allies who were required to furnish troops and might prove disloyal, but Rome's territory was far more compact, and its allies were, on the whole, more dependable.

4. CAUSES OF THE WAR

The conquest of Magna Graecia and the advent of Rome to a world power in the West made the eventual conflict with Carthage practically inevitable. Rome could not long accept the absolute domination of Carthage, with its exclusive policy of the "closed sea," in the West Mediterranean, especially in the adjacent Tyrrhenian waters. More immediately, Carthage had reoccupied the greater part of Sicily, and threatened to control the Straits of Messina, a result which would have been intolerable to Rome.

The occasion for the war arose precisely at this point. A band of Campanian mercenaries of the earlier Sicilian tyrant, Agathocles, had seized Messina at his death and ruled there as Mamertines, "children of Mars." Their depredations on the surrounding towns aroused the attack of Hiero, tyrant of Syracuse, so that they willingly accepted the protection of a Carthaginian garrison. Later, after the defeat of Hiero, one party of Mamertines, suspicious of the intentions of Carthage, appealed to Rome for aid against both. Fearing an open break with Carthage, and the possible effect of war in arousing disloyalty in the Italian confederacy, the conservative senate rejected the appeal. The popular assembly, however, incited by the consuls with the prospect of new lands and new opportunities for plunder, voted to intervene.⁵ Rome's national interest was clearly with the Mamertines, for she could not permit Carthage to control the Strait and endanger the welfare of her allies in Magna Graecia. But neither senate nor masses realized the momentous fact that by this first step outside of Italy, they were entering lightly on a devastating war for over fifty years, which would be the first chapter in Rome's imperial expansion to world supremacy, with its consequent total transformation of the whole internal organization of state and society.

II. THE FIRST PUNIC WAR⁶

I. AGRIGENTUM AND MYLAE

The senate was naturally at first lukewarm to the expedition. Only two legions were sent in 264, and not for three years did Rome develop the idea of aggressive warfare to expel Carthage from Sicily. The consul secured transports for his army from the Greek ports, and slipped across the Straits past the small Carthaginian naval force under the cover of night. Attacking the besieging forces of Hiero and Carthage separately, he routed each in turn, and relieved Messina. Many Sicilian cities went over to Rome. Hiero paid

⁵ This repudiation of the senate's action proves that the people still had a real part in determining foreign policy. Cf. maps (A-C) opposite p. 110 and map (A) opposite p. 46.

⁶ The chief ancient authority for the Punic Wars is Polybius, one of the greatest Greek historians, who wrote in the middle of the second century, and could therefore still draw from fairly reliable sources such as Philinus, secretary to a Carthaginian general, and Fabius Pictor with Roman senatorial bias. Of Livy's books, VI-XIX, only brief epitomes have survived.

a war indemnity and became Rome's loyal ally throughout the war. The fatal mistake of Carthage was not to have used her monopoly of the sea to prevent Rome's crossing if possible. The following year (262), Carthage, now thoroughly aroused, cast a large force into the important city of Agrigentum, but a Roman army finally took it after a siege of seven months. The Romans sacked the city and sold the population into slavery, thus foolishly alienating the goodwill of the Sicilians. They now controlled three of the chief centers of Sicily, Syracuse, Agrigentum, and Messana, and began to dream of expelling Carthage from the entire island. But to undertake this they must develop a fleet, capable of challenging the Carthaginian navy which was being rapidly mobilized.

The Romans were by no means utterly lacking in ships or naval experience. The later legend that they now hastily built their first fleet in sixty days, on the model of a stranded Punic hulk, while training their landsmen to row on shore, hardly squares with their signal victory over the large and well-trained Carthaginian fleet soon after. As seen above, Rome had long had naval officials and some warships. Its nucleus of a fleet and lack in trained seamen could also be supplemented by levies of ships and men from the Greek allies. Even so, compared with Carthage, in number and size of ships⁷ and in skill and experience of officers and men the Romans seemed hopelessly inferior. To remedy this lack, by using their superiority as hand-to-hand fighters, they cleverly devised a *corvus* ("crow"), a great boarding bridge swinging on the mast, and capable of being suddenly lowered on either side so as to grapple with an enemy ship, and make possible close-range fighting as on land.

Through this device and the careless scorn of the Carthaginian navy, C. Duilius won the first Roman naval victory against Carthage off Mylae, northwest of Messana, in 260 B.C., capturing fifty enemy ships. This signal victory over the rulers of the sea inspired the Roman seamen with a new morale, and was celebrated at Rome by a monumental column decorated with beaks of Carthaginian ships, the *columna rostrata*. Soon after, a Roman fleet under Lucius Scipio, the grandfather of Scipio Africanus, the final victor over Carthage, seized Corsica and ravaged Sardinia, important Carthaginian sources of timber and metals. Meanwhile, the war dragged on tediously in Sicily as practically a draw. The now fully mobilized navy of Carthage harassed the coast and hampered trade, while Rome's allies chafed under the heavy naval conscription.

2. REGULUS AND THE EXPEDITION AGAINST CARTHAGE

The Roman senate, therefore, decided to end the war by a bold invasion of Carthage. In a hard-fought battle off the south coast of Sicily, near Ecnomus, the consul, Marcus Atilius Regulus, with 330 ships, inflicted such a disastrous defeat on an equal enemy force that the Carthaginians offered peace, but the impossible demands of Regulus fired them to continue the war. The Roman senate now committed the folly of recalling the bulk of the force. Regulus,

⁷ The quinquereme rather than the trireme was now the regular man-of-war.

with a small army of 15,000 infantry and 500 cavalry, landed on the African coast, but fatally failed to march at once on Carthage while the city was unprepared. Meanwhile Xanthippus, a Spartan mercenary leader, arrived on the scene and reorganized the Carthaginian army, training it in the more efficient use of elephants and cavalry. The result was a total defeat of Regulus, with the loss of most of his force. His fleet was lost in a storm off the coast of Sicily. Regulus was held for some time as a captive at Carthage. His final fate is unknown. The pretty story of his mission to Rome and heroic voluntary return to Carthage to die is a later patriotic legend.

3. THE LAST STAND OF CARTHAGE, AND THE TREATY

The scene of hostilities now again shifted to the Carthaginian stronghold of western Sicily. Panormus was taken by Rome (254), and Himera and other towns soon followed, until only the west point of the island was left to Carthage. During the next few years Rome suffered naval losses by storm and a disastrous defeat at Drepana through which Carthage regained command of the sea. The war now degenerated into a hopeless seesaw about Sicily for another decade. A new Carthaginian general of initiative, Hamilcar Barca, father of Rome's future enemy, Hannibal, from his stronghold of Eryx, made repeated naval raids on the Sicilian and Italian coasts. By a forced private loan to supplement the depleted Roman treasury, a new fleet was raised which laid siege to Lilybaeum and Drepana, and a final expedition of Carthage to raise the siege was utterly destroyed off the Aegatian Isles (241). Carthage now, completely cut off from Sicily, broken in morale, and exhausted, was forced to sue for peace.

It was none too soon for Rome. The naval cost alone had been 200,000 men and at least 500 ships.⁸ The Roman citizen roll had decreased by one-sixth in the brief period between 252-247 B.C., and the material loss in trade and agriculture, oppressive taxation, and debased coinage was untold. With neither treasury, fleet, nor outstanding generals, Rome was only too ready for peace. Nevertheless, she was the final victor and could dictate the terms: an indemnity of 3,200 talents (\$3,500,000) to be paid in ten annual installments, the surrender of all Roman prisoners without ransom, and the cession to Rome of Sicily and its adjacent islands.⁹ To the surprise of Rome and the world, the war revealed the shoddy inefficiency of the boasted Carthaginian navy and the potential power of Rome on the sea, aided by the ships and skilled seamanship of the Greek cities.

Though the national independence of Carthage was still fully recognized, its naval prestige and trade monopoly were gone, and its losses in revenues were enormous. As partial compensation for the heavy cost of the war, Rome had gained its first province and control of the adjacent seas. Above all, its Italian confederacy had stood the strain. But the peace was only a truce. Carthage would soon recover, and the war for revenge would then be fought to a finish.

⁸ Polybius sets the Roman loss of quinqueremes at 700, but doubtless this loss was partly Greek. The 200,000 were doubtless not all Roman citizens.

⁹ Polybius, I, 62-63.

4. SARDINIA AND CORSICA

Meanwhile Rome rubbed salt into the wounds of the vanquished. Unable to pay its mercenaries, the exhausted Carthage faced a general revolt of the soldiers, which threatened the very existence of the state. During the three years' "Truceless War," Rome had remained neutral. But when Hamilcar Barca finally conquered the rebels and undertook to reoccupy Sardinia, the Roman senate declared war (238), probably fearing the threat to its control of the adjacent Italian seas by the Carthaginian control of Sardinia and Corsica. But such brigandage only steeled Carthage the more to look to a day of future vengeance.¹⁰ Too exhausted to face Rome's challenge, she was forced to purchase peace by the cession of the two islands and the payment of an additional 1,200 talents indemnity. Henceforth, the Tyrrhenian Sea was exclusively Roman.

III. THE NEW IMPERIAL SYSTEM

By the acquisition of western Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica, Rome took its first step on the devious path to empire. The Republic now faced a new problem. Should the overseas peoples be incorporated as allies in the Italian confederation or should they be given a subject status? For part of Sicily, Rome followed her old policy of isolation and "divide and rule." Hiero was rewarded for his loyalty by retaining his power over the Syracusan state as an independent prince and "friend" of the Roman people. Three cities, including Messina which had appealed to Rome against Carthage, were given the status of allies in the Italian confederation. About five favored towns that had gone over to the side of Rome were left free and untaxed. All the rest of the towns comprising about three-fourth of Sicily simply changed their tributary status from Carthage to Rome. They had the relation of strangers (*peregrini*) and subjects (*dediticii*) to Romans, and belonged to Rome herself, not to the Italian federation. Thus Rome now had not only citizens and allies, but subjects. This was the easy way to meet the new problem, especially as the population of Carthaginian Sicily was largely backward politically, and the prospect of shifting the tax burden from citizens to subjects was attractive to Romans.

The old Persian land system of Hiero and Carthage, taken over from the Hellenistic empires, was adopted by Rome practically unchanged. In the last analysis, all the land belonged to the ruler, the Roman state, and the people were tribute-paying tenants. A portion was held directly as *ager publicus*, and rented to tenants for one-third of the crop. Over three-fourths of the communities in Sicily paid tribute of a tithe of the wheat and one-fifth of the other produce to Rome. The cultivators, whether on the public or privately held lands, were largely either serfs or slaves, though there were also free wage laborers and tenants. The Roman conquest gave a strong impetus to the development of large estates (*latifundia*) worked by slaves and later by serfs, and as a result of Roman expansion, the land system of the Hellenistic Orient

¹⁰ Even Polybius, III, 28, despite his strong admiration for Rome, condemned this aggression as without excuse.

began to exert an unfortunate influence on the free agricultural system of Italy.

In government of the new overseas dominions, also, aside from a few favored towns, Rome took over largely the existing system of Carthage and Hiero, though the various communities were allowed considerable local autonomy. In the year 227, the first two Roman provinces, Sicily, and Sardinia and Corsica, were organized. The Latin word *provincia* originally signified the "sphere," "department," or "jurisdiction" assigned to a magistrate, hence its application to an overseas dominion under a Roman official. The distinctive marks of provincial government were a military governor with *imperium*, who was also supreme judge in certain cases, a standing army, and tribute. No military service was at first required except on extraordinary occasions. The governors were regularly ex-consuls or ex-praetors, and after 146 B.C. the custom of extending their term for another year as promagistrates became permanent.

For the collection of tribute, Rome adopted, with some changes, Hiero's system of "farming" the taxes, whereby the right of collection was sold by auction to the highest bidder. These tax-gatherers, *publicani*, usually managed to extort all above the amount due the state that the traffic would bear, though the provincials might appeal to the governor's court against them. The Roman senate long avoided the more vicious effects of the system in Sicily, however, by assigning a local official in each city to make the census of estimates, and by requiring that bids be made in Sicily rather than in Rome. Though the provincials had no means of redress from possible oppressive acts of a governor, the first Roman officials, like Flaminius, were efficient and sought to win their confidence.

Roman rule was, at first, not without its advantages to the Sicilians. The tribute was not as heavy as under Carthage and Hiero, the towns retained a considerable degree of local autonomy even to the right of secondary coinage, and the *pax Romana* ended intercity strife and the constant threat of new invasions from Carthage. But eventually, as Cicero reveals in his Orations against Verres, the corruption and oppression of governors, and the extortion of the publicans and other money-grabbers, cried to heaven. The prolonging of the term of the praetor as promagistrate for a year of service as military governor abroad was a step toward unlimited terms of magistrates, military dictatorship, and monarchy. On the other hand, the custom of the praetor's annual edict was now extended to the provincial governors, thereby making the influence of the edict on the development of Roman law under the Republic vastly more significant. The law and custom of the larger world also naturally reacted upon the Roman, giving to it a more universal human quality.

IV. THE ILLYRIAN WARS

(229-219 B.C.)

Rome's responsibility as head of the Italian confederacy for the protection of her allies against foreign attack now led to another significant step overseas. With the decline of Greek sea power, the pirate ships of the semibarbarous

Illyrian monarchy, north of Epirus (modern Albania), an ally of Macedonia, had long preyed upon Italian and Greek merchantmen in the Adriatic, and terrorized both coasts with impunity. Repeated complaints had come to Rome, but Roman lack of interest in the sea and engrossment with Carthage had prevented action. Finally, an appeal of the southern Italian allies for aid against new and worse outrages aroused the reluctant senate to send an embassy to the pirate queen demanding redress (230 B.C.). On her refusal and the murder of one of the embassy, Rome declared war. The following year a strong Roman army and fleet soon forced the queen to make peace, by which she lost most of her territory, agreed to send no fleet into the Ionian Sea, and to pay an annual tribute to Rome. Corcyra, Epidamnus, Apollonia, and other Greek states tributary to Illyricum, were freed and made allies of Rome. The Greek Leagues welcomed Rome's intervention as a check upon their immediate enemy, Macedonia. Rome now entered into its first diplomatic relations with them, as also with Corinth and Athens, and was admitted to participation in the Isthmian Games and the festival of Eleusis. The Greeks were to learn when it was too late their mistake in failing to present a united front with Macedon against the new power in the West Mediterranean. Rome's first step eastward was especially significant as the beginning of hostile relations with the Macedonian monarchy which resented the defeat of its Illyrian ally, the establishment of Roman influence on the east shore of the Adriatic, and alliance with the Greeks.

Ten years later the union of most of Greece under the strong Macedonian ruler, Antigonus Doson, the victor over Sparta at Sellasia, encouraged Rome's despot over Corcyra to break his alliance, go over to Macedon, and send a piratical expedition into the Adriatic. A second Roman expedition swiftly overthrew the rebel and seized the citadels of Corcyra. By the Illyrian wars Rome had gained a foothold in Greece, good harbors on the eastern Adriatic shore, and had gone far toward making it a Roman sea, though the senate had annexed no territory. But the intervention was a preface to later Roman conflict with Macedon.

V. THE GALLIC INVASIONS AND THE ROMAN CONQUEST OF CISALPINE GAUL

(225-222 B.C.)

Between the two Illyrian campaigns, Rome faced a grave crisis from new Gallic invasions. Since their earlier defeats, the Gauls of the Po Valley had kept the peace for forty-five years, having settled down to a prosperous agricultural and pastoral life.¹¹ Rome, busy elsewhere, had been glad to leave them undisturbed, though Italy was insecure until the Roman legions had advanced the boundary to its natural frontier, the Alps.

In the year 238 a new generation of the Gauls with no memory of earlier defeats, disturbed perhaps by Roman colonization of the *ager Gallicus* on the

¹¹ See the interesting description of the geography and rich resources of Cisalpine Gaul and the characterization of the Gauls by Polybius, II, 15-17. Cf. map (A) opposite p. 46 and map opposite p. 238.

frontier,¹² aroused the transalpine Celtic tribes to join them in a new invasion of Italy. After advancing as far as Ariminum, they withdrew because of internal jealousies. In 225 fresh Gallic hordes from beyond the Alps aroused the Cisalpine Gauls to another invasion, and swarmed across the Roman frontier with a vast force. The gravity of the crisis aroused Rome to take a military census of the entire Italian federation, which totaled 700,000 infantry and 70,000 cavalry.¹³ The main Roman army was stationed at Ariminum, a reserve of 50,000 guarded Rome, another large army of allies blocked the advance into southern Etruria, while another Roman army was in Sardinia to guard against an attack of Carthage.

Contrary to Roman expectations, the invading hordes avoided battle with the strong Roman force at Ariminum and advanced into Etruria, defeating the Italian allies, but later retreated northward with their vast booty at the approach of the army from Ariminum. Meanwhile the army from Sardinia had landed at Pisa, thus blocking the escape of the Gauls to the north. Trapped between the two armies, they were practically annihilated at Telamon with a loss of 50,000. Despite their remarkable bravery, the Gauls were hopelessly inferior to the trained Roman legions in tactical skill and arms. The Gallic sword which could only cut, not thrust, was no match for the Roman, and they had no weapon to offset the volley of Roman javelins in long-distance fighting.

The next year Rome began an offensive campaign to expel the Gallic tribes from the Po Valley. After three seasons of arduous fighting with heavy losses against the desperate determination and courage of the Gauls, the Romans failed of their object, but made them sue for peace. Rome took over part of the territory and imposed an annual tribute. Henceforth all lower Cisalpine Gaul was Roman, though it was not yet annexed as a province.

During the next two years the Romans conquered the tribes of the northwestern Adriatic coast, so that, aside from Liguria and the upper Po Valley, Roman influence now extended to the foot of the Alps. The *Via Flaminia* was now extended to Ariminum, and new Latin colonies were established as Roman outposts at Placentia, Mutina, and Cremona. But the independent spirit of the Cisalpine Gauls was by no means permanently broken. In a few years they would join Hannibal in his invasion of Italy, and it would take many more rebellions and defeats before they were fully incorporated in the Roman state.

¹² So Polybius, II, 119, though the territory had been Roman since 283. Polybius criticizes the policy as the first step in the demoralization of the Roman masses.

¹³ Cf. Polybius, II, 24, for the detailed census, and compare Livy, *Epitome*, XX.

VI. THE SECOND PUNIC WAR

(218-201 B.C.)¹⁴

I. CAUSES

The first Punic War had been only a preliminary trial of strength ending in a temporary truce. The second, or Hannibalic war, was decisive. It ended forever the imperial power of Carthage, and was the first great step of Rome toward world empire. It was therefore of outstanding significance in the history of Rome and the whole Mediterranean basin. Yet unlike the first war, it was in no sense maritime. Rome had control of the sea, but made little effective use of it until the last phase of the struggle.

During the interval between the two wars, Hamilcar Barca, the conqueror of the mercenaries, took advantage of Rome's serious occupation with the Gallic and other campaigns to establish a new empire in Spain. He sought in its rich silver mines and lands economic compensation for the heavy losses of Carthage and probably a means of building a new army for future revenge on Rome. He was enthusiastically supported in his venture by the populace, and if the conservative nobility at first opposed such a risk, they were later won over by the prospect of new revenue and of being rid of such a dangerous popular leader at home. On his arrival in 238 he protected the Phoenician colonists against the natives, and by force or diplomacy won control over many tribes. Before his death in 229 he had built a new, highly efficient army largely Spanish, and had transformed the small Phoenician trading posts to important ports.

On the death of Hamilcar he was succeeded by his son-in-law, Hasdrubal, who continued his aggressive policy. He founded New Carthage (Carthagera), extended his empire northward toward the Ebro River, and raised the revenue from the silver mines to at least 2,000 talents. He ruled Spain as practically an independent king and silenced political opponents at home by his great success. In the year 226 Rome, possibly influenced by her Greek allies of Massilia, or fearing a future hostile alliance of Carthage with the Gauls, sent an embassy to Hasdrubal, who signed a treaty that he would not "cross the Ebro under arms." The important Graeco-Iberian town of Saguntum, one hundred miles south of the Ebro, was naturally not mentioned in the treaty, but later allied with Rome.¹⁵

When Hasdrubal's career was cut short by his assassination in 221, Hannibal, son of Hamilcar, then only in his twenty-sixth year, was the unanimous choice of the army as his successor. According to tradition, he had gone with his father to Spain when a boy of nine, after swearing a solemn oath always to be an enemy of Rome. He was therefore peculiarly fitted both in experience and spirit to renew the war of revenge against Rome. Whether or not his predecessors had plans of aggression against Rome, there can be no question

¹⁴ Polybius, writing only fifty years after the war, drew from contemporary writers, public documents, inscriptions such as that set up by Hannibal in southern Italy (III, 33, 56), and from survivors of the war. Livy's account, written two centuries after the events, is full of patriotic and partisan coloring. Unfortunately, no Carthaginian account is extant.

¹⁵ Livy, XXI, 2, is clearly wrong. Cf. Polybius, III, 27, 10.

about Hannibal. He was probably already cherishing in his mind a plan for future invasion of Italy from Spain. Dedicated from boyhood to his task, temperate, endowed with indomitable courage, tireless energy and endurance, brilliant initiative that always chose to do the unusual, and superb powers of leadership, the idol of his soldiers, a born military genius, trained from boyhood in the hard school of the frontier under the masterly tuition of the Barcids, a brilliant cavalryman, and a bold but cautious master of military strategy, he was to prove himself Rome's most dangerous enemy, and one of the greatest generals of all time.¹⁶

Though Hannibal at first avoided disturbing Saguntum, Rome's ally, until he had thoroughly consolidated his empire in all eastern Spain, the city, fearful of his aggression, sent repeated embassies to Rome for protection. These appeals the conservative Roman senate foolishly disregarded, engrossed with Illyrian and other problems at home. Finally, in 219, it sent a commission to Hannibal in New Carthage, enjoining him not to attack Saguntum as a Roman ally and to abide by the treaty of Hasdrubal not to cross the Ebro. Hannibal played for time by referring the commission to Carthage, while sending a courier in advance to arouse the opposition of the home government to Rome. The Roman commission, fearing war, but expecting it to be fought in Spain, not in Italy, proceeded to Carthage.

Meanwhile, Hannibal immediately laid siege to Saguntum to secure his rear before advancing into Gaul.¹⁷ His capture of the city with vast booty after a hard siege of eight months inspired his army with new morale and insured the backing of Carthage. The Roman senate had been inexcusably slow and shortsighted in failing to protect Saguntum, but now (218), on hearing the news of its fall, indignantly and without debate sent an embassy to Carthage with an ultimatum, of either the surrender of Hannibal and his staff or war. In answer to the claim of Carthage that it had never ratified the treaty of Hasdrubal and that the treaty ending the first Punic War had made no mention of Saguntum, which was not then a Roman ally, the stern Roman envoy said he had in his toga peace or war. The answer of Carthage was "which you will," and war it was.

The immediate occasion of the war, then, was Hannibal's alleged breach of the treaties by his attack on Saguntum, though strictly Hannibal had broken no treaty, as we have seen. But the real cause lay deeper. Though the war was by no means inevitable, as has often been asserted, since neither nation, least of all Rome, was aggressively bent on imperial conquest, and since Rome had recognized the predominant influence of Carthage in Spain, Rome's arrogant use of her previous victory had made a future war of revenge probable. As Polybius rightly states in his admirably balanced account (III, 28-30), her seizure of Sardinia and raising of the war indemnity had broken the treaty in spirit. Such arrogance made the position of Carthage intolerable as subject to Roman dictation. By this gratuitous insult and injury to Carthage while

¹⁶ Livy's (XXI, 4) partisan characterization of him is borne out neither by Polybius nor by all that we know of his entire career.

¹⁷ Technically, Hannibal was hardly the aggressor in attacking Saguntum, since it was south of the Ebro and was not mentioned in the treaty.

leaving her embittered enemy free opportunity for twenty years to prepare for revenge in Spain, Rome had brought on herself the devastating Hannibalic war in Italy.

2. RESOURCES

The comparative resources of the two powers had markedly changed since 265 B.C. Rome now controlled the sea, and her plan to use it by striking directly at Carthage might have ended the war at once had not the fleet foolishly delayed at Sicily so long that it had to be recalled. But the naval supremacy of Rome was finally the decisive factor in the war. Hannibal's cavalry was far superior to Rome's in numbers, quality, and training. He was also well supplied with elephants. His standing army of intrepid, thoroughly trained veterans from Spain and Carthage, devoted to their leader, was vastly more efficient than the old mercenary force, and, at first, more than a match for the Roman infantry. Above all, Carthage had Hannibal, a military genius, before whose bold initiative the dull slavery to the usual of the Roman consuls, until the rise of Scipio Africanus, had little chance of success. Especially in this war was revealed the Roman folly of using civil officials, changed each year, as commanders in the field. Under such leadership, even the great Roman superiority in numbers proved of no advantage.

Carthage had in Spain a new rich source of revenue and troops and a strong base from which to attack Italy, though it proved a vulnerable point later in the war. Rome also had new resources in Sicily and Sardinia. A dangerous potential enemy to Rome was Macedonia which resented the Roman intervention in Illyria. But the Italian confederacy had been tried in the first war and had stood the test of loyalty, a fact that proved to be Rome's salvation in the ordeal of Hannibal's invasion.

3. HANNIBAL ON THE MARCH

During the winter of 219-218 at New Carthage, Hannibal made all preparations for his bold expedition, leaving his brother, Hasdrubal, with a strong force¹⁸ to hold Spain against Roman attack, and securing the loyalty of both defense armies in Spain and Libya. He learned as much as possible about the difficulties of the route and the enemies to be encountered, and was heartened to hear that the Celts were eager to join him against Rome, and that passage of the Alps was easily possible. His plan was, not to destroy Rome, but by enlisting the alliance of the Gauls and Italians, to break up the Italian Confederacy. But his very alliance with the Gauls was sure to turn the Italian peoples against him. His reasonable hope also that Macedon, now dominant in Greece through the victory of Sellaesia, and irritated at Roman intervention in Illyria, would be his active ally was doomed to disappointment. In the spring of 218 he crossed the Ebro with 90,000 infantry, 12,000 cavalry, and 37 elephants, subdued the North Iberian tribes, and crossed the Pyrenees. But his force was cut to 50,000 foot and 12,000 horse before he set out for

¹⁸ For the numbers, see Polybius, III, 33, who quotes from a bronze tablet that Hannibal had inscribed at Lacinia in Bruttium.

the Rhone. The total distance direct from New Carthage to the Po Valley is estimated by Polybius to be 8,400 stadia, or about 1,000 Roman miles.¹⁹

By the time tardy Rome heard that Hannibal had crossed the Ebro, he had already passed the Pyrenees. Greatly superior to Carthage in both navy and military resources, except cavalry, Rome should have struck at once against Africa and Spain. This was the plan, but the leisurely and commonplace Roman generals totally underrated the speed and boldness of Hannibal. Rome was also faced with a revolt of the Boian and Insubrian Gauls, perhaps fomented by Hannibal. They swept down upon the newly planted Roman colonies of Placentia and Cremona, laid siege to Mutina, and defeated the praetor's army. Finally in the summer, a fleet of 60 Roman ships sailed for Spain under the command of Publius Cornelius Scipio, and another of 160 ships under Tiberius Sempronius Longus departed for Sicily on the first lap to Africa. Meanwhile Hannibal had pushed on to the west mouth of the Rhone, and had effected a crossing some distance upstream.²⁰ At this point he was again encouraged by friendly messages from the Gauls with the offer of guides and assurance of plenty of supplies. His force had now been reduced to 38,000 foot, 8,000 horse, and about 25 elephants.

Meanwhile Scipio had disembarked his army at Massilia on the east mouth of the Rhone, hoping to block the advance of Hannibal, but was amazed to find that the wily Carthaginian had already crossed the river, and had three days' march the start of him on his way to the Alps. Outwitted, and utterly surprised that he would dare the Alpine route to Italy, he returned to his ships. Sending his brother, Gnaeus, with part of the force to Spain, he embarked with the remainder for Pisa so as to face the invader in northern Cisalpine Gaul.

Arriving at the foot of the Alps, Hannibal, by cleverly assisting one chieftain against another, secured supplies and new arms for his soldiers, and valuable aid through the territory of the dangerous Allobroges to the foot of the pass.²¹ The passage was made doubly difficult and dangerous by the fierce attacks of the Allobroges and other tribes through which he incurred grave losses in horses and men. Finally, early in November, after escaping from the most threatening situations, the depleted forces emerged at the summit and were heartened by the prospect of the rich Po Valley and Hannibal's assurance of the friendly aid of the Gauls.

Their difficulties were by no means ended, however, for though they were no longer harassed by enemies, the descent was far steeper, and the narrow, precipitous paths and the deep snow made beasts and men in constant danger of being dashed to pieces in the deep gorges below. At one especially narrow

¹⁹ III, 39. The stade, or furlong, was about one-eighth of a Roman mile.

²⁰ The elephants were towed across on large rafts firmly lashed together and covered with earth. Terrified at being surrounded by water, some cast themselves into the midst of the stream and made for shore, to the discomfiture of their riders.

²¹ Probably Mont Cenis, as Polybius seems to indicate, but perhaps Little St. Bernard or Mont Genevre. The suggestions in Livy, XXI, 38, 6-7, are impossible. Polybius, III, 48, emphasizes that the difficulty of the passage should not be exaggerated, since the Celts had several times crossed with large forces, and Hannibal had native guides, and had thoroughly informed himself beforehand.

path, a landslide had made passage impossible for the elephants. An attempted detour proved impossible owing to a heavy fall of fresh snow overlaying the hard crust of the previous winter. The men, sinking to the old slippery level, could gain no sure footing, and the horses, breaking through the old crust, were unable to advance. It was therefore necessary to cut a wider road from the hard face of the precipice.²² But their hardships were finally over, for soon they were below the snow line where the half-starved animals could find some pasture, and in three days they debouched into the plains of Cisalpine Gaul in the early winter of 218-217. The entire march from New Carthage had required over five months, and the passage of the Alps, fifteen days. It was a worn and bedraggled army sadly depleted by the attacks of the fierce Alpine tribesmen and the hardships and losses from the mountain passage. Only 20,000 men and 6,000 cavalry remained from the original force, and very few elephants had survived.²³ But the morale of the army was soon renewed amid the plenty of the rich Cisalpine plain, and their depleted ranks were reinforced by the ready alliance of the friendly Gauls.

4. TICINUS, TREBIA, AND TRASIMENE

Meanwhile, Scipio had landed at Pisa with a small force, and taking over the praetor's army, had marched into the Po Valley to await Hannibal. T. Sempronius Longus also, who had frittered away the precious days around Sicily instead of hastening to attack Carthage, was now recalled by the senate to reinforce Scipio. Scipio crossed the Po and attacked Hannibal at the River Ticinus, but was forced to retire to Placentia by reason of his weakness in cavalry. Hannibal followed him across the Po, but the treachery of the Gauls in the Roman army, who now generally went over to Hannibal, caused Scipio to retire to the Trebia River near its source, where he awaited the arrival of Sempronius. Hannibal drew the Romans from their strong position to cross the river to the open field adapted to cavalry maneuver. The result was a disastrous defeat for the Romans with loss of at least 20,000 men. The consuls were utterly outgeneraled, and the legions were surrounded and slaughtered. Other Gallic tribes now joined Hannibal, and he spent the winter months reorganizing his forces for the Italian campaign.

In the spring of 217, with his army fully recuperated and reinforced to 50,000 by Gallic recruits, Hannibal broke camp to continue his invasion of Italy. A Roman force was stationed at Ariminum, and another, the main army under the consul Flaminius, at Arretium in Etruria. Hannibal again did the unexpected thing, taking the direct but seemingly impossible way through the marshes of Etruria. The route entailed the severest hardships, and he himself suffered the loss of one eye, but he utterly surprised Flaminius by his sudden appearance before Arretium. By passing beyond the Roman camp, raiding and burning, he drew Flaminius to attack him on the shores of Lake Trasimene. Hampered by a foggy morning, and attacked from all sides by Hannibal's sol-

²² Livy's (XXI, 37, 2) story that they built a huge fire of logs on the rock and poured on sour wine so as to crumble it is not mentioned by Polybius, and has been much ridiculed, but see note to the passage in the *Loeb Classical Library* translation, by B. O. Foster. Cf. map (A) opposite p. 46.

²³ Polybius, III, 56, 4. Cf. Livy, XXI, 38, 3. The losses have perhaps been exaggerated.

diers ambushed in the hills, the army of Flaminius was annihilated, and he himself was slain. Soon after a Roman detachment coming to bring aid from Ariminum was also destroyed. Hannibal now sought to win over the Italians from the Roman alliance by releasing their prisoners, declaring that he had not come to fight them but to free them from Rome. But even Trasimene did not arouse Etruria to revolt. Wisely avoiding an exhausting siege of Rome in the midst of an enemy country, he therefore marched through Umbria to the Adriatic, and thence along the coast to Samnium, ravaging the country before him.

5. FABIVS CUNCTATOR AND CANNAE

When the news of the disaster of Trasimene reached Rome, in great dismay the Romans elected²⁴ Quintus Fabius Maximus dictator to meet the crisis. Realizing the danger of open conflict with Hannibal's superior cavalry and strategy, he avoided a battle, but persistently harassed his enemy by threatened attacks, and by his superior knowledge of the country nearly trapped him more than once. But Hannibal was able to ravage Samnium far and wide, and even crossed boldly into the rich plains of Campania and back into Apulia, where he prepared to pass the winter. The Romans, impatient at what seemed to them a "do nothing" policy in the face of Hannibal's insolent ravages, dubbed Fabius "*Cunctator*," "delayer," and finally broke all constitutional precedent by appointing Marcus Minucius, the master of the horse, a second dictator in the field. But when he attempted an aggressive move against Hannibal, his army was saved from annihilation only by the aid of Fabius.

For months the two armies faced each other in Apulia, where Hannibal had taken a commanding position at Cannae on the banks of the Aufidus in order to force the enemy to open fight. Meanwhile, Fabius, the "delayer," had been displaced by two new consuls, Lucius Aemilius Paullus and C. Terentius Varro, commissioned to protect the allies from Hannibal's further ravages by risking a decisive battle. Thus resulted the disastrous defeat of the Romans in the slaughter of Cannae (August, 216 B.C.), a monumental example of the folly of entrusting the supreme command in the field to politicians and amateurs in the art of war. The battle, at first fought stubbornly on both sides, became a rout as the Romans were completely outflanked by the Carthaginian cavalry. Of the Roman forces traditionally estimated at 80,000, only a few stragglers escaped death, except for 10,000 prisoners who were later sold into slavery.²⁵ Most of the leaders fell, except Varro, whose folly had brought on the battle.

6. HANNIBAL IN ITALY

The outlook seemed dark indeed for Rome, with military prestige lost, the city in immediate danger, and the allies now, for the first time, growing dis-

²⁴ By plebiscite. Livy, XXII, 31, 8, makes him only "acting" dictator (*pro dictatore*) in the absence of the consul.

²⁵ The ancient estimates vary from 80,000 to 50,000, and the losses accordingly from 70,000 to 40,000. For a detailed account of the battle, see Polybius, III, 115-117, and Livy, XXII, 45-50. Hannibal's forces are set at about 40,000 foot and 10,000 horse, and his loss was less than 6,000, largely Celts.

loyal. Parts of Samnium, Apulia, and Bruttium, and later Heracles, Thurii, Tarentum (except the citadel), and even the strong city of Capua went over to Hannibal. About this time also an army of the praetor in Gaul was annihilated by the Celts. But the allies of central Italy, many of the southern Greek cities, and the Latins remained loyal. Also, Hannibal lacked a sufficiently large army and the necessary machinery for successful siege operations against the fortified towns, which fact probably accounts for his surprising failure to march at once on Rome after his brilliant victory.²⁶ Above all, Roman character, courage, dogged determination, and practical sense were by no means exhausted. A new army was at once levied which was soon able to lay siege to the disloyal towns, and to render it difficult for Hannibal to provide for his soldiers. Fortunately for Rome, he could not aggressively follow up his victory, since he must protect his allies, and Rome still commanded the sea, and could hold her own in Spain, Sicily, and Sardinia.

Hannibal's forces were now gradually dissipated by years of ease in southern Italy and weakened by constant losses in his defensive operations, which he could not replace. His Italian allies showed no enthusiasm for united action against Rome, and he was in no position to impose conscription on them. He must be largely on the defensive, and was hampered on every side by the strong Roman fortresses that defied his insufficient siege machinery. In 212 B.C. the Romans laid siege to Capua, and his attempt to force them to raise the siege by a bold march on Rome proved unsuccessful. Capua was finally starved out, and lost both its territory and its organization as an allied town.

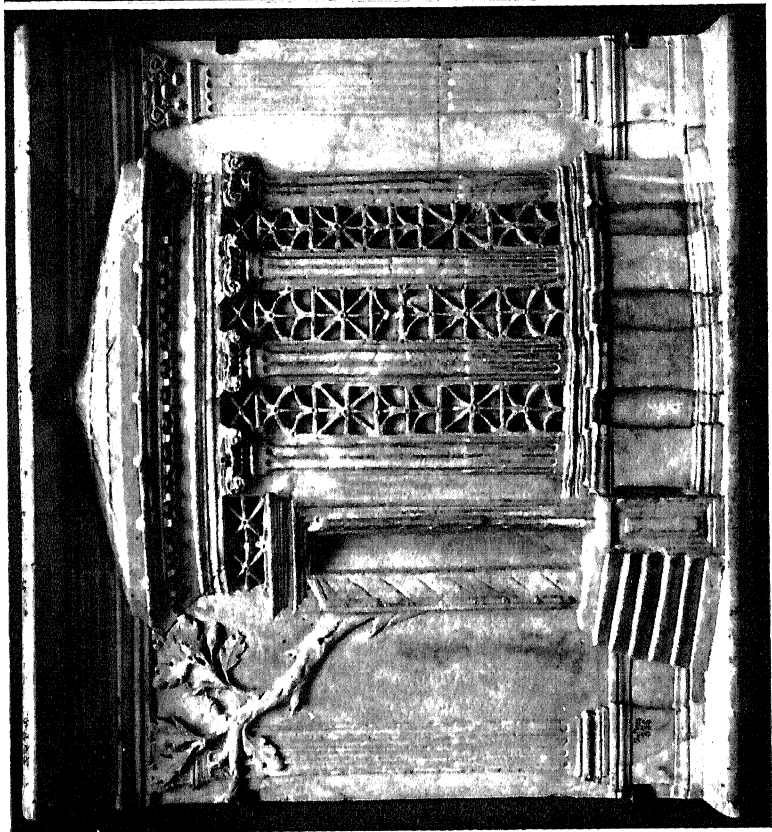
7. ROMAN SUCCESSES

The war was to be settled largely outside of Italy, however, and independently of Hannibal, by Roman successes in Sicily, in Illyria against Macedon, in Spain, and in Africa. Rome was saved, not by any failures of Hannibal or his army, but by the comparative solidarity of the Italian Confederacy, the failure of Macedon and the Greeks to unite and ally with Carthage against the common enemy, the defeat of Hasdrubal in Spain and Italy, and the Roman command of the sea.

Syracuse

After the death of the aged tyrant, Hiero, Syracuse had gone over to Carthage, and was therefore invested by the Roman general Marcellus by land and sea. When all his strategy and siege machinery proved of no avail before the inventive genius of the Hellenistic physicist, Archimedes, he settled down to a siege of the city. After months of desperate resistance, aided also by Carthage, the city finally fell to the Romans by treachery (212 B.C.). The ancient center of culture was given over to slaughter and rapine. Robbed of its wealth, its temples ravaged, its priceless art treasures sacrificed to the insatiate god of war, stripped of its artistic glories to adorn the homes of the new-rich Romans, the proud city became henceforth tributary to Rome, a part of the province of Sicily. But the supreme loss to civilization was the death of Archimedes, brutally struck down by a Roman soldier while drawing a mathematical figure

²⁶ This question later became a stock theme of debate in the Roman schools.



Left: Bas-relief of the so-called "Shrine of Vesta" in the Forum. A reproduction of one of the early circular Italian huts, early second century A.D. Uffizi, Florence. (*Alinari*) *Right:* Statue of a Vestal Virgin found in the Peristyle of the house of the Vestal Virgins in the Roman Forum. Realistic portrait of early second century A.D.



Upper: The Suovetaurilia, a bas-relief from an altar representing a public sacrifice of a bull, sheep, and pig after the census of the people, first century B.C. Louvre, Paris. Lower: Bronze Statuette of Magna Mater (Cybele) in a Chariot of Lions. First Oriental cult at Rome in the late third century B.C. (Metropolitan Museum of Art)

on the sand.²⁷ In accord with his expressed wishes, his tomb was marked by the figure of a sphere inscribed in a cylinder, symbolic of what he considered to be his greatest discovery. Carthage kept up guerrilla warfare in Sicily for a time, aided by anti-Roman feeling, but after the fall of Agrigentum in 211, Rome dominated the entire island which became increasingly the victim of Roman exploiters, whose slave gangs,²⁸ extortions, and outrages were a tragic accompaniment of the *Pax Romana*.

Macedon

The alliance of Philip V of Macedon with Hannibal also proved to be a "broken reed." He made some gains against Rome in Illyria, but was foiled in his attack on Corcyra and Apollonia by the Roman fleet. Rome's command of the sea also made it difficult to bring any effective aid to Hannibal in Italy. His energies were frittered away instead by the so-called first Macedonian War (215-205 B.C.), in which the Aetolian League, Athens, Sparta, and Pergamum were allied with Rome against Macedon and the Achaean League. The failure of the Greeks to unite their forces under the leadership of Macedon against the common enemy was to be fatal to both,²⁹ and provided a good field for the Roman policy of "divide and rule." The alliance forced Philip to give up any aggressive move against Roman territory, and finally to make peace with the Roman senate in 205 B.C.

The War in Spain (218-207)

After Gnaeus Scipio landed at Emporium in 218 B.C., he first captured the northern coast towns, then marched inland, defeating Hanno of Carthage, and securing the alliance of all the Spanish tribes north of the Ebro. With the advance of Hasdrubal, he was obliged to retreat, but on the sea the small Carthaginian fleet was no match for the Roman. The following year, when Gnaeus was joined by his brother, Publius Cornelius Scipio, with fresh forces, and Hasdrubal was recalled to Africa to quell a rebellion, the Scipios took Saguntum and won over many southern Spanish tribes from their allegiance to Carthage. Later, however, Hasdrubal returned with reinforcements from Carthage and inflicted crushing defeats on both Roman armies in turn (211). Both Scipios were slain, and all territory south of the Ebro was lost to Rome.

Nothing daunted by this disaster, Rome was all the more determined to conquer Spain in order to cut off from Carthage her chief source of silver and recruits, and to prevent her from sending aid to Hannibal in Italy. The following year, the young son and namesake of Publius Cornelius Scipio sailed for Spain with fresh legions, released for Spanish service by the recent fall of Capua and Syracuse. Since he was only in his twenty-fourth year, and had held no magistracy but the aedileship, the conferment of the *imperium* upon him was without precedent. But despite opposition of the conservatives, a special

²⁷ Marcellus had expressly ordered that the eminent scientist and his house be spared, and gave him an honorable funeral. For his ingenious siege artillery against the besiegers, see Polybius, VIII, 5-9. For his remarkable work in physics and mathematics, see Vol. I, Chapter Thirty-two, of this work.

²⁸ For the slave gangs, cf. Chapter Seven.

²⁹ See Vol. I, Chapter Thirty-two, for details.

law was passed by the assembly of the centuries, which nominated him to the supreme command in Spain, with the rank of a proconsul. Though the young Scipio proved himself fully worthy of the trust, this first authentic grant of the *imperium* to a private citizen contrary to the constitution furnished a dangerous precedent. Scipio was a strong personality of daring initiative and leadership, the first Roman general who was at all a match for Hannibal in genius, proud, generous, educated in Greek culture, deeply religious, and a shrewd diplomat and statesman. Though popular with the masses, he, however, was no friend of liberal government.

On his arrival in Spain, finding the Carthaginian armies divided and engrossed with the reconquest of the native tribes, he boldly crossed the Ebro and seized the Carthaginian capital, New Carthage, taking vast supplies and many hostages of the Spanish subject tribes. These he promptly freed, and by his kindly and tactful treatment of the Spanish peoples, soon won them over to his standard. Hasdrubal, discouraged by the success of Scipio, determined to leave Spain and march by the Alpine route to join forces with his brother in Italy. Scipio tried to prevent this, but Hasdrubal outmaneuvered him, escaping across the Pyrenees with 10,000 troops, his elephants, and war chest (208 B.C.). Unhampered by Hasdrubal, Scipio continued his conquests, until within two years Spain was forever lost to Carthage.

Hasdrubal in Italy

Meanwhile, Hasdrubal had crossed the Alps and, reinforced by the Gauls, started south to join his brother. To meet the dangerous crisis, the Romans sent one army northward to block his march, and another to hold Hannibal in Apulia. Hasdrubal wasted valuable time in the north besieging Placentia, and his messengers to his brother were waylaid by the Romans. As a result, at the Metaurus River (207) the army of Hasdrubal was annihilated, and he himself was slain. Carthage had failed to rebuild her navy and to reinforce Hannibal in Italy. With the death of Hasdrubal, the brilliant general realized that all his plans were shattered and the final doom of Carthage was sealed. Rome had reduced most of the strongholds in his hands, including Tarentum. He now withdrew his depleted forces into the mountains of Bruttium to await the sequel.

8. THE LAST PHASE

After his conquest of Spain, Scipio had returned to Rome in 205 B.C., and was unanimously elected consul, contrary to precedent, and assigned the province of Sicily. He was convinced that the only way to be rid of Hannibal and end the war was to strike directly at Carthage as the Romans had planned in 218. The recent peace with Philip of Macedon had removed any immediate danger from that quarter. The conservative majority in the senate, who disliked Scipio's modern ways and dominant manner, strongly opposed the plan as dangerous while Hannibal remained in Italy. But because of his great popularity with the masses, they were obliged to yield, on condition that he organize his own forces without drawing on the state treasury. Even the arrival of a counter-expedition of 14,000 Carthaginian soldiers under Mago at Liguria to

renew the war in Italy did not deter Scipio.³⁰ The following year, he landed near Utica with 40 ships, 400 transports, siege machinery, and about 30,000 men, 7,000 of which were volunteer veterans. The shortsighted attitude of the senate came near wrecking the expedition, for his force was too small to besiege Utica and was obliged to retire before the greatly superior numbers and powerful cavalry of the combined armies of Carthage and its Numidian ally. Hemmed in by the much stronger enemy forces, and obliged to depend on the sea for supplies, with little hope of reinforcements from Rome, he was for some months in a critical position. But finally, by a sudden attack on the enemy, grown careless in their assumed security, he decisively defeated both armies and set up the rival native chief, Masinissa, as ruler of Numidia under Rome. Carthage now sued for peace, and Scipio and the senate were ready for moderate terms, since Hannibal was still in Italy and the walls of Carthage could stand a long siege.

The chief condition of the preliminary treaty drawn up in 203 B.C. was the evacuation of Italy by Hannibal and his veterans. Thus ended in tragic failure all the brilliant plans of this supreme master in military strategy. After nearly fifteen years in the heart of the enemy's country, marked by repeated victories and never a defeat, he was forced to withdraw through lack of resources and failure at home, leaving behind only the record of his exploits inscribed on a bronze tablet in the temple of Hera at Lacinia. The Roman senate celebrated his departure by honoring the aged Fabius as the savior of the state.

The ratification of the preliminary terms of peace was delayed by prolonged debate at Rome until Hannibal and his veterans had returned to Carthage. His arrival aroused an irresistible surge of enthusiasm and overconfidence, which bore the extreme patriots to power. They broke the armistice by reckless plunder of some shipwrecked Roman transports, and answered Scipio's demand for redress by blank refusal and a treacherous attack on his envoys. Thus the war was renewed. Scipio, unable to lay siege to Carthage, satisfied himself with ravaging the surrounding country and undertook to join forces with Masinissa. Hannibal hastened toward Numidia to intercept the union and force the Romans back to the sea, but was too late. The armies of the two greatest generals of the war now faced each other for the final trial of strength on the field of Zama (202). In the decisive battle that followed, Hannibal met a crushing defeat, not through any failure on his part, but through Scipio's generalship, the confusion arising from the terrified elephants and the flight of the Carthaginian mercenaries at the crucial moment. Hannibal himself escaped to Hadrumetum. The Roman senate had deserved defeat, since it had permitted the two Carthaginian armies to unite by its stupid delay, and the naval reinforcements did not arrive until after the battle.

The terms of peace, now much harsher, were dictated by Rome. Carthage must give up all territory except the capital and its surrounding lands, pay an annual indemnity of 200 talents for fifty years (\$12,000,000), surrender all war elephants and all ships except ten triremes, and agree not to make war either beyond or in Africa without Rome's consent. Rome retained 100 Carthaginian

³⁰ Mago was reinforced by Gallic and Ligurian troops, but was decisively defeated and wounded. His forces escaped to the sea and returned to Carthage (203 B.C.).

hostages as a guarantee of good faith. Spain and the adjacent islands were henceforth Roman, and a united Numidia was established under Masinissa, as an ally of Rome. Scipio returned to Rome to celebrate his triumph over the "Lion of Carthage," and henceforth bore the name Africanus in honor of his victory. Rome was now supreme in the West, and the Italian allies of Hannibal paid dearly for their disloyalty by loss of their lands and privileges.

According to the armistice of 203, Carthage would have retained her full sovereignty with her entire African empire intact. The final treaty after Zama cut this territory in two, made Carthage practically a dependency of Rome in foreign affairs, with Rome's ally, Numidia, at her very door. In a few years Carthage was counted among Rome's allies.³¹ Her fate resulted, not through any lack in her generals who, until Scipio, had far surpassed the Roman in all respects, but through her fatal failure to rebuild a navy, her insufficient support of Hannibal in Italy, the larger citizen military resources of Rome, and the general loyalty of the Italian confederacy. Through the proconsulship also, Rome overcame her earlier disadvantage of annual change of military command.

Though victorious Rome had now added Spain to her possessions, she was not as yet ambitious for imperial expansion. Aggressive and dictatorial she certainly was, but much of the time she was on the defensive. Spain was taken as the Carthaginian source of recruits and dangerous base for invasion of Italy, but Numidia was not annexed, and there seems to have been no thought of subjecting Carthage. Roman policy had been chiefly protective, to keep intact Rome's supremacy over the Italian Confederacy against all enemies at any cost, and to maintain security against invasion by sea or land.

9. THE SECOND PUNIC WAR IN HISTORY

The second Punic War was of momentous significance for future history. By making Rome mistress of the Western sea, it started her on the path of imperial expansion from which there was no turning back. Thus was decided the destiny of Rome and the whole Mediterranean basin for centuries to come, and consequently, to a large degree, the general character of our Western civilization. The war also meant much for the transformation of Roman life, culture, and institutions. More immediately, it solidified the Italian Confederacy and hastened the process of leveling to a uniform status of common subjection under Rome.

The victory meant a marked advance in the prestige of the senatorial oligarchy and the discrediting of the democratic assembly which was held responsible for the folly of Cannae. The senatorial class, on the other hand, had not only come through with flying colors, but the war had vastly increased its wealth. The result was a growth of aristocratic exclusiveness of the governing class and a jealous attitude regarding citizenship. The military crises of the war also necessitated the frequent lengthening of the *imperium* through the proconsulship, and repeated re-elections to the consulship contrary to the constitution. The two elder Scipios, Sempronius, Fabius, and Marcellus are all exam-

³¹ Livy, XXXVI, 4, 10.

ples. The two latter were each elected to the consulship five times, and repeatedly held the proconsulship in alternate years. The younger Scipio, as we have seen, was given the *imperium* with rank of proconsul as a private citizen when under age and without the required official experience. All this weakened constitutional government, and prepared the way for later military dictatorship and the death of the Republic. The war also prepared the way for the later shift from the citizen soldier serving by conscription to the professional volunteer serving at the behest of his general.

Economically and socially, the war had devastating consequences for Italy, especially in the south. Its fields pillaged and plundered for twelve years by the army of Hannibal and repeatedly fought over by opposing forces, its cities stormed, and its once prosperous Greek ports reduced to wretched villages, the country presented a fatal balance of ruin for all the spoils of victory. The loss of the flower of the population in the citizen class alone is variously estimated at from one-sixth to one-half. In some sections the rural inhabitants had almost disappeared. Great tracts of once fertile country in Latium and elsewhere lay uncultivated. Land was a drug on the market. It was difficult to find settlers to recolonize outposts like Cremona and Placentia. The sturdy yeoman farmer class of the Italian countryside was decimated by the war or weaned from prosy agriculture by the lowering morale of prolonged camp life. Many returned only to find their little farms hopelessly ravaged or appropriated by others. Burdened by debt and unable to compete with the wealthier farmers, they were reduced to tenants or wage earners or made their way to the capital to swell the growing class of city proletariat, who eked out a precarious living from their patrons or the state. These were later to form excellent raw material for a mob assembly swayed by demagogues. Meanwhile 2,000,000 acres were necessarily taken over by the state and leased to the wealthy in large tracts at nominal rental for sheep ranches which required fewer hands and brought better returns than grain farming. Here began, on a large scale, the later system of great estates, *latifundia*, held by absentee owners and worked by slave labor, which the large supply of prisoners of war had increased to unhealthy proportions. These *latifundia* became vested interests of the governing class, which fact prevented all later attempts to rehabilitate the yeoman farmer, and presented a permanently insoluble and ever more aggravated economic and social problem to the Roman state.

The war also entailed a terrible depletion of the financial resources of Rome. Aside from the ruin of agriculture, the depression of trade, and the pillage of cities, the expense of keeping large armies constantly in the field for many years in northern and southern Italy, Sicily, and Sardinia, of undertaking prolonged sieges in Italy and at Syracuse, of carrying on aggressive campaigns in Spain and Africa, and of maintaining navies in the Adriatic against Macedon and in the Sicilian and Western seas against Carthage was an appalling drain on Rome. All the ordinary means of taxation and revenue were exhausted. The victory also gave opportunity for the display in the upper classes of a hard spirit of commercialism, arrogance, and luxury, a brutalizing of character through the great increase in slaveholding, and a drive for wealth by plunder, speculation, war profits, false contracts and exploitation.

Finally, Rome was now faced with many baffling problems as the aftermath of the war. Some of these were to provide good provincial government, to revamp the constitution of an agricultural city-state to fit an empire, to reorganize the Italian federation, to reconstruct agriculture and finance, to restore the yeoman farmer and check the tendency toward *latifundia*, to restrain the increasing arrogance, luxury, and license, to solve constructively the problem of the unemployed, to keep the military from dominating the civil power, and to develop a sane balance of liberal government. We shall later see how Rome's failure to grapple seriously with these problems led finally to civil war, military dictatorship, and the downfall of the Republic.

Chapter Six

ROMAN EXPANSION AND FOREIGN POLICY IN THE HELLENISTIC EAST (200-133 B.C.)

Political history is packed with military decisions of nations, lightly made, which have later proved to be big with national and world destiny. Such was the easy decision of the Roman populace to take the first step out of Italy in 265 B.C. against Carthage. One step led to another, and each became more imperative, as Rome became ever more involved in world politics and the responsibilities of world leadership. The war against Hannibal led to hostilities with Macedon and alliance with the Greeks. Victory and power brought with it responsibility, and engendered national ambition and conceit. Henceforth, Rome was the natural protector of the small states against the aggressions of the Hellenistic empires. The supreme power in the West could brook no competitor in the East to endanger her supremacy. Thus the stage was set for the ready intervention of the Roman senate in the East Mediterranean, which entailed such momentous consequences for Rome, Greece, and the Hellenistic East, and the future of Western civilization. This intervention, at first, by no means implied an ambition for imperial expansion. Rome had no desire to conquer or annex, but, by pursuing her long-standing policy of "divide and rule," by weakening the strong states and protecting the weak from their aggression, to prevent any power from becoming strong enough to threaten Roman interests.

I. THE POLITICAL STAGE

(200 B.C.)

A brief review of the political situation in the Hellenistic East about 200 B.C. will contribute to our understanding of Rome's intervention.¹ During most of the third century, a certain political equilibrium had been maintained in the Aegean through the concert of the three great empires, Syria under the Seleucids, Egypt under the Ptolemies, and Macedonia under the Antigonids, with the lesser powers contributing to the balance. The Seleucid Empire, with its capital at Antioch on the Orontes, was the largest of the three in area and population, though inferior to Egypt in wealth. Theoretically, it extended from the Aegean to the Indus, though the Seleucid rulers had practically lost control of all territory east of the two rivers. The authority of the dynasty was based upon mercenary troops and the support of the multitude of Greek city-states, which enjoyed much local autonomy under the king. The native agricultural masses were practically in a state of serfdom on the lands of the

¹ For a more detailed analysis of Hellenistic politics, see Vol. I, Chapter Thirty, p. 474 ff.

crown, nobles, or cities. Antiochus III (220-187) won the title of "Great" by his victorious campaigns which temporarily restored the bounds of the Empire to India. His victories aroused in him ambitious projects to win southern Syria from Egypt, and to conquer Asia Minor, which led to his conflict with Rome.

During much of the third century Ptolemaic Egypt controlled Cyrene, the southern Syrian coast, Cyprus, and several coast cities and islands in the Aegean. The Ptolemies, backed by a strong Greek mercenary army, maintained absolute political and economic control as proprietors of Egypt. Aside from the Greek and Macedonian exploiters, the population consisted chiefly of several million native peasants, tenants of the crown who were practically serfs. The foreign policy of the Ptolemies to control the Aegean and southern Syria was determined largely by the necessity of securing foreign mercenaries to uphold their absolute position as exploiters of Egypt. They therefore sought to maintain a balance by subsidizing the smaller Aegean states and forming commercial alliances. In this imperial policy they were naturally opposed by both the Seleucids and Macedon who destroyed the Egyptian fleet and thus broke its control of the Aegean in 242 B.C. Henceforth the control of the Ptolemies over their Syrian Empire gradually declined, and from 217 B.C. they were increasingly forced to depend on Egypt for troops, thereby weakening their power over the native population and arousing internal strife. The dynasty had also sadly degenerated. The death of the indolent sensualist, Philopator, in 204 B.C. left a five-year-old son as his successor, who was a mere puppet in the hands of corrupt and inefficient factions. Thus at the close of the century, the weakened internal condition of Ptolemaic Egypt made it a ready prey to foreign aggression.

Macedon, though weaker in population and resources than Egypt or the Seleucid kingdom, was stronger in its internal unity, since the Antigonids were not exploiters of a subject population, but as successors to Philip and Alexander, based their power on the old Macedonian national patriotism and an efficient national army. The degree of their control of the Greek states shifted with the ever-changing situation. The two Greek Leagues, subsidized by the Ptolemies, had been largely independent, but their mutual jealousies and the alliance of Antigonos Doson with the Achaean League, which resulted in the utter defeat of Sparta at Sellasia in 222 B.C., gave him control of much of central Greece and the Peloponnesus. His successor, Philip V, continued to hold this general position in Greece until Roman intervention, despite the hostile alliance of Pergamum, Rhodes, and the Aetolian League during the first Macedonian War against Rome.² But he incurred the permanent suspicion of Rome by his alliance with Hannibal, and his overweening ambition and autocratic spirit failed to win the loyalty of the Greeks.

Of the lesser powers, Athens, still a recognized intellectual center, was free after 229 B.C., but its political influence was negligible. The Aetolian League, including much of central and western Greece, was still quite primitive in civilization. The Achaean League, controlling most of the Peloponnesus, later

² See Chapter Five for details. The chief ancient sources for the war are Polybius, V, end, and fragments of VII-XI; Livy, XXVI-XXIX, based on Polybius, and Plutarch, *Aratus*, and *Philopomen*, both from Polybius.

sacrificed some of its independence by its alliance with Macedon against Sparta.³ The wealthy kingdom of Pergamum in Asia Minor under the Attalids, and the merchant republic of Rhodes usually worked together with the Greek states to secure peace and the balance of power in the Aegean, and to prevent any of the three great powers from monopolizing trade in the Aegean or the Pontus.

Toward the close of the century, the breakdown of the old concert of powers opened the way for international anarchy and imperial aggression. Weakened Egypt invited the aggression of the ambitious Antiochus III and Philip V. In 202 Antiochus started a campaign to regain the Syrian lands of the weak Ptolemy and cherished schemes of aggression against Asia Minor. Philip also sought further outlet for his ambitions, to offset the successes of Antiochus, by attacking Thessaly, the Thracian coast, Samos, and even Pergamum. Later he set sail for Alexandria, but was checked by his defeat at the hands of the Rhodians in the naval battle of Chios. The highhanded aggressions of Antiochus and Philip aroused the fears of Egypt and the smaller powers. Even before the close of the Punic War, Egypt and Aetolia had appealed to Rome for aid, and this was followed in 201 by the more insistent appeal of Rhodes and Pergamum.

II. ROME INTERVENES

The readiness of the Roman senate to accept the appeal for intervention in the East is surprising, since Rome had just emerged from the long and devastating struggle with Carthage for her very life. Her citizens and allies were utterly weary of war, her finances were exhausted, and the gravest internal problems were demanding attention. Down to 201 B.C. Rome had shown little interest in the East and had formed no definite Eastern policy. Her first intervention in Illyria after the first Punic War was primarily in defense of her own coasts from piratical attacks. The more recent conflict with Macedon ending in the Peace of 205 was not aggressive, but due to the alliance of Philip with Hannibal and the desire to defend her small protectorate in Illyria. Even as late as 202 B.C. the senate rejected the appeal of Aetolia against Philip's aggressions, and rumors of the schemes of Antiochus against Egypt went unheeded. Rome had no real grievance against Philip, since he had been most careful to keep the peace of 205 B.C.⁴ Neither was she bound by treaties to aid the Greeks, as Livy asserts, since these were only treaties of friendship, not of alliance. Indeed, her sacred law (*jus fetiale*) forbade any but "defensive" wars for Rome or her allies.

Yet the senate's decision to intervene in spite of the determined opposition of the centuriate assembly is no evidence of its sudden conversion to a policy of military aggrandizement and expansion. The complaint of the envoys from Pergamum and Rhodes that Philip and Antiochus had entered into a pact to partition the Egyptian Empire aroused the senate to a realization of the danger to Roman interests from the threatened breakdown of the old balance of

³ For the organization of the Greek Federal Leagues, see Vol. I, Chapter Thirty.

⁴ The claims of Philip's aggressions against Rome are later inventions of Roman patriotic historians. On Rome's Eastern conquests, cf. maps (A-E) opposite p. 110.

powers in the East Mediterranean.⁵ Philip's previous alliance with Hannibal, also, who was still at large and plotting against Rome in the East, the desire to protect Illyria from Philip, the drive of ambitious military leaders, and philhellenism, which was then very strong among cultured Romans, may also have influenced the decision.

Quick action against Philip would prevent his ally from bringing aid, and win the lasting friendship of Egypt, Pergamum, and the Greeks as defensive outposts for Rome in the East. The time was especially opportune, as Antiochus was occupied with his campaign in Syria, and Philip was busy with his naval projects in the eastern Aegean. Rome would have the aid of the fleets of Pergamum and Rhodes, and military support of the Aetolian League. It was, therefore, easy to find an excuse for intervention in Philip's alleged attack on Rome's ally, Attalus, and popular opposition to the step was finally overcome by urging the necessity of acting now rather than being forced to fight Philip in Italy later. An ultimatum was presented to Philip who was then besieging Abydos on the Hellespont, demanding that he cease all aggressions against Greek cities or Egypt, and settle his disputes with Attalus and Rhodes by arbitration if he wished to keep peace with Rome. Philip haughtily rejected the ultimatum, and the second Macedonian War began. Rome also sent envoys to Antiochus to encourage him temporarily in his Syrian campaign so as to keep him from aiding his Macedonian ally.

III. THE SECOND MACEDONIAN WAR ⁶

A Roman army was already in action against Philip before the close of the year 200, but despite the aid of the Aetolians, Rhodes, Athens, and Pergamum, it made little headway until 198, when Titus Flamininus arrived to take command. He won the Achaean League to the alliance and drove Philip from Epirus into Thessaly. Philip was now ready to talk peace, but the hard conditions of the Roman senate made peace seem impossible.

With the resumption of hostilities in 197, Flamininus won a decisive victory over Philip in a stubborn battle among the rugged hills of Cynoscephalae (Dog's Heads), Thessaly. The Macedonian loss was 8,000 slain and 5,000 prisoners. The chief factors in the victory were the Aetolian cavalry, and especially the advantage of the flexible manipular formation of the Romans over the rigid Macedonian phalanx, which needed more level ground for its maneuvers.⁷ Philip retreated to Macedon and offered peace on the terms previously rejected. The Aetolians urged a continuance of the war to destroy Macedon, but Flamininus agreed to an armistice until the terms of peace could be arranged. He recognized the value of Macedon as a buffer state against the Celts and Thracians and the Roman senate was not as yet seeking annexation but security.

⁵ The strength of Antiochus was overestimated in Rome.

⁶ The chief ancient source is the fragmentary account of Polybius, XIII-XVI; XVIII; XX-XXI. Books XVII and XIX are entirely lost. Livy, XXXI, 14; XXXVIII, 41, is a valuable supplement for the lost parts of his narrative, though marred by errors and patriotic coloring. Plutarch's *Flamininus* is also useful.

⁷ See Polybius, XVIII, 28-32, on the comparative advantages and disadvantages of the Roman and Macedonian equipment and formation.

He probably also thought best to check the ambitious Aetolians, and feared that the aggressive Antiochus would soon undertake to aid his ally. The following terms of peace were fixed by the Roman senate and accepted perforce by Philip: the autonomy of all the Greek states, the surrender to Rome of Macedonian strongholds in Greece, the Aegean, and Illyricum, especially Corinth, Chalcis, and Demetrias, the surrender of all but six warships, and the payment of 1,000 talents (\$1,200,000) indemnity, one-half down and the balance in ten annual installments. Philip accepted the status of an ally of Rome.

Despite the complaints of the Aetolian League which had hoped to enter into the heritage of Macedon in Greece, Flamininus now determined to win the loyalty of the Greeks as allies of Rome against Philip or Antiochus by decreeing their full autonomy. Before the assembled multitude at the Isthmian Games in 196 B.C., he read his dramatic proclamation of complete independence of all Greeks who had been subject to Macedon.

At once at the very commencement, a tremendous shout arose, and some did not even hear the proclamation, while others wanted to hear it again.—But when the herald, coming forward to the middle of the stadium and again silencing the noise by his bugler, made the same identical proclamation, such a mighty burst of cheering arose that those who listen to the tale to-day cannot easily conceive what it was. When at length the noise had subsided, not a soul took any further interest in the athletes, but all, talking either to their neighbors or to themselves, were almost like men beside themselves. So much so indeed that after the games were over they very nearly put an end to Flamininus by their expressions of thanks. For some of them, longing to look him in the face and call him their saviour, others in their anxiety to grasp his hand, and the greater number throwing crowns and fillets on him, they all but tore the man in pieces.⁸

After remaining two years to execute his decree, and aid in forming new governments in the liberated states, he returned to Rome. But his preference for aristocratic constitutions disappointed the Greek masses who began to long for their old master, Philip. Flamininus' encouragement of the particularism and love of autonomy of the petty Greek states seems futile and out of date, but it was also the policy of the Roman senate. National unity could not have been successfully imposed on the Greeks, and Rome was not yet ready for annexation. The policy was not primarily sentimental, but in the national interest, to win the loyalty of the Greeks from Macedon, and thus to divide and hold the balance. His error was that he did not organize and hold Greece against the threat of invasion by Antiochus.

IV. THE WAR WITH ANTIOCHUS III AND THE AETOLIAN LEAGUE (192-189 B.C.)

While Rome was employed in curbing the ambitions of Philip, Antiochus had hastened to conquer southern Syria from Ptolemy (198), and to invade

⁸ Polybius, XVIII, 46, 6-12, *Loeb Classical Library* translation (W. R. Paton), by permission of the Harvard University Press.

Asia Minor, taking Ephesus, Abydos, and other Greek cities once held by the Ptolemies. He posed as a friend of Rome and claimed merely to be restoring the bounds of the former Seleucid Empire. But the taking of Abydos was a direct challenge to Rome, since it had previously been held by Philip who was now perforce Rome's ally. Meanwhile he proceeded to take all the strongholds on the Asia Minor coast, though as free Greek or Ptolemaic cities or towns previously conquered by Philip, they were all more or less under the sponsorship of Rome. By 195 he had crossed the Hellespont into Europe, and was undertaking the conquest of Thrace on the specious plea that it was once included in the conquests of the first Seleucus.

The aggressions of Antiochus were already disturbing the Roman senate, and in 196 it sent envoys with the stipulations that he should not advance west of Lycia, evacuate all the Greek cities in Asia whether autonomous or originally held by Ptolemy or Philip, and withdraw entirely from Europe. By shrewd diplomacy, Antiochus bluffed Rome and refused to recognize her right to exclude him from Thrace. Meanwhile, in 194 B.C., Rome had foolishly withdrawn her legions from Greece. The following year Antiochus sent envoys to Rome for alliance of friendship. This embarrassed the senate, since it could not honorably accept the *status quo*, and refusal would lead to war. A compromise was therefore proposed on the basis of the old Greek theory of spheres of influence, noninterference of Rome in Asia, and the withdrawal of Antiochus from Europe. While hard on Rhodes and Pergamum, her allies, such an arrangement would have been far better for Rome, Greece, and Antiochus alike, and might have been established had it not been for the revolt of the Aetolians which led to Antiochus' invasion of Greece. Disgruntled at not being the heir of Macedonia in Greece, they plotted with Sparta and sought to win over Philip and Antiochus to the alliance against Rome. Philip remained loyal, and Antiochus was slow to take the risk. He wisely refused to listen to Hannibal's advice to join Carthage in the invasion of Italy.⁹ But when the Aetolians seized Demetrias, one of the chief Greek strongholds, and presented it to Antiochus, offering him also command of the forces in Greece, he joined the alliance and invaded Greece with 10,000 troops.

On his arrival, he found to his disappointment that Philip and the Achaean League remained loyal to Rome. Meanwhile, Rome had declared war and sent a force of 20,000 troops into Greece, which easily routed Antiochus and his Aetolian allies at Thermopylae, though he made good his retreat to Asia. Making a temporary truce with the Aetolians, the Romans now prepared to settle with Antiochus in Asia. The next year Lucius Scipio was sent as consul with his famous brother, Scipio Africanus, to serve as the real commander of the expedition. Defeated in a naval battle by the allied fleet of Pergamum, Rhodes, and Rome, Antiochus offered peace, but refused to meet the demands of Scipio. The result was his decisive defeat by Rome in the Battle of Magnesia (190). Henceforth the Seleucid Empire was increasingly subject to Roman dictation. Antiochus agreed to surrender all territory north of the Taurus and west of Pamphylia, all his war elephants, and all except ten ships, to pay a war

⁹ Hannibal had sought refuge at his court in 196 B.C.

indemnity of 15,000 talents (\$18,000,000) in twelve annual installments, and to make no war against the allies of Rome unless in self-defense. Hannibal, who was to be handed over to Rome, escaped to Bithynia, where he took his own life.

The Roman senate again showed no interest in annexing new territory. Antiochus, with his right of self-defense even against Roman allies, was left much more independent than Carthage, and was not even obliged to furnish troops to Rome. He lost extensive lands to Rome's allies, Pergamum and Rhodes, but he still had all the East as his field and might have recouped the Seleucid fortunes had he not died three years after his defeat. Some of the previously free Greek cities in Asia Minor were left independent; Rhodes was given Caria and Lycia south of the Maeander; Pergamum was nearly quadrupled in extent, and its dangerous enemies, the Galatians, were thoroughly defeated by Rome.¹⁰ Thus did Rome again follow her old policy of curbing the strong and strengthening the weak, leaving a group of mutually jealous states and no one powerful enough to upset the balance.

Rome was now ready to settle with the Aetolians and demanded unconditional surrender. They prepared to fight it out to a finish, but a compromise peace was effected through the mediation of Athens in 189 B.C. by which the Aetolians yielded all claim to territories lost during the war and accepted the status of an ally of Rome with the obligation of furnishing its quota of troops. The port of Ambracia was surrendered and destroyed, and the pirate center at Cephallenia was permanently occupied by a Roman garrison.

The Roman senate had reason for satisfaction with the eastern campaigns. Antiochus and Philip had been curbed and were now listed among the "friends" of Rome. Rhodes and Pergamum were bound all the more closely to her alliance. Athens and the Achaean League were friendly, and the Aetolians, though locally autonomous, were reduced to the status of subject allies. Greece was now definitely within Rome's sphere of influence, yet not a foot of land was annexed as a result of the campaigns, and, theoretically, both allies and defeated enemies, except the Aetolians, retained their independence. This seeming indifference to expansion in Greece may have been somewhat affected by the influence of the enlightened Scipio with his admiration for Greek culture. But the basic reason was the same as in Asia, the reluctance of the Roman senate to undertake permanent responsibility so far from home. The growth of a more aggressive party at home, the failure of the Greek states and Macedon to play the game with Rome, and the lack of any proper concert of powers in Greece and the East, however, soon rendered such a *laissez-faire* policy impossible. With the departure of Rome's legions, her makeshift arrangements soon broke down and demanded renewed intervention and finally the complete subjugation of Greece.¹¹

¹⁰ Probably the aim of this expedition of Manlius was not to give Rome permanent mastery in the East, but to guard against the danger from the Galatians and other barbarians in the interior, now that Antiochus was out of Asia Minor.

¹¹ For the shift to a more aggressive policy in Rome about 187 B.C., and the loss of political leadership of the Scipios to Cato, see T. Frank, *Roman Imperialism*, pp. 188 ff.

V. THE THIRD MACEDONIAN WAR

(171-167 B.C.)

Discontent was sure to arise among the liberty-loving Greeks when they discovered that Flaminius' proclamation of independence was interpreted by Rome to mean only a limited freedom, subject to Roman interests and supervision. The Achaean League resented the appeal of Sparta to Rome, and the decision of Rome in its favor. As a result, that chronic evil in Greece, the partisan spirit, split the League into an oligarchic faction favoring Roman supremacy and a democratic faction leaning to Macedon and determined to retain complete autonomy. Rome naturally espoused the cause of the former, and the latter, in self-defense, began to court Macedon.

The loyalty of Philip V to Rome was also short-lived. Aroused at the refusal of the senate to permit him to annex the territory that he had taken as an ally in the war against Antiochus, he began military and financial preparations to free Macedonia from Rome's dictation. His son and successor, Perseus, inheriting a well-trained army of over 30,000 men and a reserve fund of 6,000 talents, continued his father's plans, forming alliances with Rome's enemies throughout Greece and the East. But the Roman senate, informed by Eumenes of Pergamum, its subservient friend, determined to force war upon Perseus at once before his plans were completed. In 172 a Roman commission presented to him impossible demands, and, on his refusal, declared war. All attempts of Perseus at conciliation were rebuffed. A new policy of aggressive action had gained the upper hand in Rome, and the next year a Roman force had landed in Greece and advanced into Thessaly.

For two years the invaders made little headway, owing to the remarkable inefficiency of the Roman commanders and the lack of discipline among the soldiers. The deadlock was finally broken in 168 by the arrival of a general of real ability, the consul, Aemilius Paullus, who decisively defeated Perseus at Pydna. Thus ended the Hellenistic kingdom of Macedon. The country was not annexed, but was divided into four autonomous republics under Roman supervision, which were kept from reuniting by the prohibition of mutual rights of *commercium* and *conubium*. Coinage was permitted, but an annual tribute of 100 talents, less than half of their tax to Perseus, was imposed, probably as an indemnity to meet the expense of the war rather than as a mark of subjection. The profitable mines and royal estates were also appropriated by the conqueror, and the export of timber and import of salt were forbidden, to continue for the new republics the state control of these products previously held by the Macedonian kings.

The constitutions of the four republics established by Aemilius Paullus were in some respects unique in Greek constitutional history. They provided for a representative council of delegates chosen by the individual communities and an executive elected annually by a direct vote of the popular assembly. The representative principle was not new to the Greek Leagues, but here, perhaps for the first time, the representative council instead of the popular assembly is the legislative body and the real government of the state. The central govern-

ment was also far stronger than in the Greek Federal Leagues. Of course, the citizenship was probably limited to the propertied classes, in accord with Rome's usual policy in Greece.¹²

VI. ROMAN POLICY AFTER PYDNA

The time had now passed for the old easygoing policy of the Scipios by which Rome had acted as the chief member of a balance of powers in the Aegean. A new pragmatic party, dominated by the spirit of Cato, and standing for stern action and dictation in the affairs of Greece, now held the helm. As interpreted by Rome, "freedom" now implied no right to carry out any independent policy. Though not yet annexed, Greek and Asiatic allies were henceforth actually subjects who were expected to accept Rome's advice as a command. Irritated by the conduct of her Greek allies during the war, and arrogant as victor over Macedon, the senate, through Aemilius Paullus, now proceeded to deal drastically with them. The anti-Roman leaders throughout Greece were punished with death or exile. Though Rome found no incriminating evidence against the Achaean League and its general Lycortas, 1,000 of its chief citizens, among whom was the historian Polybius, the son of Lycortas, were taken to Rome as hostages for the future loyalty of the confederacy.¹³

The Rhodian allies, as apparently friends of Perseus, were treated more drastically. Rhodes was therefore deprived of all its holdings in Asia Minor, and suffered the ruin of its prosperous trade¹⁴ through the creation of a free port at the island of Delos, under Athens, but practically subject to Rome.

Even the subservient Eumenes of Pergamum, the original informer against Perseus, was now under grave suspicion of having entered into secret correspondence with the enemy and lost his extensive conquests in Galatia and Bithynia. But the most drastic punishment was reserved for Epirus. Its seventy towns were sacked and 150,000 of its people were sold into slavery. The Roman senate still called the Greeks "free," but both Greek and Hellenistic states had now been rudely awakened to the fact that behind the mask of freedom was the stern face of the Roman master.

Henceforth, the new senatorial party in the saddle at Rome followed a hard, practical policy, one hundred per cent Roman. Conciliation, local autonomy, and open diplomacy were taboo. The attitude represented by Cato, the dominant spirit, was one of haughty national superiority, which despised all foreigners, including Greeks, as inferiors,¹⁵ insisted that Rome was always right, opposed Greek influences in Rome as degrading, and regarded any means as legitimate for attaining its ends. Rome must be recognized as the actual sovereign of the East Mediterranean to whose dictatorship all, whether friends, allies, or enemies, must submit.

Nor was Rome's dictation to be limited to Europe. After the victory of

¹² See T. Frank, *Roman Imperialism*, pp. 209-210.

¹³ They were held in Italy for seventeen years, which fact aroused a deep resentment among the Achaeans. Polybius, however, became a great admirer of the Roman constitution, efficiency, and character, and became the historian of Roman expansion, as we have seen.

¹⁴ Polybius, XXX, 31, 12, says that the harbor dues fell from 1,000,000 drachmas to 150,000.

¹⁵ Cato regularly referred scornfully to the Greeks as *Graeculi*, "Greeklings."

Pydna, the Roman senate sent an envoy to Antiochus IV demanding his withdrawal from the siege of Alexandria. There was nothing for him to do but to yield to the new dictator of the East Mediterranean. But for Roman intervention, the Seleucid monarch might well have annexed the degenerate Ptolemaic kingdom and might have crushed the Maccabean rebellion of the Jews.¹⁶

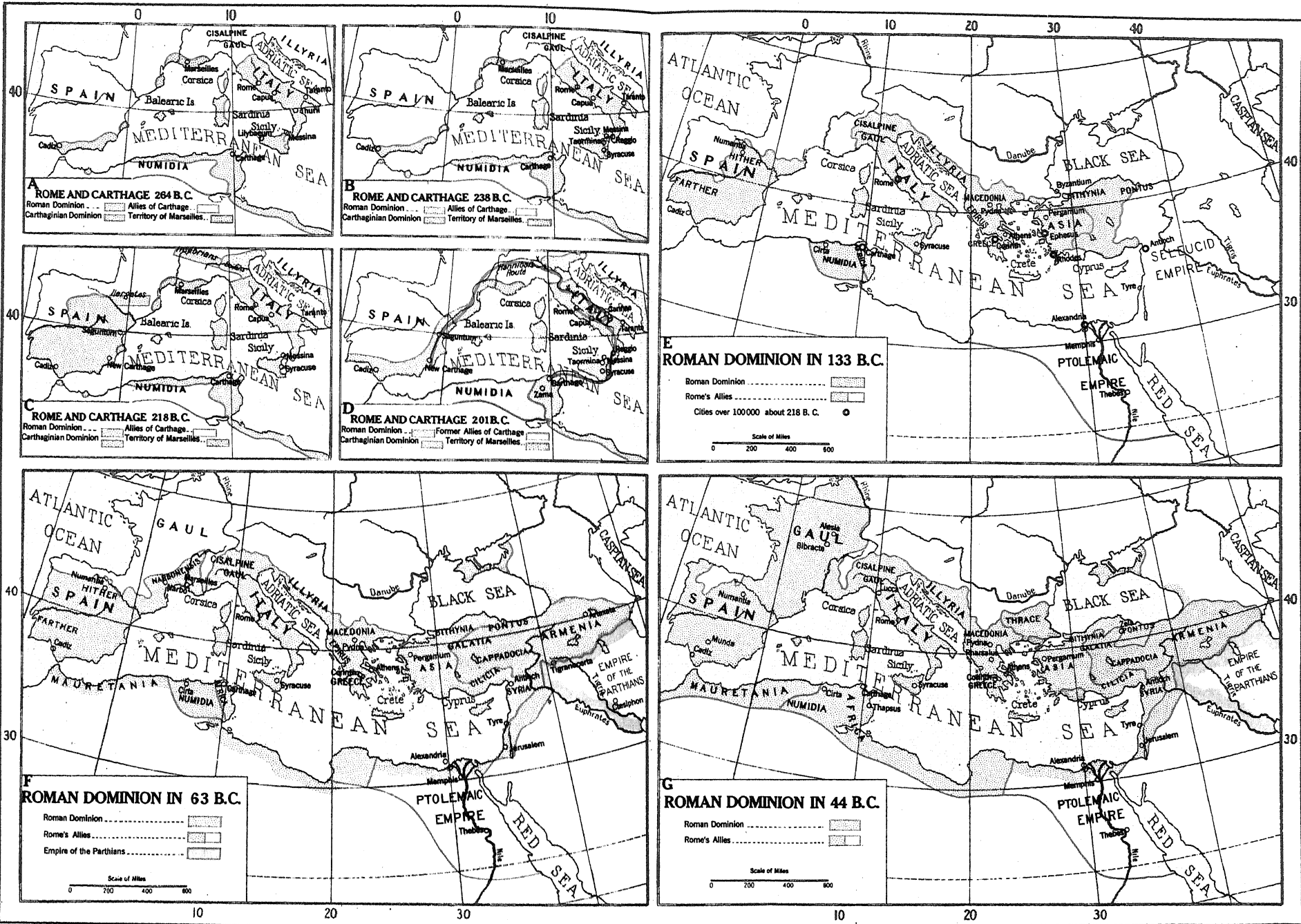
Despite the repeated interventions, victories, and growing responsibilities of Rome in the East, no new provinces were added between 197 and 146 B.C. The primary reason was probably the reluctance of the senatorial nobility to lose its exclusive prestige of office by the increase of magistrates with *imperium*, especially praetors, which the annexation of new provinces would have required. The difficulty was finally met when annexation was no longer avoidable in 146, as we shall see, by extending the term of each praetor and consul another year as promagisterial governors in the provinces.¹⁷

This policy of accepting privilege without responsibility was ruinous. Rome kept only a slight army in the East, and the small forces of the weakened Hellenistic and Greek states were now unable to keep order. Anarchy and chaos reigned. With the breakdown of Rhodian police power of the sea, piracy dominated the Aegean and made the import of grain to Greece from the Euxine, Egypt, or Asia Minor increasingly difficult, since Rome kept no regular fleet in Greek waters. Amid the universal discontent, party strife raged ever more fiercely between the pro-Roman aristocracy and the democratic masses in Greece. Since Rome had destroyed the concert of powers without imposing a *pax Romana* or protecting the boundaries, constant conflicts arose between the Hellenistic states of Asia, and the weak Macedonian republics were impotent to protect themselves from the incursions of barbarians, Thracians, Celts, and Illyrians. Such a condition was intolerable and could not long continue. If Rome would be the successor to Alexander and the Hellenistic empires, she must accept the responsibility as well as the privilege. The dénouement of the drama of Rome's venture into the East was at hand. Intervention must be followed by annexation.

On the return of Aemilius Paullus to Rome, he celebrated his victory over Perseus with a splendid triumph, lasting three days. Two hundred and fifty wagons bore the spoils of war, art, arms, silver, furniture, and four hundred golden crowns from the Greek cities. In the procession marched the captive sons and daughter of Perseus, and at the head rode Aemilius Paullus as a veritable monarch. Such elaborate triumphs whetted the appetite of the Roman leaders for military expansion and were prophetic of the coming of imperial monarchy. So enormous was the booty taken from Perseus and Greece that the war tax on the property of Roman citizens, *tributum civium Romanorum*, was not again levied until 43 B.C. Such a result was also a strong factor in arousing the interest of the citizenship in imperial expansion.

¹⁶ On the policy of Antiochus in Judaea and the resulting rebellion, backed by Rome, see Vol. I, pp. 475-476.

¹⁷ For a detailed analysis of this theory, cf. F. B. Marsh, *The Founding of the Roman Empire*, 2d ed., Oxford, 1927, Chap. I.



VII. CAMPAIGNS IN CISALPINE GAUL, LIGURIA, AND SPAIN

The campaigns of the Romans in Macedonia and Syria by no means engrossed their entire attention during these years. Cisalpine Gaul, which had been largely lost through Hannibal's invasion, was entirely reconquered by 191 B.C. Within two decades later, it had been thoroughly secured by new military roads. The *Via Flaminia*, which had been finished to Ariminum by 187 B.C., was now extended, as the *Via Aemilia*, to Placentia. By 171 B.C. another road was completed directly from Rome through Etruria to the Po Valley. New Roman and Latin colonies¹⁸ were also established on these highways, so that the entire northland between the Apennines and the Alps was soon thoroughly Romanized, though it was not yet constituted a Roman province.

During the same period Rome also gradually extended her control over the Ligurian tribes to the west as far as the bounds of the Greek Massilia. During the Gallic and Macedonian wars, repeated campaigns were also necessary to quell native revolts in the provinces of Hither and Farther Spain. The brutal treatment of the Spanish tribes by Rome and their oppressive exploitation by tribute, forced levies of troops, extortions of governors, and exactions of silver, gold, and grain beyond the fixed tribute soon awakened them to their grave mistake in welcoming the Romans as deliverers from Carthage. Between 206 and 197 B.C. alone the governors had sent 130,000 pounds of silver and 4,000 pounds of gold to Rome. Such exactions and the tactless violence of Roman officials were abundant reason for the formidable revolts of this high-spirited people from the year 197 on. Finally, Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, by conciliation rather than by force, effected a peace in 178 B.C. which lasted for about twenty-five years. It was in Spain that Rome founded her first overseas colonies.

VIII. ROMAN FOREIGN POLICY (167-133 B.C.); FROM REGULATION TO ANNEXATION

Despite the development at Rome of a more pragmatic and dictatorial foreign policy, the senate continued for a time its attempt to control the Mediterranean by diplomacy and an occasional show of force rather than by costly wars and outright annexation. But before the middle of the century this half-way policy was becoming more and more impossible both at home and abroad. Roman foreign aggrandizement and the successes of senatorial generals had aroused the desire of ambitious leaders for foreign commands, triumphal honors, and the booty of war. The rising class of bourgeois financiers were also beginning to use their influence in politics for expansion which would open new opportunities for their exploitation. Conservative, hard-boiled patriots of the Cato stamp, with a Roman superiority complex and scorn for all foreigners, were demanding a change from a policy of drift and vacillation to one of rigor and vigor. But, in any event, it was becoming increasingly

¹⁸ Latin, Bononia (Bologna) and Aquileia; Roman, Parma and Mutina.

clear that there was no longer any middle ground between intervention and outright annexation. If Rome would control the politics of the Mediterranean, she must do it as a conqueror, impose the *pax Romana* by military force, incorporate the warring states into her empire, and accept full responsibility for their administration.

IX. THE PACIFICATION OF SPAIN (154-133 B.C.)¹⁹

The changed attitude of the Roman senate is revealed in the brutality and treachery of the generals during the campaigns of 154 to 133 B.C. in Spain. After a respite from war for a quarter of a century, the continued extortions of the Romans again drove the natives to a desperate struggle for their independence that lasted for two decades. In Farther Spain (modern Portugal), the Lusitanians staged a formidable revolt in 154 B.C., which continued with unrelenting fierceness until the treacherous assassination of their brave chieftain in 138. In this war the Roman generals were notorious for their gross inefficiency, treachery, duplicity, and senseless brutality. Treaties were scraps of paper. Repeated disastrous defeats of the Roman armies and treacherous massacres of natives under the cover of treaties were the rule. So high was the mortality of the Romans in these desperate wars that it became extremely difficult to raise levies of troops in Italy for Spanish service. For bravery, efficient leadership, humanity, and a decent regard for the sanctity of treaties, the "barbarians" put their Roman "civilizers" to shame.

Spain never produced a more outstanding leader than Viriathus. In alliance with the Celtiberians of Hither Spain, he inflicted repeated defeats on Fabius Maximus, and finally could have ended the campaign by the wholesale massacre of his entrapped army in true Roman style. Instead, he permitted them all to retire to safety under a treaty which the Roman general soon after broke with impunity by renewing the war. Later, in 138, he repaid the humanity of the brave chieftain by treacherously securing his assassination at the hands of his friends. With the fall of their leader, the revolt of the Lusitanians collapsed.

The Celtiberians, centering in Numantia in Hither Spain, had instituted a serious revolt in 153 B.C., in sympathy with the Lusitanians. Here again the Roman armies met with repeated defeats, until a temporary peace was finally arranged in 151. Eight years later a ten-year struggle again broke out, known as the War with Numantia, since the conflict centered about that important town.²⁰ The same dreary record of military inefficiency and broken treaties was repeated here. In the year 137 Mancinus was forced to surrender his whole army of 20,000 to a Numantian force of less than one-third that number, perhaps the most disgraceful surrender in all Roman military history. Like Viriathus, the Numantians permitted the Roman soldiers to escape with their lives under a consular treaty, which the Roman senate perfidiously disregarded.

Finally, in 134 B.C., disgusted with repeated defeats, the Romans re-elected

¹⁹ The chief ancient sources are Appian, *Iberica*, 39-99 (based partly on Polybius), and parts of Livy, XXXI-XLV, and the epitomes of XLVI-LIX.

²⁰ Polybius, however, treats the whole conflict from 153 as a twenty-year war with Numantia.

to the consulship the seasoned general Scipio Aemilianus, the recent conqueror of Carthage,²¹ and gave him the supreme command in Spain. Reorganizing his army and inspiring it with a new morale, he laid siege to Numantia. He had a force of 20,000 Roman troops and 40,000 Spanish auxiliaries against only 4,000 in Numantia. He also undertook the siege with scientific thoroughness, aided by the Greek historian Polybius as military adviser. Yet it required fifteen months, and the city finally yielded to starvation rather than to force. Entirely on his own initiative, without consulting the senate, Scipio burned the city to the ground. Spain was now pacified at a ghastly cost, and a senatorial commission reorganized the country for more thorough exploitation. The great Roman road, extending 1,000 miles from Gaul across the Pyrenees to Gibraltar, must have been finished by 120 B.C., since it is mentioned by Polybius.

The following year (132), Scipio celebrated a splendid triumph in Rome, and added Numantinus to his name. The Spanish wars had stretched the Republican constitution almost to the breaking point. The repeated failures had discredited the oligarchic senate and caused a resurgence of the people to power. The frequent waiving of constitutional safeguards also prepared the way for monarchy. Scipio himself was especially powerful since his destruction of Carthage in 146 B.C. For over a decade, most of the generals had been members of his family or intimates of his circle. He kept a bodyguard and acted in Spain entirely independent of the senate. Still other significant results followed these wars. The fatal decimation of Roman armies in Spain was a factor in the immediately succeeding agrarian reforms of Tiberius Gracchus so as to increase the Italian population for military purposes. It was during the Numantian War also that the Romans changed to the Celtiberian custom of beginning the year on January first instead of March first, thereby determining our own calendar. Out of the rapacity of Roman governors in Spain during this period also arose the Roman court for trial of cases of extortion (*repetundae*) in 171 B.C., which became a permanent court in 149.

The Roman victory was followed by all the more thorough exploitation of the conquered land. The mines were the most valuable resource of the state. The silver mines of New Carthage employed 40,000 slaves, according to Polybius, and produced a return of 25,000 denarii a day. The slaves, mostly Spanish prisoners of war, were treated with extreme brutality.²² The Roman tribute was made more oppressive by the extortion of Roman officials, and resulted later in repeated insurrections. Speculators and loan sharks (*negotiatores*) followed the flag and fleeced the country. With utter disregard for sane statesmanship or conciliation, the Roman officials treated the conquered Celtiberians like cattle. Not until the fall of the Republic was there any relief from this ruinous policy of squeezing the country dry of all its resources both by official and private exploiters. The usual benefits conferred by Roman administration, such as peace, unification, roads and public works, development of resources, and Latinization of culture, were purchased by the Celtiberians at an enormous price.

²¹ Cf. below, Sec. X.

²² For the Spanish mines, see Strabo, III, 147-148, and Diodorus, V, 36 ff.

X. THE THIRD PUNIC WAR AND THE DESTRUCTION OF CARTHAGE

(149-146 B.C.)²³

A more flagrant example of the hardening policy of the Roman Republic, now awakening to its destiny as ruler of the world, was the destruction of Carthage. The second Punic War had left the defeated Empire sadly depleted. Shorn of its naval power, island possessions and Spain, the chief source of its treasure and troops, faced for years to come with a heavy annual indemnity, reduced from a proud peer of Rome to a cringing ally, its political role in the Hellenistic world was ended. Still worse, on its western border was the wily and ambitious Masinissa, king of Numidia, protégé and watchdog of Rome, awake to every opportunity to encroach on Carthaginian territory. Against his aggressions the city had no security, since it was pledged by the treaty of Zama not to undertake even a defensive war without the acquiescence of Rome. Yet the rich agricultural lands of Carthage in Africa and the city with its impregnable walls, splendid harbors, and merchant marine, as yet unhampered by Roman commercial ambition, were still intact.

The chief enemy of Carthage was its own selfish ruling oligarchy, whose financial mismanagement and evasion of taxation made the payment of the annual indemnity difficult at first, especially with the loss of the Spanish silver mines. The situation was temporarily relieved in 196 B.C. by the election of Hannibal as Suffete, who subordinated the aristocratic senate and Council of 104 Judges, and placed the finances on a better basis. The revival of prosperity is seen in the offer of Carthage to pay the entire balance of the indemnity five years later. But the oligarchy treacherously undermined Hannibal at Rome, so that the senate sent three envoys to complain of his alleged plotting with Antiochus to start a general war. Hannibal saw the handwriting on the wall and escaped to Antiochus, thereby confirming the baseless suspicions. Thus the oligarchy by its treachery had rid the city of the only man who might possibly have saved it and prepared the way for the fatal sequel. Henceforth, Rome more and more openly favored Masinissa as the makeweight against Carthage.

Through a residence at Carthage in his youth and marriage with a daughter of Hasdrubal, this talented prince had taken on the civilization of Carthage, and his life ambition was to civilize and unify his nomadic subjects, and to enter into the heritage of the Carthaginian Empire. His reputation as a civilizer and developer of agriculture in Numidia was emphasized by the Greek geographer, Strabo, over a century later, who wrote that he "transformed nomads into citizens and farmers."²⁴ He built up a well-organized army of 50,000 troops and lost no opportunity by force and diplomacy to advance his boundaries at the expense of Carthage, claiming the right to take over "any

²³ Only slight fragments of Polybius, XXXVI and XXXVII, who was an eyewitness of the war and a friend of Scipio, have survived, but his account has been largely preserved in Appian, *Libya*, 68-135, in the fragments of Diodorus, XXII, and in Livy, *Epitomes*, XLIX-LI.

²⁴ XVII, 833, Loeb *Classical Library* translation, by permission of the Harvard University Press.

land that he or his ancestors had previously held." Since, according to the treaty with Rome, the boundaries were vaguely defined, and Carthage was forbidden to make even defensive war without Rome's permission, her hands were tied against his encroachments.

For fifty years Carthage had conscientiously lived up to the treaty, and had furnished troops to Rome for the Eastern wars and gifts of grain in times of crisis.²⁵ In answer to her repeated appeals to Rome against the aggressions of Masinissa the reports of the Roman commissions were always vague and unsatisfactory. The situation was made more acute in 153 B.C. by the appearance of the aged Cato the Censor in Carthage at the head of one of these commissions. From that time, he was possessed with an unreasoning obsession for the destruction of the city, ending all his speeches in the senate with the sentence, *Ceterum censeo delendam esse Carthaginem* ("I think, furthermore, that Carthage must be destroyed.") Finally the popular tension against Masinissa resulted in the murder of some of his envoys and his declaration of war. In the war that ensued, Carthage was reduced to surrender with heavy loss of territory.

The breach of the treaty of Zama had made war with Rome imminent in 149. In answer to Carthage's hasty attempt to forestall it by humbly seeking pardon, the senate promised the Carthaginians "freedom and the enjoyment of their laws, and, moreover, all their territory, and the possession of their property, public and private," provided they would send to Rome 300 nobles as hostages and "obeyed the orders of the consuls."²⁶ The joker was in the last clause, as soon appeared. Rome now demanded the surrender of all arms and engines of war, and finally ordered all the duped population to leave their doomed city and settle anywhere, at least ten miles from the sea.²⁷ Enraged at such treachery, the Carthaginians prepared to defend their city to the last ditch. They recalled the banished Hasdrubal and manned the walls with freed slaves. New arms and engines of war were feverishly prepared, and even the noblest women are said to have offered their hair to provide rope for the catapults. Fortunately for Carthage, the senate delayed action, since Masinissa now answered Rome's requests for troops only with evasive promises.

I. THE SIEGE OF CARTHAGE

For two years the Roman consuls made no headway in the siege. Carthage was well-nigh impregnable both by nature and fortifications,²⁸ and all direct assaults on it failed. The besiegers were also constantly harassed by Hasdrubal and his army from the interior, and were unable to stop the provisioning of the city from the sea or even through their own lines. The death of Masinissa removed the danger to Rome of a strong Numidia and finally secured for her a picked Numidian force to aid against Carthage, but delay and inefficiency continued under the new consuls of 148.

²⁵ 200, 191, 171 B.C.

²⁶ Polybius, XXXVI, 4. *Loeb Classical Library* translation, by permission of the Harvard University Press.

²⁷ The plea of the Carthaginian envoy for mercy, Appian, *Libyca*, 83-85, seems to reflect much of the actual historical situation and is well worth reading.

²⁸ Excavations have revealed remains of the mighty triple wall, 45 feet high and 33 feet broad.

Finally Cato and his party secured the appointment of Scipio Aemilianus²⁹ as commander. Though too young for the consulship, he was nominated and elected in the assembly, and the act was legalized by a proposal of the tribune and the consent of the senate. Though imbued with Greek culture, and a friend of Polybius, the Greek philosopher Panaetius, and the Roman poets, Lucilius and Terence, young Scipio had retained the old Roman virtues, according to Polybius and Cicero, who makes him the chief speaker in his *Republic*. He was already notable as an orator and soldier, and as a leading moderate in politics. Scipio put new vigor into the siege, inspired the army with a new morale, and built elaborate earthworks to shut off supplies from the doomed city. When the besiegers finally broke through the walls in 146, the Carthaginians still fought for six days and nights with the demonic courage of despair for every foot of ground, but in vain. The starving inhabitants were sold into slavery, and the city, with its walls, was razed to the ground. The raging fires of seventeen days left only blackened ruins. The site was plowed, salt was sown in the furrows, and a solemn curse was pronounced against it. Polybius tells that the conqueror, as he beheld the city in its "last throes of complete destruction," shed tears at the thought that a similar fate might some day befall Rome, quoting the famous lines from Homer:

A day will come when sacred Troy shall fall,
And Priam and his people shall be slain.³⁰

2. CARTHAGE AND ROMAN POLICY

The Roman senate still showed no greed for new territory. The cities that had been allied with Carthage were destroyed, but the deserters to Rome, especially Utica, were left free with additional lands, and the bounds of the sons of Masinissa were also enlarged. The remainder was made a Roman province of Africa. Though Carthage was destroyed, the incomparable site was sure not to remain permanently unoccupied. Twenty-four years later, C. Gracchus tried to establish a Roman colony, Colonia Junonia, there. It failed, but later Julius Caesar re-established it, and Augustus added new colonists. The administration of the province came to center there, and already Carthage is defined by Strabo as among the greatest and most prosperous cities of the Empire.

The savage destruction of Carthage was not due to fear of it as either a political or commercial rival. The city had neither fleet nor strong army, and was not even a match for Masinissa, to say nothing of warring with Rome. While Carthaginian trade had continued to thrive, and the city was again known for its wealth, there was no trade competition with Rome. The Romans had as yet shown little interest in commercial expansion or encouragement of Roman traders, as is clear from both Polybius and Livy. They were naturally landlubbers, and the progressive addition of new lands for exploitation had engrossed their attention. Their interest in the destruction of Carthage was perhaps partly motivated by the desire of large Roman estate-holders like Cato

²⁹ The youngest son of Lucius Aemilius Paullus, and adopted grandson of Scipio Africanus the elder.

³⁰ XXXVIII, 21-22; *Iliad*, vi, 448 f.

to stop the competition of Carthaginian oil and wine with their own products in Italy, and the prospect of taking over the Carthaginian estates. Possibly the senate also feared that Masinissa would dominate Carthage, create a new empire of North Africa, and, as a new Hannibal, contest with Rome for the control of the Mediterranean. In that case, it was not the strength but the weakness of Carthage, and the ambition of Masinissa, that impelled Rome.³¹

3. CARTHAGINIAN CULTURE

Except for the Jews, then victors over Antiochus in Palestine, the Carthaginians were the last great representatives of the Semites until the rise of the Arabs under Mohammed in the seventh century A.D. Though the theoretical balance in their constitution won the praise of Aristotle, actually the court of 100 judges gradually gained control. The administration was shot through with corruption and inefficiency, and the contribution of Carthage to political theory and practice seems to have been slight. Though the city, according to Polybius, was the richest in the world, its source of wealth was not industry, but agriculture and an extensive carrying trade. There was also much less development of banking or finance than in Hellenistic Rhodes and Alexandria. The great estates, run by slave labor, stimulated the development of scientific farming and the rise of technical manuals on the subject. Mago's work in thirty-two books was translated into Latin and became one of the chief sources of the later Roman writers in the field.

The passing of Carthage seems to have entailed no great loss to ancient culture. The art from Punic tombs, now in the museums of Tunis, lacks taste and creative impulse. The Punic inscriptions are mostly epitaphs and add little to the knowledge of either the history or culture of the city. Some evidence exists for Carthaginian books and histories, but none for poetry and philosophy, though a Carthaginian in Greece became the successor to Carneades in the Platonic Academy and is reputed to have written 400 volumes. What little is known of Punic religion reveals it as similar to the Phoenician with cruel and sensual rites and an unchanging devotion to the traditional cults of Tanit, Lady of the Heavens, Baal, Melkart, and a multitude of lesser deities. Human sacrifice, in times of special crisis, persisted to the end.

Our meager knowledge of Carthaginian character is largely dependent upon hostile Greek and Roman writers. Their representation of Punic greed, corruption, lying, perfidy, cruelty, cowardice, gloominess and religious fanaticism must therefore be accepted with considerable reserve. A civilization that could produce a Hannibal or a Mago must have had some good qualities. The Carthaginians contributed little to the permanent heritage of civilization, however, except some improvement in agriculture, shipping, and siege machinery. The myth of Queen Dido, which became the basis of Virgil's romantic story, is about the sole known exception in the realm of the spirit.

³¹ On the whole problem, cf. T. Frank, *Economic History of Rome*, 2d ed., pp. 115-221, Johns Hopkins Press; *Economic Survey of Rome*, Vol. I, pp. 200-205; *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. VIII, p. 476.

XI. THE END OF MACEDON AND THE ACHAEAN LEAGUE

(149-146 B.C.)

While Rome was engrossed with the critical campaigns in Spain and Africa, revolt again raised its head in Macedonia and Greece. The chronic rivalries between the Greek states, the bitter partisan strife between the pro-Roman and anti-Roman factions, and the growing resentment at the increasingly dictatorial policy of Rome furnished a good soil for rebellion. Capitalizing these conditions, Andiscus, a pretender, posing as the son of Perseus, appeared in Macedonia in 149 B.C., as rightful claimant to the throne. Successful at first against the Roman forces and the republics,³² he made himself master of a reunited Macedonia. But the following year, his mushroom power was crushed by the praetor Metellus. The day for dalliance had passed. The four independent republics were ended, and the whole of Macedonia reorganized into a Roman province (148 B.C.). The tribute was probably not increased, but the restrictions on *commercium* and *conubium* were removed. Rome now began building a new road from the Adriatic to the Aegean, and took over the added responsibility of defending the northern frontier.

Meanwhile, about 150 B.C., the anti-Roman party in the Achaean League gained control, through the widespread resentment at the overbearing attitude of the senate.³³ The spark that started the flame was a new boundary quarrel with the Spartans who were dissatisfied with their position in the League. In 147 B.C. the senate, angered that the League had taken matters into its own hands, sent a commission, which announced at Corinth that several of the cities might withdraw from the League with Rome's permission. The decree was met by an outburst of anger, and the Roman envoys barely escaped the attack of the mob. Despite the sheer madness of rebellion, since the Roman army had already crushed Andiscus in Macedonia, the radical leaders raised the banner of open revolt, allied with most of central Greece, and attacked Sparta. The rebellion was quickly crushed in central Greece, and the new consul of 146, Lucius Mummius, with a fleet and army of 30,000 men, decisively defeated the Achaean forces at Leucopetra on the Isthmus.

XII. THE DESTRUCTION OF CORINTH

The patience of the Romans was now exhausted, and again they showed their new policy of ruthlessness, as at Carthage. Thebes and Chalcis were partly ravaged, and Corinth, the rich commercial center of Greece, was barbarously plundered and completely destroyed. Those inhabitants who had not escaped from the doomed city were sold into slavery. Some of its territory was given to Sicyon to support the expense of the Isthmian Games which that state must henceforth conduct. The rest was added to the Roman public domain. Its splendid art treasures were sold or carried off to Rome. Polybius,³⁴

³² The initial opposition of the republics to a break with Rome shows that the nationalistic spirit was then far weaker than the modern variety.

³³ Only a few fragments of the account by Polybius have survived.

³⁴ In a fragment of XXXIX, 2, preserved by Strabo, VIII, 6, 28.

an eyewitness of the sack, tells how he saw the rough soldiers of Mummius scornfully cast costly pictures to the ground and play checkers upon them.

The destruction of Corinth, as of Carthage, was one of the greatest blots on the record of the Roman Republic. Both reveal all too clearly the hardening effect of military expansion upon the Roman character and policy. In the case of Corinth, there was perhaps some slight excuse in the repeated trial of Roman patience by rebellion. Yet the savage punishment was altogether out of proportion to the offense. The motive was to end future revolt, rather than to eliminate Corinth as a commercial competitor.³⁵ The city, recolonized by the farsighted Julius Caesar in 46 B.C. as *Laus Iulii*, soon rose to its old commercial importance, and was made by Augustus the capital of the province of Achaëa. Its wealth and profligate self-indulgence in the first century A.D. are well attested by St. Paul and the geographer Strabo. Excavations are still in process at the site, and the ancient remains of much of the Greek and Roman city are now laid bare. The most significant monument is the Temple of Apollo, whose massive seven columns with entablature still stand as sentinels amid the excavated ruins.

The Achaean Federation, like all the other Leagues of central Greece, was dissolved and each city-state except Rome's allies, Athens and Sparta, was made subject to Rome. Yet Greece was still not constituted a Roman province for over a century, but was made a protectorate under the supervision of the governor of Macedonia. This was sufficient precaution against further revolt, and Rome could not yet utterly disregard the earlier proclamation of freedom by Flamininus. Though temporarily deprived of commercial rights, the cities retained some local autonomy and were probably still free from tribute.³⁶ They must, however, adopt an oligarchic form of government according to uniform model charters prepared by a Roman commission. Polybius aided in arranging the new constitutions and was sent from city to city to explain the nature of the new charters. Like other aristocrats, he had heartily disapproved of the Achaean policy, and despised the popular leaders. Their revolt was madness, but Rome had herself to thank for her dictatorial policy in support of the pro-Roman party.

Possibly, even without the Roman conquest, the chronic party strife and mutual jealousies among the Greek states would never have permitted their consolidation into a Greek nation, though the Achaean League was a hopeful move in that direction. According to Polybius, also, who complains about the marked decrease in population, social and economic decline in Greece were already advanced before Roman interference. In any event, the dissolution of the Achaean League sounded the death knell of all national aspirations or of anything but a mere shadow of liberty. Henceforth, deprived of initiative under pro-Roman officials and a victim of the greed of Roman speculators and generals like Sulla, Greece sank ever further to social, economic and cultural decay.

³⁵ Cf. Livy, *Epit.*, 52; Justin, XXXIV, 2.

³⁶ On this point see T. Frank, *Roman Imperialism*, Chap. XI, n. 16.

XIII. THE END OF THE KINGDOM OF PERGAMUM

The next step in Roman expansion was to Asia Minor. Throughout the century the kings of Pergamum had followed a policy of friendship with Rome by which they greatly extended their boundaries. As early as 201 B.C. Attalus I had joined Rhodes in requesting Roman intervention against Antiochus and Philip. Eumenes II (197-159 B.C.), the builder of the Great Altar of Zeus in honor of his triumph over the Gauls, remained loyal to Rome during the wars with Antiochus and Perseus, and thereby expanded his boundaries so as to include most of western Asia Minor. Pergamum now extended from the Hellespont to the Meander River and from the Aegean to Cappadocia, and became famed for its wealth, art, and regal splendor. Attalus II (159-138 B.C.), his brother, sought and received aid from Rome against the aggressions of Prusias of Bithynia. Thus Pergamum became more and more a protégé of Rome, and Attalus III, who had no direct heir, bequeathed the rich kingdom, at his death in 133 B.C., to the Roman state, including also all his personal estates. The only condition was that the city of Pergamum and certain Greek cities on the coast should retain their autonomy and be free from tribute.

Foreign affairs had been the senate's prerogative, but when the news reached Rome, the tribune, Tiberius Gracchus, who needed financial support for his agrarian reforms, and sought to restore popular rule, presented a bill to the plebeian assembly for acceptance of the inheritance and its administration. On his assassination, however, the senate took over the kingdom and appointed a commission of five to administer it, with the provision that the stipulations of Attalus should be followed in full.³⁷ Considerable sections of the kingdom were then given to Mithradates of Pontus and certain inland tribes, and the remainder was constituted as the Roman province of Asia in 129 B.C. The grant of extensive lands to Mithradates and the inland tribes shows that the Roman senate was still only mildly expansionistic and slow to accept the responsibilities of conquest.

The results of the change of rulers for the unfortunate inhabitants of Pergamum proved disastrous in the extreme. The stipulations of the testament were soon disregarded, and the new province became the football of Roman political factions. Through the vicious system of tax farming, initiated by Gaius Gracchus for more efficient collection of the tithes from the crown lands,³⁸ the province became the victim of the most highhanded extortion. For a century Asia was the happy hunting ground for every selfish Roman exploiter from governors and capitalists to lowest officials, and finally the once rich kingdom was made hopelessly bankrupt by the brutal exactions of the Roman general Sulla.³⁹

³⁷ The senate was first obliged to put down a pretender to the throne of Pergamum.

³⁸ See Chapter Eight.

³⁹ Mithradates, king of Pontus, also contributed to its bankruptcy, as we shall see.

XIV. SUMMARY

By taking over Pergamum, the Romans had now established themselves firmly on both sides of the Aegean, and had secured a foothold for further eastward advance. The Aegean was henceforth a Roman lake. In the course of a little over half a century, Rome, almost in spite of herself, had expanded to three continents, and advanced from sporadic intervention to the supreme control of the East Mediterranean and the recognized dictator of policies in Greece and the whole Hellenistic East. The list of Roman provinces was now Sicily (227), Sardinia and Corsica (227),⁴⁰ Hither and Farther Spain (197), Macedonia (148), Africa (146), and Asia (129). Additional territories held by Rome, but not yet provinces, were Greece (under Macedonia), Cisalpine Gaul, and Illyricum.

This vast empire had come into the hands of the Romans largely through the attempt to secure Rome against the rise of any dangerous competitor, and without any definite plan of expansion. Throughout the whole period from 201 to 148, as we have seen, the Roman senate added no new provinces, despite its frequent opportunities. It evinced not only no ambition for imperial expansion, but a distinct reluctance to take over the direct administration of new territories. Only when finally forced by repeated rebellions and political chaos, resulting from a policy of breaking down without building up, did it accept its responsibility for government of the conquered lands. The placing of Greece under Macedon and the grant of extensive territories of Pergamum to native princes reveal the persistence of this policy to some extent even until 129 B.C.⁴¹ Through the later loss of senatorial exclusive control of foreign policy, the growing greed of the new capitalistic class for new opportunities for exploitation, and the inordinate ambition of politicians and generals for power during the following century, we shall see this conservative policy of the senate finally transformed to a deliberate drive for imperial expansion.

⁴⁰ Sicily was gained by 241, and Sardinia and Corsica three years later. *Cf.* maps (A-E) opposite p. 110.

⁴¹ For the probable reasons for this conservative policy, and the means contrived for handling the problem of the new provinces after 148 B.C., see above, p. 110, n. 17.

Chapter Seven

THE AFTERMATH OF WAR, EXPANSION, AND CONTACT WITH HELLENISM (265-133 B.C.)

I. POLITICAL CONDITIONS AND PROBLEMS IN ROME, ITALY, AND THE EMPIRE

I. THE ROMAN CONSTITUTION

The Roman constitution, like the British, was no specific written document, but a multitude of laws and precedents produced through centuries of political evolution. Inherent conservatism caused the retention of long-superseded forms and institutions, while overlaying them with new. Thus the political institutions of Rome present a striking contrast between the formal and the actual.

Formally, the constitution had reached its maturity early in the third century, and for the next 150 years changes due to direct legislation were strikingly few. The great increase in judicial duties of the urban praetor caused the establishment of a *praetor peregrinus* in 242 B.C. to handle suits between citizens and aliens. The number of praetors was raised to four in 227 and to six in 197 to provide provincial governors, and after 148 the custom of extending the terms of praetors and consuls as promagistrates became the regular practice. After 241 new citizens were assigned to one of the thirty-five tribes, and membership became hereditary regardless of change of residence. About 220 the centuriate assembly was liberalized by reorganizing it on a tribal basis, thereby depriving the wealthy classes of the advantage in voting, though the assembly remained an essentially conservative body.¹ Other changes through legislation, such as the establishment of the *cursus honorum* and a senatorial court for cases of extortion will best be discussed below.

The Supremacy of the Senate

The far more vital and momentous constitutional changes during the period, however, developed, as in the United States, despite our written constitution and Supreme Court, largely without conscious purpose or formal legislation, shaped by the new demands and conditions of the expanding state. The advance toward popular government had reached its climax with the Hortensian law in 287 B.C., which theoretically gave the plebeian assembly the supreme control over legislation. But in reality, as we have seen, a new patrician-plebeian nobility of wealth and officeholding centering in the senate had arisen, which gradually arrogated to itself the supreme power in the state. At first, a broad aristocracy with high traditions of patriotic service, integrity, and

¹ For details on the reorganization of the centuries, cf. above, p. 74, and n. 32.

noblesse oblige, it gradually degenerated, especially during the later Eastern wars, to an exclusive oligarchy interested only in preserving its own special privilege. Thus behind the false façade of popular government was the actual government, the senatorial oligarchy.

The reason for the supremacy of the senate is not far to seek, its relative advantage over the assemblies as an administrative body, amid the new and pressing problems arising from 120 years of war. Its permanent character and compactness made it efficient for quick and decisive action in military crises. As a body of ex-magistrates and of all magistrates above quaestor, also, it was the center of experience in government and foreign affairs, amid the growing complexities arising from war and expansion.

The Magistrates

The magistrates, on the other hand, were at a disadvantage, owing to their brief term of service and collegial character. Since they would return to the senate after their year of service, also, their acts were largely determined by its interests and policies. Thus they became only administrative committees or ministers to carry out the decisions and perform the duties assigned by the senate. The censor, having authority to make up the list of senators, might have proved dangerous to senatorial control, but he was limited by the law directing him to give preference to ex-magistrates, and by respect for his own class. An aggressive personality like Marcus Porcius Cato, censor in 184 B.C., degraded some of the senators, and was a bitter opponent of Scipio Africanus and his circle. For a time he exerted a dominant influence in the senate, but his hardheaded conservatism made him essentially an upholder of the senatorial monopoly.

The senate prolonged the *imperium* of magistrates as promagistrates and allotted military commands, limiting them to a single year. It also insured its exclusive position by a law prohibiting re-election to the consulship, so as to forestall the sudden advance to power of an ambitious magistrate through popular enthusiasm. The same was probably one of the reasons for the *Villian* law of 180 B.C. establishing a *cursus honorum*, or regular order of election to magistracies, with minimum ages for each. This motive may also have caused the senate to add no new provinces between 197 and 148 B.C., so as to avoid the election of new praetors.²

The tribunes had now practically attained the status of magistrates. Since they had the privilege of sitting in the senate and of objecting to proposed legislation, they gradually lost their old popular function and acquired the interest and outlook of the senatorial aristocracy, which had itself become predominantly plebeian. It was therefore usually easy for the senate by bribery or appeal to self-interest to persuade one or more tribunes to veto an undesirable

² That the senate legislated definitely to develop a closed caste is questioned by T. Frank in *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. VIII, p. 366 f. The order of offices with minimum ages was as follows: quaestor at twenty-eight, after service as under-officer in several campaigns; aedile at thirty-one; praetor at thirty-four; consul at thirty-seven; censor at fifty. The aedileship and censorship were not definitely included in the law in the above order, but this became the customary order for each. Few ever held both the aedileship and tribuneship, but either one was usually held between the quaestorship and praetorship.

piece of legislation. Thus the senate held a virtual monopoly and became a closed caste into whose ranks it was ever more difficult for a "new man," *novus homo*, without the tradition of officeholding in his family, to gain access. Only through outstanding ability or service did a "new man," such as Cato, or later, Marius or Cicero, break into the charmed senatorial circle, and even then was likely to be treated patronizingly as a parvenu.³

The Assemblies

The senate also had the advantage in the incompetency of the popular assemblies. Through its presiding magistrates and tribunes, it largely determined what was to be presented to them, making them most of the time little more than rubber stamps for its decisions. On a few occasions in the third century the plebeian assembly took the bit in its teeth, as under the aggressive leadership of the popular idol, C. Flaminius.⁴ Again in 204 young Scipio was sent as commander to Spain through popular demand, against the will of the senate. But, during the next half century, the senate had its way. Though the assembly still had charge of elections, and sometimes insisted on its will, the cards were stacked against a "new man." The presiding magistrate or tribune usually managed to block an undesirable candidate, and the wealthy senators "packed" the assembly with their clients to swing the election.

Elections

The candidate for office, after an official registration, canvassed for votes each market day, clad in a white toga (*toga candida*). From his walking around (*ambitio*) among the prospective voters, this word took on the new meaning of political ambition. Later, as described by Cicero, attempts were made to secure the support of clubs, and electoral tours, shows, and direct bribery became increasingly common. From the early second century on, laws against bribery and clubs were numerous.⁵

On election days the citizens assembled in the Campus Martius, and the vote was by tribes, a majority in each tribe determining its vote.⁶ The hundreds of interesting election notices on the walls of the Pompeian houses, though from the first century A.D., and for local municipal offices, indicate that such were also probably common in Italian and Roman elections. Many are in letters from two to twelve inches in height and were probably about as objectionable to esthetic taste as are our modern billboards. One objector has himself disfigured a wall to immortalize his complaint: "I am amazed, O wall, that you have not collapsed from bearing such scrawls from so many writers." Even the grave monuments that lined the road did not escape the political

³ Of the 200 consulships during the years 233-133 B.C., 159 were from only 20 noble families.

⁴ In 232 B.C., in direct opposition to the senate, he secured the redistribution of the *ager Picenus* in favor of the poorer masses. The reform of the centuriate assembly in 220, the year of his censorship, was probably partly due to his influence. In 218 he championed the *Lex Claudia* against the senate, which restricted senators from maritime trade. Despite his poor military record, against the bitter opposition of the senate, he was elected consul in 217, and thus became the hero (?) of the disaster of Trasimene, where he met his death.

⁵ Cf. below, Chapter Ten, for the letter of Quintus Cicero to his brother, called "The Candidate's Handbook."

⁶ In the Centuriata, before 241, and often after, by centuries.

advertiser. In one Pompeian scrawl the billposter is solemnly warned against painting any candidate's name on a monument on penalty of sure defeat.

In the local politics of Pompeii, the decision rested largely on personal popularity, local pride, or club politics, but in Republican Rome, the issues were far more serious. Here, the expense of elections became increasingly prohibitive to all but the wealthy classes, and a common cause of hopeless debt, which could be paid only through exploitation of the office. The aedileship, because of its supervision of games and public works, was especially sought by younger politicians as a means of currying favor with the populace.⁷

The rapid increase in adult male citizens, 337,452 by 164 B.C., the majority rural, made regular attendance at the assemblies for most of the electorate impossible. Thus expansion had made the assemblies of the primitive city-state Republic utterly inadequate. Only the use of the representative principle could have adapted them to the changed conditions, and even this could not, since the tribes were "stacked" in favor of the rural interest. In actual attendance at the assemblies the urban proletariat of Rome increasingly prevailed,⁸ now swollen in numbers through the decline of the peasantry, and the growing multitude of unemployed that haunt a growing cosmopolitan capital. Such citizens, interested chiefly in their own starving stomachs, were utterly unfit to rule Rome or Italy, to say nothing of an empire.

The basic reason for the supremacy of the senate in this period, aside from the inadequacy of the assemblies, was the general background of war and expansion in which the drama of Roman politics was enacted. At such a time, centralization of government is always necessary. Expansion also brought with it intricate problems which were no subject for popular decision. Thus the decisions of the senate (*senatus consulta*) became practically absolute decrees. Its initial in the official symbol (S.P.Q.R.) preceded that of the people, and the popular assembly was reduced to a machine to be worked by the magistrates and tribunes to do its bidding.

A summary of the powers of the senate during its period of supremacy makes an impressive list. It largely shaped or nullified acts of the magistrates, tribunes, or assemblies. It determined, by use of the lot, the spheres of activity for the consuls and praetors and all promagistrates, and usually dominated the choice of the military commanders in the field. It approved all public contracts made by the censor, and had practically supreme control of all foreign affairs and finance. Though the assembly voted on matters of war or peace, in practice the senate usually decided and the assembly acquiesced. It never granted plenary power to its commissions or generals to make permanent settlements on the ground, but always reserved the right to refuse to ratify their tentative arrangements. As a last resort, in the case of crisis or revolt, it had the reserve weapon of the *senatus consultum ultimum* (an "extraordinary decree of the senate") or declaration of martial law "for the welfare

⁷ Our chief sources of information for elections in the Roman state are Cicero and the ruins of Pompeii.

⁸ Technically, they could have controlled only four votes (those of the four city tribes) out of thirty-five, but actually under the leadership of demagogues, and through combination with other groups, they seem often to have dominated the assembly in the first century, as we shall see.

of the state.”⁹ The last really successful challenge to its authority was that of Gaius Flaminius. From that time until 133 B.C. for over three-fourths of a century, its monopoly of government had been practically absolute. Thus the beautiful balance of the Roman constitution between monarchy (in the magistracy), aristocracy (in the senate), and democracy (in the popular assembly and tribunate), so admired by the Greek historian, Polybius,¹⁰ which was never more than theory, was made utterly unreal by expansion and the resulting political evolution. His attitude is a striking example of the common failure to realize that constitutions, however seemingly rigid, are inevitably stretched to meet the changed conditions.

During much of the period, while the state was often on the defensive, and facing frequent crises at home and abroad, the rule of the senate was, in general, of a high character deserving of the best traditions of Rome. It retained its power because it ruled well, and because its unselfish patriotism, integrity, and shrewd efficiency in foreign affairs won and held the confidence of the citizens. But as Rome rose to imperial supremacy in the whole Mediterranean world, the change in the Roman spirit began to be reflected in the senate. By the middle of the second century, it already showed evidences of degeneracy in both capacity and morale, as reflected in such brutal acts as the destruction of Carthage and Corinth, in the inefficiency, treachery, and cruelty of senatorial leaders in the Spanish wars, and in its growing spirit of exploitation of conquered lands for Roman and personal advantage. Success and too much power changed the aristocracy of *noblesse oblige* to a corrupt and inefficient oligarchy that had for its supreme end the satisfaction of personal ambition or the preservation at all costs of its exclusive class privilege.¹¹ The law of 219 B.C., excluding the senatorial large landowning class from trade, banking, and public contracts, intensified their drive for power and wealth through office. The ranks must be closed to monopolize all its advantages. Italy and the world existed for Rome and Rome for the exclusive profit of its reigning oligarchy.

But its monopoly was soon to be rudely challenged. The pressing problem by 133 B.C. was how to adapt the old governmental machinery and the now outdated social and economic organization to the needs of a new empire. Expansion had made the old order impossible and had brought a multitude of baffling social problems in its wake. We shall see how the senate's failure to measure up to the new situation later led to social disorder, civil war, and finally to the death of the Republic.

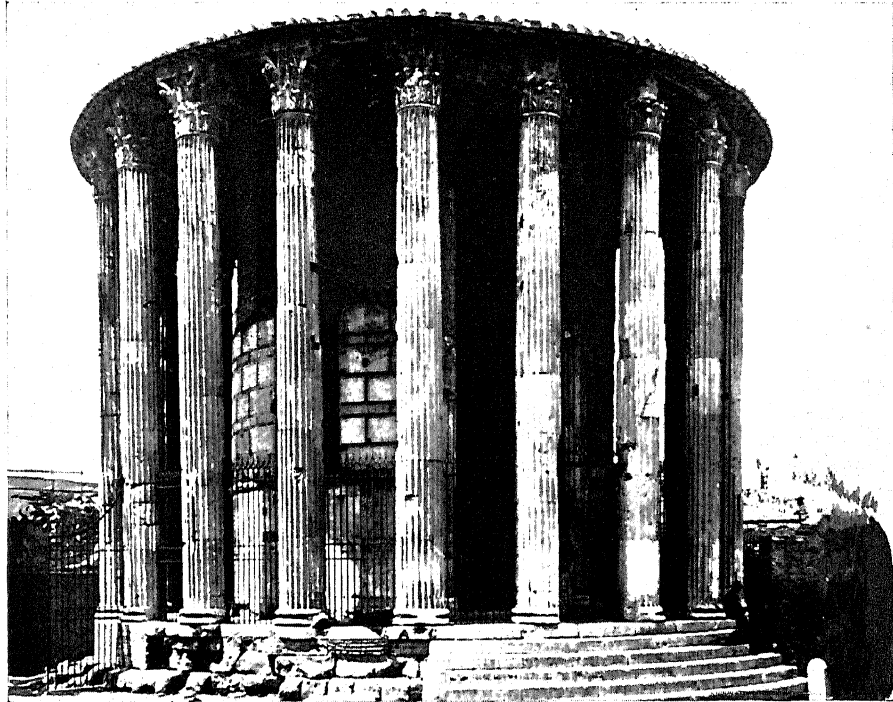
2. THE ALLIES OF THE ITALIAN FEDERATION

Roman world expansion had made the problem of the Latin and Italian allies ever more acute. Except for those that had been subjected to Rome for joining Hannibal, their federate status had remained theoretically unchanged for centuries despite Rome's vast expansion overseas. But in reality the long years of repeated forced levies in the Hannibalic war had practically changed

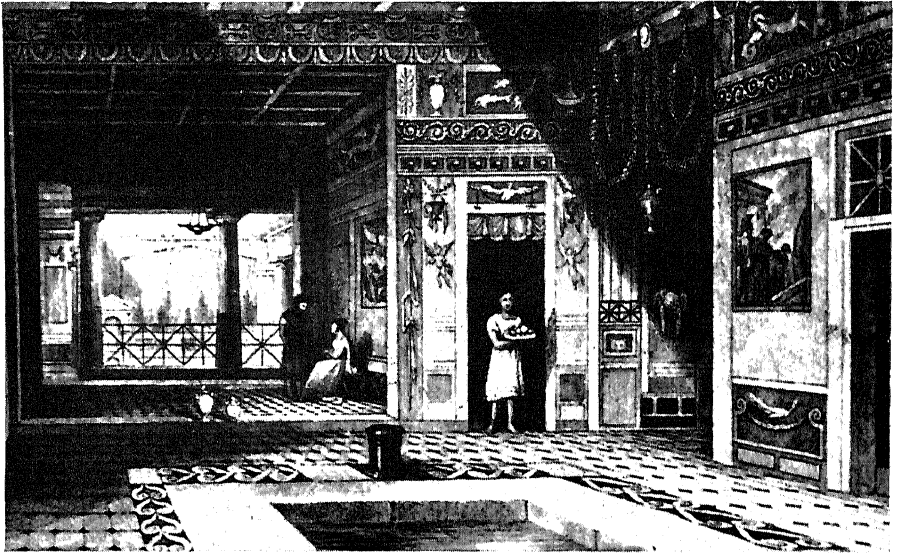
⁹ Probably its first use was in 122 B.C. against C. Gracchus.

¹⁰ Cf. Chapter Four, end.

¹¹ Of course, there were doubtless still many honest and patriotic senators.



Upper: Ruins of the Temple of the Forum Boarium, first century B.C. (Alinari)
Lower: So-called Temple of Vesta in Rome, first century B.C. (Alinari)



Upper: House of the Tragic Poet, Pompeii, restored. This house was immortalized in Bulwer-Lytton's *Last Days of Pompeii* as the House of Glaucus. Though small, it had many mosaics and wall paintings, the best of which are now in the National Museum at Naples. *Lower:* Mural from Pompeii of a Roman girl with tablets and stylus, first century A.D. National Museum, Naples.

them from allies to subjects. Interference in their local affairs was rare until the decree of 186 B.C. suppressing Bacchic worship, but was increasingly common thereafter. The dominant class, with its arrogant spirit of superiority as world rulers, was no longer careful to respect even the local autonomy and ancient treaty rights of their allies. While bearing their share of the financial and military burden in the constant Eastern campaigns, they gained little share in the enormous spoils of war, and no part in the advantages of government and financial exploitation of the conquered lands. Thus by 133 B.C. widespread dissatisfaction had developed against the ever-growing burden of distant campaigns, and the arrogant exclusiveness of Rome. If they were to bear the burdens and responsibilities, they must also share in the privileges. The demand for Roman citizenship was already sounding, and was soon to increase, due to the agrarian laws of Tiberius Gracchus which threatened their possession of public land. It was rapidly becoming intolerable that the whole Mediterranean world should be exploited by a limited group of senatorial oligarchs and greedy capitalists for their own exclusive advantage.

3. PROVINCIAL ADMINISTRATION (227-129 B.C.)

The conditions and problems at home were reflected in the government of the provinces. As we have seen, except for a few favored communities that had been zealous for Rome, the policy was frankly to treat all conquered peoples as subjects and not as allies. Sicily was made the general model for provincial government, the distinguishing features of which were tribute, garrisons, governors with *imperium*, Roman law, and sometimes conscription.¹² For the Spanish provinces, because of their military importance, two new praetors were appointed. But for all later ones, from 148 B.C. on, the terms of consuls and praetors were extended for a year of service in the provinces, which effected the double object of restricting the number of the senatorial class, and of satisfying the ambition of leading senators for an additional year of power abroad.

A Roman province was a loose group of separate communities, urban or tribal, whose sole unity consisted in their common subjection to Roman law and authority. In general, there were three types of communities: (1) a limited number of free and federate allies of Rome, whose status was secured by a permanent treaty, so that while in the province they were theoretically independent; (2) a limited number of free and nontributary, whose freedom from tribute was precarious, depending on the will of the senate; (3) tributary, including the great majority, which paid an annual tribute, and were more directly subject to Roman supervision. The general basis of distinction was the provincial charter (*lex provinciae*), which loosely defined the rights and obligations of the provincials, as arranged by a senatorial commission of ten, and ratified by the senate.

The provincial governor, a promagistrate with *imperium* after 148 B.C., held office for one year, except in Spain, where the term was usually two years. Like the urban praetor, he began his office with an edict modeled largely on

¹² For general details on the meaning of *provincia* and provincial government, cf. Chapter Five.

the edicts of his predecessors both at Rome and in the provinces, stating the legal principles by which his regime would be guided. Such edicts were of great significance in the development of Roman law. The governor was commander of the military forces in the provinces, the supreme administrative official, and as supreme judge, he had charge of the more important cases between provincials and of all cases in which a Roman citizen figured. His staff consisted of a quaestor or provincial treasurer, three *legati* of senatorial rank, who served as his deputies, and a group of younger men of good family as assistants, besides a large personal retinue of clerical help and servants. The expense for the above entourage was theoretically limited by a definite senatorial appropriation, and was met from the revenues of the province.

At first provincial taxes were intended only to meet the expense of military occupation and control, hence the word *stipendium*, the soldier's wage. But with world expansion and the growing greed for exploitation, the provinces soon came to be considered as the estates (*praedia*) of the Roman people leased to the natives for an annual rental in taxation. The term *tributum*, originally connoting the regular property tax on the Roman citizen, later became the term for the provincial tax, and implied subordination. In Sicily and Asia, Rome exacted a tithe (*decuma*) of the annual produce of the land; in other provinces, a fixed annual amount, which the local governments collected and turned over to the governor. The tribute in itself was not extreme, often lower than the taxes exacted before the conquest. But duties (*portoria*) were also collected at the ports and on the frontiers, and all public lands, mines, and forests were appropriated as part of the state domain and leased as concessions to contractors. This greatly stimulated the desire for expansion to open up new fields for exploitation.

Rome regularly took over the established system of collecting taxes in each district as the easiest solution of the problem. The most prevalent method came to be the system of "tax farming." The right of collection of each tax was sold to the highest bidder, usually a private corporation or joint stock company of bourgeois capitalists, *publicani*, who had a central office in Rome with branches in the provinces. Such syndicates of *publicani* also bought mining concessions and financed large state contracts for roads and other public works.¹³ This method of collecting taxes through *publicani* became one of the most crying abuses in the provincial system of the Republic, since they extorted from the unfortunate provincials all that the traffic would bear. Theoretically, the governor was expected to check extortion by the tax farmers, but it was politically dangerous for him to offend the big business interests, and he was often too busy feathering his own nest. The provincial victims of the *publicani* were in turn gouged by the *negotiatores*, who loaned them money at usurious rates of from twelve to forty-eight per cent to pay the extortionate taxes. Never were big business and imperialism more intimately related. Like modern capitalists, these gentlemen of high finance, speculating in the misery of the provinces, looked to the Roman government and army to underwrite their investments by collecting from the delinquent debtor.

¹³ The despised "publicans" of the New Testament in Judaea were not these great capitalists, but native Jews, their hired menials.

As the "estates of the Roman people," the value of the provinces to Rome consisted wholly in the revenues produced. Especially from 167 B.C. on, the policy was for Romans to pay as little state tax as was possible and balance the budget by organized exploitation of the provincials. To insure revenue, however, they were careful to conserve the land and natural resources of the provinces. Roman rule also brought order, protection of the boundaries, extensive improvements in roads and public works, and development of natural resources, and all for a lower *direct* tax than many of the states had paid before the conquest.

The tribute, however, was only a small part of the actual cost to the province. Roman provincial government rapidly degenerated to an arbitrary despotism for the exclusive advantage of the individual governors and capitalists, to the neglect even of the interest of Rome itself. For his brief term of office, the governor had almost sovereign power in his province. Only a Roman citizen could appeal against his decision. Without tribune or senate to check him, little hampered by the loosely drawn provincial charter, or by fear of successful indictment before his senatorial colleagues, backed by his army and *imperium*, he was practically an irresponsible autocrat in his realm. He must work fast, for he had only a year in which to make his fortune, and the election expenses for securing the office were high. Nor was the graft limited to the governor. From his quaestor to the lowest subaltern in his train, each sought to fleece the provincials for his own advantage. To be sure, some of the earlier governors, such as Tiberius Gracchus, upheld the old Roman traditions of integrity and unselfish devotion in public office.¹⁴ But such were increasingly rare, and if we are to believe Cicero, there was a continuous degeneration in the rule. In the wake of the nobles followed the capitalist vampires, while the hungry urban masses also later looked to the "estates of the Roman people" to provide them with *panem et circenses*, "bread and shows." Cicero writes in the next century with perhaps some rhetorical exaggeration:

All the provinces are complaining; all kingdoms remonstrate with us for our covetousness and wrong doing; on this side of the ocean there is no spot so distant or so remote that in these latter times the lust and wickedness of our countrymen have not penetrated to it. The Roman people can no longer withstand, I do not say the violence, the arms, the warfare of all nations, but their complaints, their lamentations, and their tears.¹⁵

Yet the misgovernment of the provinces was by no means regarded with public indifference at Rome. Enough laws were passed, if effective, to have curbed the crying evils. As early as 149 B.C. an aroused public opinion forced the senate to establish a "permanent court" (*quaestio perpetua*) of fifty senators presided over by a praetor to try cases of extortion in the provinces (*de rebus repetundis*), "for the recovery of moneys." That it was largely futile, however, is suggested by the repetition of such laws in the years immediately following, but especially by the later consensus of testimony that the conditions had grown steadily worse.

¹⁴ Polybius praised the integrity of the first governors of Greece.

¹⁵ *Against Verres*, II, 3, 89, cited by W. T. Arnold, *Roman Provincial Administration*, 3d ed., Oxford, 1914, p. 80 f.

The failure was practically inevitable, for the cards were stacked in favor of the accused governor, and a court of his senatorial peers would hardly convict him, since many of them were tarred with the same brush. Furthermore, the great expense of instituting such a suit, the almost insuperable obstacles in the way of securing data and testimony, and the prevalent bribery made the outlook for conviction well-nigh hopeless. The penalty also was inadequate, chiefly the restitution of the proven damage done. If convicted, he could simply retire for a time from Rome and enjoy his ill-gotten fortune in some Italian town.

II. ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS AND PROBLEMS

War and imperial expansion had also totally transformed the economic and social life of Rome and Italy. The period was marked by a revolution in agriculture, the enormous development of slavery, the decline of the small yeoman farmer, the growth of the urban proletariat, the great advance to power of a new commercial and capitalist class, and a total change in the daily life and standards of the wealthier citizens.

I. AGRICULTURE AND THE AGRARIAN PROBLEM

The "Latifundia"

One of the most striking changes in the economic life of Italy in the second century B.C. was the rapid spread of great slave plantations, *latifundia*, whose chief products were wool, wine, and olive oil instead of grain. The counterpart was the decline of the free Italian peasantry. Thus arose the agrarian problem, whose attempted solution was to be the subject of repeated but largely futile reforms. Some factors in this development were the Roman method of handling the public lands, the devastation wrought by Hannibal's long occupation of southern Italy, the large supply of cheap slave labor thrown on the Roman market through the Eastern wars and the active slave trade, and the effect on the free peasantry of prolonged campaigns abroad and impossible competition with cheap, imported grain from Sicily and Africa.¹⁶ Large parts of Italy also, such as the southern highlands and much of Etruria, were far better fitted for grazing than for grain-raising, and capital naturally sought the more profitable investment.

The first-named factor has its roots far back in Rome's expansion in central Italy. All of the public domain that was not needed for colonization purposes was either leased to the citizens or left open to occupation by *possessores*, who were supposed to pay a nominal rental for pasture or tillage. As we have seen, the wealthier governing class, who were able to exploit large tracts, grabbed the best lands, failing even to pay the rent, until finally the land came to be looked upon as their own private domain, to the great discontent

¹⁶ The last-named factor, however, affected only those in the region of Rome, or near the coast towns. Cf. Livy, XXXI, 4, 6; XXXIII, 42, 8, and T. Frank, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 158, for occasions when the price fell ruinously low.

of the small owners. The so-called Licinian laws¹⁷ which restricted the amount of public land to a certain maximum for any individual or family, and the free distribution of the *ager Gallicus* in favor of the poorer citizens by the democratic tribune Flaminius in 233 B.C., were echoes of this social discontent. But such measures largely failed to relieve the situation, since their execution was in the hands of the wealthy senatorial landholders themselves.¹⁸

In southern Italy the development of large estates and the decline of the yeoman farmer were more directly due to the devastating effects of the long occupation by Hannibal, which reduced cities to wretched villages, blotted out 400 communities, and made the countryside a desert waste. Whole districts were depopulated. The adult male citizenship was reduced by about a third,¹⁹ as were doubtless also the Italian allies. The greatly reduced citizen body made it impossible to recolonize the devastated lands on the old plan. An abundance of land at a cheap rate was available nearer to Rome, and the cost of rehabilitating and stocking it would have been prohibitive for the poorer citizens. The state, therefore, offered large tracts at a nominal rental of ten per cent of the product to wealthy Roman citizens and even allies who could undertake its cultivation. These later greatly enlarged their original holdings by taking over the smaller strips of the poor by purchase or by force.

Appian, in his introduction to his discussion of the Gracchan reforms, clearly describes the purpose and results of this method of disposal of the public domain about 200 B.C.:

They did these things in order to multiply the Italian race . . . so that they might have plenty of allies at home. But the very opposite thing happened; for the rich, getting possession of the greater part of the undistributed lands, and being emboldened by the lapse of time to believe that they would never be dispossessed, absorbing any adjacent strips and their poor neighbor's allotments, partly by purchase under persuasion and partly by force, came to cultivate vast tracts instead of single estates, using slaves as laborers and herdsmen, lest free laborers should be drawn from agriculture into the army.²⁰

The law excluding the senatorial class from commerce, money loaning, and state contracts encouraged their large investment in Italian land, and the influx of capital to the governing class in Rome and the plethora of cheap slave labor which could be ruthlessly exploited at a profit²¹ made the new type of agriculture possible. An active interest in scientific farming on the newer lines now developed. Technical works of Greeks and of the Carthaginian, Mago, were studied, and manuals such as Cato's *De Agri Cultura* (175-150 B.C.) were written by Romans, giving detailed suggestions for realizing the best results in each of the different phases of agriculture.²² The *lati-*

¹⁷ Traditionally dated at 362 (366) B.C., but possibly to be referred to a much later period. See above, Chapter Four.

¹⁸ In Etruria some of the large estates harked back to those of the early Etruscan lords.

¹⁹ For further detail on the havoc wrought by the Hannibalic war, cf. Chapter Five, end, and T. Frank, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 56-57.

²⁰ *Civil Wars*, I, 7, Loeb Classical Library translation (H. White), by permission of the Harvard University Press.

²¹ About six per cent. Cf. T. Frank, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 170 f.

²² See T. Frank, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 160-172, for selections from Cato's work with translations and valuable comments.

fundia were found chiefly in southern Italy, where were the great cattle and sheep ranches, in rich Campania, where the wine and oil industry especially prospered, and in Etruria, whose chief products were still grain and pigs. The development of large estates should not be exaggerated, however, for agriculture was still a simple affair compared with that of a century later.

The Growth of Slavery

The rapid overgrowth of slavery in this period was largely due to the multitude of prisoners of war that were thrown on the market during the Punic and Eastern campaigns. A fair estimate of the total of such captives up to 133 B.C. is about 250,000.²³ The growth of luxury in Rome also stimulated the slave trade, as is evident from the presence in Sicily of 60,000 Cilicians and Syrians in 135 B.C. This traffic, however, was to become vastly more active later, with Delos as its center. The average price of an able-bodied male adult was about 400 to 500 denarii (\$80 to \$100). Roman slaves came from almost every section of the Mediterranean world, both east and west. Multitudes were employed as domestic and luxury servants in the homes of the well-to-do Romans. Many were sent to the mines of Spain and Sardinia, and a limited number were used as artisans in the shops and as public menials or even as clerical assistants. But they were especially exploited in the slave plantations. Both Plutarch and Appian are witnesses to the evil impression made upon Tiberius Gracchus in 137 B.C. by the multitude of slaves on the great estates, and the "dearth of free inhabitants" on the Etruscan countryside.²⁴ The same was true of southern Italy and parts of Campania and Latium. The vast numbers in the slave gangs of Italy and Sicily before the close of this period, and the resulting menace, is revealed by the fact that in the Slave War in Sicily beginning in 136 B.C., at least 70,000 succeeded in defying Rome for four years. As early as 198 B.C., Punic slaves in Italy plotted an insurrection, and slave riots threatened Apulia in the next decade. In this sparsely settled country of great plantations, the owners barred themselves in at night in fear of an organized attack from their slaves.

On the whole, the Romans were less humane in their treatment of slaves than were the Greeks. Cato, the hard-fisted but highly moral Roman of the old school, probably was following the usual practice of his day in treating his slaves like cattle and turning them out to die when worn out. The slave gangs on the plantations were mercilessly exploited, often working in chains under brutal foremen, and housed in underground prisons (*ergastula*). Cato advises to give them for relish the "fallen olives" and "the ripe ones that yield little oil, taking care that they last as long as possible."²⁵ Doubtless the life of the domestic slaves in the well-to-do homes of the city was much easier, if Plautus has reflected conditions in Rome as well as in Hellenistic Athens. But even the most favored ones were in constant fear of the lash. Slaves were permitted to marry and produced large progeny, which fact, together with their freedom from military service, partly accounted for their rapid increase. Many of the more intelligent city slaves rose to positions of trust as stewards

²³ Cf. T. Frank, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 187-188.

²⁴ *Tiberius Gracchus*, VIII, 7; *Civil Wars*, 7, 9 f.

²⁵ *De Agri Cultura*, LX.

of the household, and were later frequently granted their freedom in recognition of their services, or were permitted to purchase it from their small savings (*peculium*). By the middle of the second century, manumission was already becoming common. Many freedmen were found among the *plebs urbana*, and the more clever ones had climbed to the ranks of the new rich. Such an overgrown and prolific slave population of many diverse races, together with the ever-increasing custom of manumission, was destined in time to transform the population of the peninsula.

The effect of such an unhealthy overdevelopment of slavery on free labor was unquestionably bad. We need only recall the dearth of free population in some sections of Italy and the swelling of the urban unemployed by the ruined peasantry. Slavery tended to drive out free labor and to lower the wage of the free worker toward the cost of support of the slave.²⁶ Yet free labor continued in city and country. Cato did not keep slaves enough for busy seasons. He frequently mentions the use of hired labor, and emphasizes the importance of having the villa in a section where free labor is abundant.²⁷

The Decline of the Free Peasantry

The causes of the decline of the free peasantry in Italy were the same as for the *latifundia* and need no further emphasis. They were all greatly stimulated by the Eastern wars. During the first half of the second century the Roman losses by war were over 100,000, not counting those who died by disease. Though the adult male citizen population increased up to 164 B.C., during the next three decades it declined by 20,000. Especially in the Spanish campaigns were the losses severe. Since the Roman armies were necessarily recruited chiefly from the rural population, these losses especially affected the peasant farmers. The prolonged experience of camp life, the glamour of successful war in distant lands, the attractions of an irresponsible life, free from the rigid Roman conventions of family and society, also weaned multitudes away from the prosy routine of their hard-scrabble farm. Many, on their return, also found their little homesteads gone to rack and ruin, or lost to their creditors. Others gave up in despair, unable to face the ruinous competition of the great estates. Land exhaustion may also have figured in some sections, especially as the small owner had neither the funds nor the science to rebuild his land or to change from the endless grain-cropping. Some of the dispossessed peasants sought new colonial ventures or degenerated to tenant farmers or laborers, but many drifted to the capital to swell the ranks of the city mob of unemployed.

The decline for this period, however, was only partial and in spots. The Italian peasant freeholders were still numerous in many parts of Italy, especially in the central Apennines and the Po Valley.²⁸ Yet as early as 187 B.C.,

²⁶ The expense of support of a country slave was about two sesterces a day. The wage of the free laborer was from three to four sesterces a day. Cf. T. Frank, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 187-189.

²⁷ *De Agri Cultura*, 7, 3; 4, 4; 5, 4. Free labor could survive because it required no initial investment; also the free worker could be discharged in slack seasons, and cost nothing when sick.

²⁸ Cf. T. Frank, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 114 ff., for a detailed list of colonies for the first thirty years of the century, and an estimate of the total number of colonists, from 40,000 to 50,000.

the Latin towns requested Rome to send back the Latin colonists who had migrated to the city, as they had difficulty in filling their quotas, and this shortage became worse later during the Spanish campaigns. Before the death of Cato it was difficult to secure enough citizens and allies who could fulfill the property qualification for military service which was later repeatedly lowered, until by the close of the century it was entirely disregarded.

2. THE NEW CLASSES

The Urban Proletariat

War and expansion also revolutionized the citizen classes during this period. The growth of an army of poor unemployed in Rome presented a problem ever more impossible of solution and an increasing menace to the stability of the Republic. We have seen that the spread of slave plantations and the consequent decline of the free peasantry helped to create this condition. But the primary cause was imperial expansion itself, which had transformed Rome from a backwoods town to a great cosmopolitan city of perhaps 300,000, the political and commercial capital of the Mediterranean world.

In such a great metropolis based on an overwhelming slave economy where industry was comparatively undeveloped, the problem of unemployment for the poorer citizens must inevitably become acute. Thus was bred a throng of unemployed, who lived on the largesses of grain and enjoyed the public shows supplied by office seekers and magistrates as a political sop.²⁹ Rome had also become the Mecca of fortune hunters from every corner of the Mediterranean world. On its crowded streets jostled each other bumptious returned veterans obsessed with the notion that Rome owed them a living, dispossessed peasants living from hand to mouth, clever freedmen seeking to break into the ranks of the *nouveaux riches*, countless domestic slaves from the luxurious homes of the great, traders from every land with their colorful wares, foreign artisans catering to every need of the rich, "hungry Greeklings" and Orientals ready to stoop to anything but work to turn a denarius, fakirs and professional parasites of every description seeking to eke out a living by hook or crook through preying on the superstitions or satisfying the appetites and lusts of a polyglot population. The delays and uncertainties of sea transport caused great fluctuations in the prices of grain and occasional delays in the arrival of the Sicilian grain ships brought the motley throng to the verge of starvation.

We have seen how the Roman assemblies, especially the *tributa*, were increasingly influenced by the urban masses to whose ignorance, self-interest, and passions the office seekers were beginning to make their appeal.³⁰ The situation was made more menacing by the inclusion of noncitizens in the political mass meetings (*contiones*), so as to give the impression of over-

²⁹ Contemporary experience with doles and the problem of the unemployed should make us more sympathetic with the problems of the Roman Republic as also with its urban poor, many of whom, as now, were doubtless unemployed through no fault of their own. Unfortunately, however, doles did much to make the condition chronic, and gave opportunity for playing politics with the problem.

³⁰ P. 125, n. 8, but this was much more true in the last century of the Republic. Cf. below.

whelming public opinion. In the next generation, demagogues sometimes organized these proletarian masses, with other disgruntled groups, into a political machine through which they dictated the policies of the state.³¹

The problems of Italian agriculture, the *latifundia*, overgrown slavery, the decline of the free peasantry, and the urban unemployed were essentially one. They must be solved together or not at all. But on their solution depended the persistence of Republican government, and the continuance of Rome's rule of the world through her legions of citizen freeholders. The sequel will show that the problems were never solved, but only tinkered with and made the political football of demagogues. The decline of the peasantry continued. The urban proletariat became an ever greater problem, the conscript army of propertied farmers was later transformed to a volunteer army recruited from the propertyless urban masses who were loyal only to their general, and the institutions of the Republic finally gave way to dictatorship and empire.

The Rise of the Equestrian, or Capitalist, Class

In the preceding discussion of provincial government, we have briefly analyzed the activities of a new rising class of *bourgeois* capitalists, the *publicani* and the *negotiatores*. The annual change in executives made it impossible for Rome to develop permanent boards for public business such as tax collection or the performance of public works. The state therefore leased such projects on contract to joint stock companies of *publicani*. The exclusion of the landed senatorial nobility both by law and public sentiment from openly engaging in commercial pursuits, and their virtual monopoly of office and land investment, also stimulated the development of a commercial class of *negotiatores*. These tendencies were greatly enhanced by the financial requirements of the Punic and Eastern wars and the attractive business opportunities of a rapidly expanding empire. Thus by the middle of the second century had arisen, by the side of the landed nobility and the urban proletariat, a capitalist class who undertook public business or financed large private ventures at home and in the provinces. Polybius, writing about 150 B.C., neatly describes the situation as to public contracts in a famous passage:

Through the whole of Italy, a vast number of contracts, which it would not be easy to enumerate, are given out by the censors for the construction and repair of public buildings, and besides this there are many things which are farmed, such as navigable rivers, harbours, gardens, mines, lands, in fact everything that forms part of the Roman dominion. Now all these things are undertaken by the people, and one may almost say that everyone is interested in these contracts and the work that they involve. For certain people are the actual purchasers from the censors of the contracts, others are partners of these first, others stand surety for them, others pledge their own fortunes to the state for this purpose.

We should not exaggerate the amounts of capital invested in these public contracts, however, for such extensive activities by a capitalist class were of

³¹ In doing so, they had probably learned from the senate's control of the government, which, according to F. B. Marsh, *A History of the Roman World, 146-30 B.C.*, London, 1935, was partly based on a political machine.

comparatively recent origin when Polybius wrote.³² Yet they were already a distinct class of some significance. With the passing of the importance of the Roman cavalry in actual warfare, the term *equites* took on another meaning, denoting all whose property would have included them in the cavalry. Thus arose an equestrian order in the state, composed chiefly of the well-to-do commercial class, but also of any from the senatorial families who had not yet held office. In foreign affairs their influence was already being felt for a more aggressive policy, which would give them a free hand in the exploitation of conquered peoples. Though the primary motive of the destruction of Carthage and Corinth was certainly not commercial,³³ the acts were expressive of the spirit of this rising class, whose corrupting influence in home and foreign politics became increasingly dominant during the next century.

3. INDUSTRY

Second-century Rome was a consumer rather than a producer, living as a parasite on the provinces by public and private extortion. Wealth flowed into the public coffers from tribute (in grain or money), from the Spanish mines, from rents of confiscated lands, from indemnities, and from the booty of war so enormous that, after the triumphant return of Aemilius Paullus in 167 B.C., Roman citizens paid no war tax for a hundred years. The only taxes on citizens were port duties and the five per cent tax on manumissions of slaves. In addition, fortunes fleeced from the provincials by governors, tax gatherers, and speculative Shylocks were constantly enriching the city. In return for all this, Rome gave little of an economic nature, though Italy exported some wool, wine, olive oil, and iron tools. For luxuries, wealthy Romans paid back to the provinces some of the money extorted from them, only to extort it again, and so the vicious circle continued.

The repeated addition of extensive new lands for old kept Rome from becoming an industrial state, another effect of expansion. Senatorial capital was invested in land, while that of the knights turned to the financing of commercial or business projects and to public contracts both at home and in the provinces. Romans of good family rarely entered industry, which was still largely for home consumption, and of the small shop variety.

It must have been already very extensive and varied, however, to supply the needs of Rome's legions as well as those of the rapidly growing city and of the towns and estates of Italy. To furnish the equipment of 40,000 soldiers was no small task for skilled workers. The building industry including the manufacture of its tools was also a considerable item. Public building and public works, such as aqueducts, drainage and paving, became very active in Rome in the early second century, and the same was doubtless true in a lesser degree of some of the other Italian cities.³⁴ The demand for farm implements on the great estates throughout Italy must also have required

³² VI, 17, 2-4, *Loeb Classical Library* translation, by permission of Harvard University Press. Cf. T. Frank, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 149-157.

³³ Cf. Chapter Six, Sec. X, 2.

³⁴ Cf. the impressive list, based on the Roman authors, as given by T. Frank, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 183-186.

many skilled hands, as Cato attests.³⁵ The industries supplying such equipment were evidently widely scattered over Italy and quite specialized.

The pottery industry for the supply of common crockery was one of the most extensive, though the Etruscan ware was on the decline. Much fine bronze ware, however, especially mirrors and toilet boxes, was still produced in Etruria. Though many of the necessities of daily life were still made in the home, this was far from universal. According to Cato's list, the place for the farmer to purchase his tunics, togas, cloaks, patchwork cloth, and wooden shoes was in Rome. The many Latin words for skilled workers used by Plautus in his comedies reveals an Italian industry both extensive and fairly specialized.³⁶ Iron and copper mining and smelting were pursued on a large scale in Etruria, and even lead and zinc were mined there, until the days of Cato, but after his organization of the Spanish mines, the Etruscan industry declined. Roman and Italian industry were largely manned by free labor until early in the second century, but thereafter slave labor became increasingly dominant. At a probable average wage of somewhat less than a denarius (\$.20) a day, a free laborer and his wife could live fairly easily, according to the simple standards, if he worked about 300 days in the year.

4. COMMERCE

Of land trade in Italy in this period, little is known. The small Roman artisan sold his own wares in his shop or in the Forum Romanum and other squares, and traders passed from town to town on market days. The transport of bulky materials by land was slow and expensive, especially off the main highways. According to Cato, an ox team traveled only ten or twelve miles a day, and it cost over one-sixth of the value of an olive mill to transport it twenty-five miles.

As for sea trade, we have seen that Roman capital, whether of senators or knights, sought other fields for investment than commerce. Though the knights financed commercial ventures, they were not usually active merchants. The marked expansion of trade between the East and Italy resulting from the wars of the second century was not in Roman ships, and Roman merchants were rare. Among the names of merchants of many nations found at Delos, the great commercial center in the Aegean after 166 B.C., those of Romans are conspicuously absent. The senate also showed a strange lack of interest in developing Roman commerce or in patronizing Roman merchants. In the treaties that ended the wars with Hannibal, Philip, and Antiochus, it inserted no commercial clauses, and in no way undertook to enter into the heritage of Carthaginian trade after 200 B.C., or to take over the rich trade of the Punic city of Gades with western Spain and Britain. The senate's punishment of Rhodes by the establishment of Delos as a free port in 166 B.C. had a political rather than an economic motive, and with the decline of Rhodes, Rome made no thorough effort to stop the organized piracy in the Aegean until the first century. We have seen also that the destruction of Corinth and

³⁵ *De Agri Cultura*, X, XI, XIV, CXXXV.

³⁶ Cf. T. Frank, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 177.

Carthage was in no sense due to commercial jealousy,³⁷ and the regular attitude of Republican Rome to trade advantages for Italy was one of indifference.³⁸

Though neither Roman traders, nor Roman products, nor the state itself figured in Eastern commerce, South Italian Greek and Campanian merchants had long had commercial relations with Greece, and were now much more active as a result of Roman expansion. They formed an organized body at Delos, and sought to make contact between the Orient and the Italian producers. Italian wine and olive oil were among the frequent imports at Delos, as is evident from the Delian inscriptions and the large number of fragments of wine jars with Italian stamps.³⁹ But by far the most active, numerous, and wealthy merchants engaged in the rapidly growing trade with Italy were Greeks and Orientals from Alexandria, Syria, Phoenicia, and Asia Minor. The stimulus resulting from increased trade with the East is reflected in the great expansion of Pompeii after about 150 B.C. Roman commerce was chiefly in grain and luxuries. The private grain trade was not yet remarkably extensive, since the grain imported to Rome was largely publicly owned. But grain merchants on the seas, probably South Italians, are mentioned as early as 202 B.C. The luxury trade with the Orient greatly increased in the second century to satisfy the demand of Romans who had grown wealthy through exploitation of the East.

The trade of Rome with Greece and the East is reflected in the rapid improvement of Rome's harbor facilities in the second century to accommodate naval transports and foreign and Italian shippers. An emporium and docks were built on the Tiber, and Puteoli, near Naples, was founded as a Roman customs station in 199 B.C. It grew rapidly and was soon the popular port for travelers and freight to the South and East. Polybius calls it "one of the remarkable towns of Italy,"⁴⁰ and Lucilius later in the century called it a "lesser Delos." It was to be the chief port of Rome for the next two centuries.

5. COINAGE AND BANKING

Rome's victory over Hannibal and expansion in the East were epochal for the development of the state coinage. Until about 200 B.C., Rome had always lacked a sufficiency of silver coins, but the war indemnities, booty, and the income from the Spanish mines finally established the state securely on a silver basis. The total amount of gold and silver bullion from all the above sources during the Eastern wars is roughly estimated at over 300,000,000 denarii (about \$60,000,000).⁴¹ During the period, also, the bronze *as*, which had been reduced under the stress of the Hannibalic war (217 B.C.) from two

³⁷ Cf. Chapter Six, Sec. X, 2; Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History of Rome*, Chap. 1, n. 17; and T. Frank, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 172-174, and his *Economic History*, p. 116 f., n. 19.

³⁸ The only evidence to the contrary is Cicero, *Republic*, 3, 16, that the Romans "forbid the races beyond the Alps to plant the olive or vine so that our own groves and vineyards may be more valuable." (Written 52 B.C., but the dramatic date is 129 B.C.) But the interpretation of the passage is disputed.

³⁹ Cf. Rostovtzeff in *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. VIII, p. 644, and note. T. Frank, *Economic Survey of Rome*, Vol. I, p. 205, belittles such trade, but cf. his *Economic History of Rome*, pp. 315 f.

⁴⁰ III, 91, 4.

⁴¹ Cf. T. Frank, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 146.

ounces to one, was again gradually reduced by one-half, probably to adjust it to the changing ratios of copper to silver. In Greece and the Hellenistic East, the tendency was the other way, toward a dearth of silver and debasement of the coinage, due partly to political and economic decline and partly to Roman exactions.

The influx of gold and silver bullion to Rome (over one hundred tons of silver between 200 and 150 B.C.) and the enormous increase in business and investment through expansion also greatly stimulated the development of banking.⁴² At their rented booths in the Forum, the bankers made loans and accepted deposits on interest, and were sometimes trusted to handle sums as large as fifty talents. Checking accounts, however, were probably unknown as yet, since the ancient custom of hoarding savings at home still persisted. The business was exclusively in the hands of noncitizens, foreigners and freedmen, chiefly Greek, as is indicated by the regular use of the Greek name *trapezites*, instead of the Latin *argentarius*.

The attitude of the conservative Roman citizen toward banking is expressed by Cato in the preface to his book on agriculture, that moneylending was a "profitable" but not an "honorable occupation." This was a natural attitude in an aristocratic, agrarian society, especially since the business was monopolized by foreigners and freedmen whose methods were often shady, and whose interest rates were likely to be usurious.

6. THE TRANSFORMATION IN DAILY LIFE AND MORALS

The new wealth and contact with the elegant luxury of the older and higher civilization of the Hellenistic East revolutionized the ideals and life of the propertied classes in Rome. But like "new rich," they readily adopted the externals without the refinement of Greek culture and imitated the worst vices rather than the virtues of the Greeks, striving to outdo each other in coarse luxury and extravagant show. The contemporary Greek historian Polybius, describing the prodigal extravagance and base vices of the gilded Roman youth, quotes the indignant Cato as saying that, "It is the surest sign of deterioration in the Republic when pretty boys fetch more than fields and jars of caviar more than ploughmen." Polybius ascribes the change to the resulting influx of treasure to Rome, which caused "a great display of wealth both in public and private."⁴³ The old rugged Roman virtues of discipline, dignity, economy, simplicity, integrity, stoical endurance, *pietas*, and *gravitas* were giving place to self-indulgence and enervating luxury. The comedies of Terence, though adaptations from the Greek picturing the more seamy side of life in Hellenistic Athens, also probably reflect to some small degree changing conditions in second-century Rome.⁴⁴

⁴² All the references to banking in the comedies of Plautus and Terence, except one, apply to Greek banking.

⁴³ XXXI, 25, 4-8. Loeb Classical Library translation, by permission of the Harvard University Press.

⁴⁴ The change was by no means all for the worse, however, despite Cato. The same may be said of today in comparison with the pioneer days in America.

The Changing Status of Woman

A striking evidence of the transformation in Roman manners and ideals appears in the changing status of woman toward greater independence. The old solidarity of the family, the supreme authority of the father, and the inferiority and chaste dignity of the Roman matron were passing. Among the well-to-do especially, women were beginning to free themselves from the old conventions, and divorce and childlessness were becoming less rare. The interesting story of Livy reflects these changing social conditions. The Oppian law (215 B.C.), passed as a war measure after the disaster at Cannae, forbidding women to wear parti-colored apparel or to possess more than half an ounce of gold for personal adornment, was now (195 B.C.) up for repeal, since the occasion for it had passed. The women pressed their case, personally canvassing the men for their votes, and won, even against the indignant opposition of the die-hard Cato. "Nor could the matrons be kept at home either by advice or shame, nor even by the command of their husbands; but beset every street and pass in the city, beseeching the men as they went down to the Forum." Such behavior was certainly not in accord with the older Roman ideals of womanhood. Cato calls it "outrageous." "What sort of practise is this," he indignantly asks, "of running out into public, besetting the streets, and addressing other women's husbands?" "Are your blandishments more seducing in public than in private, and with other women's husbands than with your own?" "What will they not attempt if they now come off victorious?" Cato fears that if the Romans permit the women to throw off old restraints "by which they were subjected to their husbands," there will be no living with them. "The moment they have arrived at equality with you," he warns, "they will have become your superiors."⁴⁵

7. CATO "THE CENSOR" (234-149 B.C.)

Nothing will better enable us to gain a vivid appreciation of the contrast of old and new in second-century Rome than a further consideration of the personality, ideals, and work of Marcus Porcius Cato, "the Censor," a typical representative of the old school, born fifty years too late, who stood like flint against the changing times.

We have already made his acquaintance as a brave soldier and officer in Africa, Spain, and the East, as an enthusiastic farmer of a slave plantation whose work on agriculture is full of sage advice for the scientific management of an estate. Though a "new man" of obscure plebeian family, he pushed his way into the exclusive senate and passed through all the offices from quaestor to censor. He was the uncompromising enemy of Carthage, the opponent of Scipio, and the champion of a more aggressive imperialism. His practical, rugged eloquence won for him the title of the "Roman Demosthenes," and he has the distinction of being the first Latin prose writer of any importance, and the first author of a history of Rome in Latin.⁴⁶ A stern

⁴⁵ Livy, XXXIV, 1-8, *Bohn Classical Library* translation, by permission of the publishers, Bell and Sons.

⁴⁶ The *Origines*, no longer extant.

puritan, conservative, patriotic, dictatorial in his family, hard-fisted in a bargain, and cruel to his slaves, he is the extreme example of both the virtues and the vices of the Roman gentleman of the old school. But despite his harshness, he worked and ate with his slaves, and never struck his wife or child⁴⁷ when this was common. He wrote his *Origines* as a text for his son, and personally trained him in reading, law, riding, and morals. Unlike many Roman officials of his day, also, he was reputed never to have enriched himself through his many offices or military victories.

His sharp tongue was a nemesis to all who would in any way relax from the old ideals. Elected censor by the people in 184 against the determined opposition of the nobles, he made such a reputation by his drastic reforms as to be dubbed henceforth "the Censor." He degraded some of the senators and knights on moral and financial grounds, cut the pipes by which public water was being brought to the private houses and gardens, and insisted on the lowest price for public contracts and the highest fee for the tax farmers. Though privately parsimonious, he spent freely for the improvement of the city in extensive paving, sewage facilities, and other public works. While censor, he decreed his famous Sumptuary Law against the new luxury by which all apparel, equipages, jewelry, furniture, and plate worth over 1,500 denarii should be taxed about thirty per cent of its value.⁴⁸ His influence was also back of the later sumptuary laws of 181 and 161 B.C., which limited the expense for banquets.⁴⁹ Another law was passed in 143 B.C. after Cato's death, but these measures were impotent to check the self-indulgence.

Cato was a passionate hater of the Greeks and their culture as the subtle poison that was corrupting the old sturdy Roman society and morals. He urged the exclusion of all Greeks from the city, and scornfully advised the return of Polybius and the Achaean exiles, since it was not worth the time of a Roman to debate whether a few Greeks should die in Italy or Greece. Physicians and philosophers, as chiefly Greek, he hated, and sought by indirection to rid the city as soon as possible of the Athenian embassy of 155 B.C., led by Diogenes, the Stoic, and the charming Academic, Carneades, who was winning the Roman youth by his persuasive eloquence. Especially did he decry the danger to the old Roman morals and religion from the insidious entrance of the Greco-Oriental religions with their wild emotionalism and mystic rites.

Cato was right in his fears that much of value in the old Roman society was being undermined by the contact with Greece and the East. The good old times would never return, but despite the mixture of evils in the new, it was undesirable that they should. Through Greece the nation of crude farmers and soldiers was being prepared for its momentous civilizing mission. Over two and a half centuries later, Plutarch wrote of Cato's crabbed prophecy that

⁴⁷ Though he is also quoted by Plutarch as boasting that he never kissed his wife except when it thundered loudly.

⁴⁸ Livy, XXXIX, 44, 1-3; Plutarch, *Cato Major*, 18, 2. The considerable amount permitted, 1,500 denarii, is in itself evidence of the change.

⁴⁹ The amount allowed for meat for a festival banquet of about nine people is only 25 sesterces, but the law permits 100 pounds of silver plate to be used at the banquet! The booty of war had made it plentiful. Cf. T. Frank, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 198 ff.

"Rome would lose her empire when she had become infected with Greek letters." "But time has certainly shown the emptiness of this ill-boding speech of his, for while the city was at the zenith of its Empire, she made every form of Greek learning and culture her own."⁵⁰ The old Puritan cut a brave but pathetic figure standing against the tide of change, with no constructive message, save the futile slogan "back to the past." Even he had to learn Greek late in life, and his wise maxims and oratorical style were by no means free from Greek influence.⁵¹

8. ROMAN DAILY LIFE

The transformation of Roman manners and ideals by the new wealth and by contact with Hellenistic civilization profoundly affected every phase of life of the well-to-do Roman from foods to religion. The meals became much more elaborate. Meat, once rare, was now the regular diet. Rare and imported foods and fine wines (now also for women) became common on the tables of the rich. The Greek banquet was adopted, with its symposium, wreaths, music, and dancing flute girls, and became elaborate with expensive dishes and costly silver plate. True to Greek custom, the men now reclined at dinner, though the women and children still sat. Even the time and names of the meals changed. The old early frugal breakfast, the *jentaculum*, was discarded by the rich for an early *prandium* (luncheon) at 11:00 A.M., and the main meal, *cena*, once at noon, was now transferred to the middle of the afternoon, and was sometimes a banquet followed by a Greek symposium. The noble Roman matrons also frequently added Greek styles in dress to their Roman *stola* and *palla*. Dyed fabrics in delicate colors and fine linen and cotton goods imported from the Orient were in demand.

The simple one-story Roman house of sun-dried brick, with its one large room and central hearth, the *atrium*, surrounded by small sleeping rooms, was no longer adequate. It gave place to a more imposing structure of two or more stories modeled after the Greek, such as the *House of the Faun* at Pompeii. The hearth was now relegated to a special room, and the atrium became a pillared reception hall. Behind it was the *tablinum*, or private sitting room, dining room (*triclinium*), bath and bedrooms, and to the rear was an attractive courtyard and garden with Greek peristyle. The walls of the house began to be adorned with Hellenistic frescoes or were stuccoed to represent costly marbles. Floor mosaics replaced the old pavement of pebbles, and the rooms were beautified by elegant furniture, sculptures and paintings, the loot of ravished Greece.

In the more pretentious houses retinues of slaves, each trained for his special function, gave leisure for literary culture and social life. Travel for pleasure and education, and country seats or houses in the mountains or on the coast for relief from the summer heat, soon began to be thought necessary for the well-to-do. With the decline of the rural middle class, the social gulf yawned ever wider between rich and poor, between the luxurious homes of the great

⁵⁰ *Cuto Major*, 23, 3.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 2, 3-4.

families and the ramshackle lodgings in the wretched slums that were already beginning to disfigure the rapidly growing city.

III. THE NEW CULTURE

The contact with Greece and the Hellenistic East also enormously stimulated the cultural development of Rome and permanently determined its general character. For centuries Rome had been gradually affected by Greek influence, first indirectly through the Etruscans and directly through the Greek cities of Campania, and later through the conquest of southern Italy and Sicily. But with the conquest of Greece and the Hellenized East, the fountain of Hellenic culture was tapped at its source, and Greek education, language, literature, rhetoric, science, philosophy, and art flowed into Rome unchecked, despite the thundering of Cato and his ilk. The agencies were many: returning Roman military and civil officials; manuscripts of the Greek classics and shiploads of the splendid art of Greece brought to the crude West; throngs of cultured Greeks who came seeking their fortune in the capital; and multitudes of cultivated Greek slaves who schooled their masters in the higher culture. Thus cultured Greece triumphed over its crude Roman conquerors, a fact of outstanding significance in the history of Western civilization.

I. EDUCATION

One of the most significant effects of the contact of Rome with Hellenism was the profound change in the ideals, methods, and content of Roman education. Up to about the middle of the third century, while the old education was still essentially free from foreign influence, it was narrowly practical and conservative both in aim and method. The boy's teacher was his father and his school was the home. The aim was direct, vocational training rather than education, to prepare him literally to step into his father's shoes as farmer, soldier, and leader in the state. To this end, the father sought especially to inculcate in his son good morals according to Roman standards, patriotism, respect for law, fear of the gods and reverence for the customs and traditions of the fathers, *mos maiorum*; in short, to make his son an exact replica of himself. State regulation of education was therefore unnecessary, for education was "safe" in the hands of the father, to be kept forever the same. The curriculum fitted the limited aim, the merest elements of reading, writing, and calculation to fulfill the later simple needs, the elements of agriculture, the law of the Twelve Tables to be learned by heart, the stories of the heroic past of his family and nation, religious forms and ancestral custom, and some physical training, not for health, grace, or beauty, but purely for the making of a good soldier. Such an education might have produced a giant Sparta. It would never have produced a great creative culture whose permanent contributions have shaped the culture of the whole Western world.

Through the impact with Hellenism this narrow outlook and aim was gradually transformed. As early as the second Punic War, Livius Andronicus, and later Ennius, began giving literary instruction in Rome, at first in private

homes. The movement rapidly developed in the second century, and soon after 169 B.C. Crates of Mallos began lecturing in Rome on Greek literary subjects. Others followed his example and thus developed an innovation of vast significance for Roman and future Western education, the establishment of the school of the *grammaticus*, or teacher of Greek language and literature. For the Greek *grammaticus* did far more than add new studies to the Roman curriculum. He introduced the Greek humanistic philosophy, then entirely new to Rome, with its emphasis upon broad intellectual training, general literary culture, free and critical thinking, and the symmetrical development of all sides of the personality, in contrast to the direct vocationalism and the narrow practicality of the old Roman ideal. The heart of the new culture was the study and interpretation of the great Greek poets, especially Homer, but later, as Latin literature developed, Roman authors were also included. Naturally, also, much of the Roman practical-utilitarian aim was retained and adapted to the Hellenistic view of education.

The result was the production of a new and more attractive type of cultivated Roman gentleman, imbued with a love of Greek literature and the refined ideals and interests that are implied in the Latin term *humanitas*. Second-century examples are Scipio Africanus the Elder, Titus Flamininus, Aemilius Paullus, and especially Scipio Aemilianus, one of the most civilized and attractive characters in Roman history, in whom the new intellectual culture and the old Roman virtues were happily blended. In his intimate "Scipionic Circle," such learned Greeks as Polybius, the historian, and the Stoic philosopher, Panaetius of Rhodes, mingled with the greatest statesmen, orators, generals and authors of Rome. In such a free atmosphere, where truth and not dogmatism was the goal, the best Roman minds were broadened, refined, and enriched in accord with the noblest traditions of Hellas.

Henceforth the Roman gentleman must be bilingual, at home in Greek language and literature, and trained, beyond the elementary education, in Greek rhetoric and philosophy. Schools became common, but education still remained private and voluntary, a matter with which the state did not usually concern itself. As they were generally Greek slaves or freedmen, the elementary teachers were held in low esteem by the Roman aristocrat, and this was also largely true of even the free Greek teachers of rhetoric in the higher schools.

The schools of rhetoric were at first entirely Greek and largely remained so. They were accepted by the Romans for their practical value as training in the art of public address. Even Cato emphasized the value of training in oratory and himself studied the orations of Demosthenes and the speeches of Thucydides, despite his aversion to Greek education. The later attempt to develop Latin schools of rhetoric, however, was opposed by the conservatives. The senate, probably incited by Cato, decreed banishment for the *rhetores Latini* along with the philosophers in 161 B.C. But the law was a dead letter, and we find the censors again opposing them early in the next century.

Some die-hard conservatives like Cato persisted in training their sons in the home by the good old methods, curriculum, and aims, and much in the old education was long retained. Many clung to the old emphasis upon practical experience and ancestral tradition, and preferred vocational training to a broad

literary education. The Romans never really accepted the Greek humanistic ideal of a symmetrical education of all sides of life. Few of them ever truly appreciated the aim of Greek gymnastic as the development of health, physical grace and beauty, and as intimately related to the education of the whole personality. Conservative Romans looked askance at the exercises of the *palaestra* as undignified, and an encouragement to indolence and immorality.

Unfortunately, also, though philosophy was studied in the Roman schools, the unphilosophical and practical-minded Romans preferred rhetoric, a fact which contributed to superficial thinking and the overemphasis upon style at the expense of richness of content.

The Hellenization of Roman education brought with it not only a great broadening of outlook, cultural enrichment, and enfranchisement of the human spirit, but also some less salient results, such as Cato foresaw. Some of these were the decline of the sturdy Roman character, the development of an extreme individualism, and an intellectual and moral oversophistication which boded ill for the future welfare of the family and the state. Also certain qualities in Hellenistic culture such as pedantry, artificiality, and the lack of creativeness reinforced similar qualities already inherent in the Roman mind and character, resulting in undue emphasis upon style instead of thought and an ever-increasing separation of literature and learning from life to the disadvantage of both.

2. LITERATURE ⁵²

The most profound influence of Greece upon Rome was in literature. The Latin alphabet itself was Greek in origin, via the Etruscans, and the influence of the Greek language upon the Latin in forms, syntax, and vocabulary is very far-reaching. Aside from some rude Latin verse called Saturnian and the scurrilous Fescennine verses sung at marriages, Latin literature had its birth in Greek literature about 240 B.C., when Livius Andronicus, a Tarentine freedman, translated a Greek comedy and tragedy to furnish entertainment for the public games in celebration of the victory of Rome in the first Punic War. He also translated the *Odyssey* into rude Latin Saturnian verse as a text for teaching Greek. Thus Latin literature, being dominated from the first by Greek masterpieces as models in every field, could not develop independently or naturally as did the Greek. Also, unlike the largely aristocratic Greek writers, the early Latin poets were mostly of low birth, not Romans, often not even Italians but men of alien race such as Greek freedmen. The new Greek education was the chief stimulant to literary development in Rome. Other factors were the transfer of the entire library of Perseus to Rome by Aemilius Paullus in 167 B.C., the coming of the thousand cultured Achaean exiles and Greek embassies to Rome of such eminent philosophers and orators as Critolaus, Carneades, and Panaetius. But the inspiration for the new literature must also be sought in the national exhilaration of the Romans themselves through their growing national power.

In Gnaeus Naevius (c. 270-c. 199 B.C.) we meet a poet of Latin origin and of

⁵² Only brief fragments of the earlier Roman literature have survived, except about 600 lines of the epic of Ennius, about twenty comedies of Plautus, six of Terence, and Cato's *De Agri Cultura*.

more originality. In his tragedies and comedies he began the practice of combining his borrowed Greek plots and handling Roman subjects in tragedy (*fabula praetexta*). He also wrote an epic in Saturnian verse on the first Punic War, in which he had fought. The reputed father of Roman poetry was Quintus Ennius (239-169 B.C.), who was brought from Calabria by Cato to Rome and became a teacher of Greek there. In adapting some of the best tragedies of Sophocles and Euripides to Latin, he followed closely his Greek models, but was no mere copyist. His great contribution was the creation of Latin hexameter in his famous *Annales*, an epic in hexameter verse relating the heroic story of Rome from the migration of the Trojan Aeneas to Italy. The epic was later an important source for the Roman patriotic historians. His 600 lines that have survived reveal a music and rhythm worthy of some of the best Latin poetry. After Ennius, epic poetry practically ceased until the time of Virgil. Tragedy was continued by Pacuvius of Brundisium (220-130 B.C.) and Accius of Umbria (170-c.86 B.C.), who brought it to its height. But serious drama was hardly fitted to the Roman genius, and had little appeal to the uncultivated Roman public, who preferred broad comedy, farce, mimes, or gladiatorial shows.

Comedy began its significant development with T. Maccius Plautus of Umbria (c. 254-184 B.C.). At first a poor workman at the theatre adding to his small pittance by writing comedies, he became the most popular literary figure in Rome. The plots, general setting, meter, and many of the titles of his twenty plays were drawn from the comedies of manners of Menander and other Hellenistic dramatists. He shows much originality, however, in his handling of the material, and his rough vigor, broad humor, and general spirit are essentially Roman. Though largely reflecting the seamy side of life in Hellenistic Athens, his comedies are full of Roman color, and hence of historical anomalies. In most of his plays the central *motif* is illicit love, as in his Greek models, though beneath the surface is a serious recognition of moral values. His stock characters, taken from Hellenistic comedy, represent many human types, such as the parsimonious father, the somewhat shrewish wife, the youth in love, the pretty slave girl who later turns out to be of good birth, the courtesan, the clever slave, and the braggadocio soldier. The plots usually turn on the farcical difficulties of illicit love, the tyranny of parents, and the shrewd intrigues of precocious slaves to aid the son to "put it over" the old man. The comparative monotony of plot and characters is relieved by Plautine humor, broad buffoonery, farcical scenes, rollicking wit, and extravagant caricatures. Plautus was far below his model, Menander, in literary form, originality, and dramatic technique. He was not a literary artist, a great humorist, or a deep thinker. His language was unpolished, and his faults of workmanship are evident. But his ready wit, his mastery of language, his vivid portrayal of life, and the rugged vigor of his Latin, the language of the ordinary Roman, give to his comedies a vitality and original quality that are refreshing.⁵³

A far more polished dramatic artist, but a writer of less original genius, was

⁵³ Some of his best plays are the *Captives*, *Menaechmi*, *Mostellaria*, *Amphitruo*, *Aulularia*, *Rudens*, *Trinummus*, and *Miles Gloriosus*.

Terence⁵⁴ (P. Terentius Afer, 185-159 B.C.), a slave from Africa who was emancipated and educated, later becoming an intimate of the Scipionic circle. Following much more closely than Plautus the Hellenistic models, especially Menander, to whom he frankly admitted his debt, he sought to write as an educated Athenian, only in the Latin tongue. The dramatic setting of his plays is always Athens, and the life portrayed is distinctly Athenian rather than Roman. His comedies, models of elegant Latin diction, notable for their grace, precision of word, balance, refined taste, and dignified humor, strikingly illustrate the remarkable literary advance made in Rome through a generation of Greek cultural influence. His characters have more psychological detail and are more humane, refined, and courteous than those of Plautus, but for this reason they do not stand out in such bold relief. Terence also reveals little grasp of the heights and depths of human emotion, except in the *Adelphi*.

While satisfying a limited group of patricians by his artistic excellences, for this very reason he failed to win the approval of the people, who are said to have deserted his *Hecyra* for a rope dancer.⁵⁵ In him Latin comedy had reached its perfection, and Terence had no successor. He exerted a lasting influence on later Roman writers, however, and was much quoted, and studied as a model of elegance by literary critics like Quintilian. This popularity continued in the schools of the Middle Ages and was revived in the seventeenth century in France.⁵⁶ After Terence there was an attempt to produce a drama with plots and characters entirely Roman, in which the actors wore the toga instead of the Greek pallium, but it proved unsuccessful. When we appreciate how far Plautus and Terence fall short of their best model, Menander, and how he, in turn, falls short of Aristophanes, we gain some conception of the vast literary gulf that separates the best in Roman from the best in Greek comedy.⁵⁷

The one literary type that was original and native to Italy was satire.⁵⁸ According to Livy,⁵⁹ the term is derived from the ancient Italian word *satura*, signifying a medley or mixture, whether of a dish of mixed fruits, a law with several provisions, or a miscellaneous story such as the rustic farce. It was given a new meaning as a *miscellany* or mixture of subjects in varied literary forms by Gaius Lucilius (180-c. 103 B.C.), the real founder of literary satire. As a man of wealth, equestrian rank, and a member of the Scipionic circle, he differs from the other early Latin poets. His thirty books of *Saturae* were couched in several meters and covered a very wide range of topics. More than 1,300 verses have survived and are of special interest as revealing his influence upon Horace, his critic and imitator. His poems were very revealing of himself and his times, and were free, miscellaneous criticisms of all phases of life, public and private, its follies and vices, expressed in a loose colloquial style, with little regard for

⁵⁴ Caecilius Statius (c. 219-c. 166) represented the transition between Plautus and Terence.

⁵⁵ Nothing better illustrates the striking intellectual difference between the fifth-century Athenian and the second-century Roman than the failure of the far less subtle and profound Roman drama to hold the interest of the Roman public.

⁵⁶ His six extant plays are the *Andria* (Woman of Andros), *Adelphi* (Brothers), *Hauton Timoroumenos* (Self-torturer), *Phormio*, *Eunuchus* (The Eunuch), and *Hecyra* (Mother-in-law).

⁵⁷ Perhaps the comparisons are a bit unfair, since Menander's best plays have not survived, and no complete play is extant.

⁵⁸ So the Romans claimed; Quintilian, X, 1, 93, *Satura quidem tota nostra est*.

⁵⁹ VII, 2.

order or literary form. His criticism of others was harsh and unrestrained, and he left this stamp on later Roman satire. As chatty conversations, they were called by him "talks" (*sermones*), which later became the accepted term for this type of literature.

The cosmopolitan Rome of Lucilius' day, with its colorful life, social and cultural contrasts, glaring vices, coarse show of new wealth, acute problems, and social revolution, was sadly in need of the biting personal and political criticism of an Aristophanes. But the Romans had neither the genius nor background to produce him, and his pointed personalities would hardly have been permitted at Rome. According to Horace, however, Lucilius depended altogether upon Aristophanes and "Old Comedy" for both the form and content of his Satires.⁶⁰ In any event, his subjects were not Greek, but entirely Roman. He brought poetry next to life again by his colloquial style and his note of frank personal criticism of all the faults and foibles of contemporary Romans regardless of class or position. Despite his careless composition, he was held in high regard and imitated by later Roman poets as the pioneer in Satire.⁶¹

Artistic Latin prose was slow to develop. As we have seen, the first attempts of Romans such as Fabius Pictor and Cincius Alimentus to write national history, at the close of the third century, were expressed in Greek, since in the Roman tongue no suitable models yet existed. The earliest known Roman literary prose was the speech of Appius Claudius, the Censor, against the peace proposals of Pyrrhus in 280 B.C., a copy of which Cicero asserts was still in existence two centuries later. The first Roman to write historical prose was Cato, the opponent of Hellenism, in his *Origines*, written in his later life, but now unfortunately lost. His treatise on agriculture is the earliest Roman prose work that has survived.⁶²

Though public oratory had long existed, its rapid advance to a literary art dates from this period through the coming of Greek teachers of rhetoric to Rome. Even Cato, the foe of Greek learning, reveals in the surviving fragments of his speeches considerable Hellenic influence. He was the first known Roman orator to publish a collection of his speeches, numbering about 150, according to Cicero, which were highly regarded throughout Roman history.

3. CIVIL LAW

A field in which the Romans had been least subject to Hellenic influence was civil law. Great advance had been made over the first simple legislation of the Twelve Tables with its technical forms and crude Latin. Actual statutes were not numerous and were only a minor factor in the development of Roman law during the Republic period. The significant factor was the annual edicts of the praetors,⁶³ through which civil law developed gradually and flexibly with the advance of Roman society, and was much broadened so as to emphasize equity and the spirit rather than formal legalism. This constant growth

⁶⁰ I, 4, 6 f., probably an exaggeration, though he had a wide knowledge of Greek literature.

⁶¹ The imitation went so far that Horace complains that many consider careless composition to be a necessary quality of satire.

⁶² See above for an analysis of this work.

⁶³ Cf. above, Chapters Four and Seven, Sec. II.

from within called forth trained legal interpreters, who attempted to give to the whole body of legal tradition, old and new, some consistency and unity. Such was Sextus Aelius Paetus, called Catus, or "the shrewd," at the beginning of the second century, whose work long bore the honored title "the cradle of Roman law." In this period, also, there developed legal specialists called *jurisconsults*, whose counsel was sought on the more technical problems of the law. Henceforth, a thorough training in law as well as in oratory was considered to be the prerequisite for a successful public career in Rome.

4. RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY

From early times the primitive Roman religion had been much affected by Greek influence. Sibylline Books of mystic prophecy, written in Greek, and a new priesthood for them had been permanently established at Rome in the early Republic. The great divinities of the Greek pantheon and many of the lesser cults penetrated to Rome and were gradually merged with the Roman.⁶⁴ Greek mythological lore also became an integral part of the Roman religious and literary heritage. Thus the great Roman deities lost their primitive impersonal character, and the lesser cults of primitive Rome were already beginning to be neglected for the Greek. Temples on the Etruscan and Greek model were raised to the Greek gods, and as early as 399 B.C. the *Lectisternium*, representing six (after 217 B.C., twelve) of the greater Greek divinities reclining on a couch, Greek fashion, and seeming to be partaking of a meal, appeared at Rome. It reveals the early Roman desire for a more individual and emotional expression of religion than was offered in the civic worship.

The terrible stress and suffering of the Hannibalic war was the occasion for a new flood of Graeco-Oriental religious influence. The formal ceremonial of the state worship failed to meet the emotional need, especially of the women. An added impetus was the growing number of Greeks from southern Italy in Rome. The senate did not at first oppose the spread of Greek cults, but rather aided it. In 205 B.C., by a diplomatic arrangement with the kingdom of Pergamum, it even had the black stone of the Great Mother, Cybele, brought to Rome and established her cult there, on the advice of the Sibylline Books that with her arrival Hannibal would be forced to leave Italy. When the senate learned of the wild emotionalism and sensual rites of her mutilated priests, however, it forbade any Roman citizen to take part in the worship. The mystic cult of Dionysus (Bacchus) had also penetrated north from Magna Graecia, and groups had been organized for its celebration even in Rome. By 186 B.C. the demoralizing effects of the exaggerated emotionalism and the license of its nocturnal secret rites caused the senate to decree their rigorous suppression in Rome and Italy, as we have seen.

Such prohibitions were of small avail, however, before the tide of popular feeling. With Roman expansion in Greece and the East, the floodgates were opened wide for the influx of this Greco-Oriental religious influence, which

⁶⁴ Some of these were Heracles (Latin, Hercules), Athena (Minerva), Artemis (Diana), Apollo, Demeter (Ceres), Hermes (Mercury), Poseidon (Neptune), and Asclapius (Latin, Aesculapius). Apollo and Asclapius retained their Greek names. Cf. Pl. IV.

invaded the West in an ever-expanding tide throughout the rest of Roman history. The superstition of Chaldaean astrology came with the rest, which the senate unsuccessfully sought to banish from Italy in 139 B.C. It has been well said that, during the second century, Rome conquered the world, but "lost its own soul."

Many were the factors contributing to this result. The vast throng of slaves and the growing numbers of manumitted freedmen in Rome from Greece and the East brought with them their religions. They were also unconsciously assimilated with Greek literature and education, and the sculptured images of the Greek gods imposed upon the Roman mind the Greek rather than the Roman conception of the divinities. The impact of critical philosophy also, such as the rationalism of Euhemerus,⁶⁵ the skepticism of Carneades, and the Pantheism of the Stoic, Panaetius, destroyed the faith of cultivated Romans in the old gods and mythologies, making the state religion to them a perfunctory political form. But, above all, the penetration of the new was made possible by the inner breakdown of the old, already long in process. As is commonly true in the history of religion, the rise of new cults was due to a deep inner religious need, caused by the gradual decay of the old faiths. The civic religion was continued as of political value, but became increasingly an empty form. It failed to satisfy the individual emotional need for a more concrete and personal religion that would stir the deeper feelings and enable men to stand the strain of life. The worship of the old Roman deities, therefore, began to be neglected, and most of the earlier priesthoods, except the Vestals, ceased to have any vital function, until the revival of Augustus.

The advent of Hellenistic philosophy in Rome, like the impact of Greco-Oriental religions, was an epochal event of ever-increasing moment in shaping the intellectual, moral, and religious outlook of the Roman people. As regards its danger to the faith of the fathers, Cato was instinctively right, for the Hellenistic philosophies and cults were destined to undermine all that he had held dear, and finally the imperial Roman state itself would submit to their triumph. But despite the fierce opposition of the conservatives, the philosophers captured the forward-looking Romans by their eloquence and ideas, and the cultured younger Scipio secured for them a hearing. Yet rhetoric long remained the preferred subject in the higher Greek schools. There was always a lingering prejudice in the government of Rome against the philosophers, and more than once they suffered a decree of banishment.

Hellenistic philosophy had from the first a strong popular, practical, and eclectic emphasis, as we have seen,⁶⁶ and this emphasis became stronger in its attempt to win the practical and unphilosophical Roman mind. All alike gradually lost their metaphysical character and became more and more systems of ethics and ways of life. The New Platonic Academy or skeptical school gained much popularity through the eloquent and critical Carneades, the most brilliant successor of Plato. Epicureanism also quickly won a wide following in Italy among cultivated Romans because of its scientific explanation of all natural phenomena. Especially was it popular among the gilded

⁶⁵ See Vol. I, Chapter Thirty-two.

⁶⁶ Cf. Vol. I, Chapter Thirty-two, for a more detailed analysis of these philosophies.

youth of Rome and the less serious-minded elders. But by far the most influential philosophy was Stoicism. It was fortunate in its teacher, the brilliant Panaetius of Rhodes, who taught in Rome under the patronage of Scipio.⁶⁷ Its practical ethical principles for wise living and its stern emphasis on virtue appealed to the best in the Roman character. Its moral earnestness and its doctrine of divine reason and universalism provided a natural substitute for the old decadent polytheisms, to the more thoughtful minds, while it avoided repelling the masses by illogically leaving room for the old polytheisms in its system.

5. THE CITY AND ITS BUILDINGS: ARCHITECTURE AND ART

Until after the second Punic War, Rome was an overgrown country town with few public buildings. Whatever temples existed were in Etruscan style, such as the temple of Capitoline Jupiter, of Castor and Pollux in the Forum, and of Magna Mater on the Palatine. The second century initiated a new era in Roman building. Wealth was beginning to be lavished on finer homes in the best Greek style, and tenements of several stories to house the poor and meet the problem of rising rents in a rapidly growing city of possibly 300,000 were now being built. Public works were being extensively developed. A new stone bridge was built across the Tiber, and a new quay on its banks took care of the growing traffic. Two aqueducts now provided the city with water. Cato had rebuilt the drainage system of the city at a cost of 20,000,000 sesterces (about \$1,000,000), and stone paving for some streets had replaced the old gravel. The Forum was losing the appearance of a rural town market square surrounded by the stalls of tradesmen and farmers, and was beginning to be beautified by public buildings and temples.

Though the Etruscan influence still persisted to some extent, the dominant style of public buildings was now Hellenistic, with stone architraves instead of timber and friezes of ornamental stucco. The three Greek styles of architecture now became common, though the decorative Corinthian was preferred by the Romans. Tufa, a volcanic stone, was taking the place of crude brick and wood in public building, and, by the middle of the century, the excellent travertine limestone began to appear. A white stucco of gypsum, both durable and beautiful, was now used for friezes and other decoration. Concrete, which had long been employed sparingly in ground work, now became common for walls and massive foundations, since an inexpensive and exceptionally strong cement had been discovered by mixing lime with volcanic ash. This was a very significant advance, since it made possible Rome's extensive development of the arch and dome in building.

The Circus Flaminius had been built at the close of the third century, and several basilicas, or halls of justice, such as the Basilica Aemilia,⁶⁸ now provided room for the growing state business. The two most imposing new temples were those of Jupiter Stator and Juno Regina. Greek marble was used

⁶⁷ One of his pupils was the famous Posidonius, who carried on his work in the next generation.

⁶⁸ Building was then extremely inexpensive from modern standpoints because of cheap labor. Cf. T. Frank, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 153.

in the latter, the only known instance of this until the next century. Covered porticoes and stoas in the Greek manner also adorned the city.⁶⁹ Thus, by the middle of the century, Rome would probably compare fairly well in streets and buildings with such semi-Greek Campanian towns as Pompeii.

The Romans had little native artistic genius. They produced few notable artists, and these were chiefly architects. The leading architects in second-century Rome were doubtless largely Greeks, but even then Roman builders had won recognition outside of Rome, since Antiochus IV invited one to finish building the Olympeum at Athens.

The beginnings of Roman sculpture as of literature were almost entirely Greek. Masterpieces of Hellenic sculpture, brought to Rome in great numbers by victorious generals and governors from Magna Graecia, Sicily and Greece, adorned the public places and wealthier homes, and educated the taste and appreciation of the more cultivated Romans. The growing demand for statues developed a regular business of copying Greek masterpieces for the market. The copyists were doubtless largely Greek, though Romans of considerable technical skill began to appear. But native Roman sculptors never became much more than excellent copyists of Greek masterpieces, except in the art of making portrait statues, in which they excelled. This was much more native to their tradition and genius and harks back to the ancient patrician custom of bearing life-size images of family ancestors in the funeral processions. Statues of national heroes, great generals, and statesmen were made from early times, and in the second century it was not uncommon for a magistrate or even a prominent citizen to have his statue made and set up in some public place.

Through the influence of the Etruscans and the Italian Greeks, painting was early practiced in Rome. It was also not limited to foreigners, as is indicated by the old Roman family name, *Pictor* (painter). During the first Punic War a typical form of Roman painting began to appear, such as the representation of the victory of Messalla over Carthage and Hiero, exhibited for the glorification of the general, to inspire national patriotism. Such pictures became popular and were presented at triumphs, and even paintings of gladiatorial combats were exhibited. Probably, by the middle of the century, the walls of the wealthier homes in Rome were beginning to be adorned by Hellenistic frescoes, such as those in Pompeii.

⁶⁹ For a list of the public buildings of Rome erected during this period, cf. T. Frank, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 183-186.

Part Four

THE LAST CENTURY OF THE ROMAN REPUBLIC
(133-27 B.C.)

8. *The Gracchan Reforms and the Beginning of Revolution in Rome* (133-122 B.C.)
9. *Civil War and Foreign Crises; Marius and Sulla* (122-78 B.C.)
10. *Roman Politics and Eastern Expansion* (78-60 B.C.)
11. *Julius Caesar: The End of the Roman Republic and the Founding of the Empire* (59-44 B.C.)
12. *The Death Agony of the Republic* (44-27 B.C.)
13. *Government, Economy, and Society in the Last Century of the Republic*
14. *Roman Culture in the Last Century of the Republic*

Chapter Eight

THE GRACCHAN REFORMS AND THE BEGINNING OF REVOLUTION IN ROME (133-122 B.C.)¹

I. THE SETTING: A CENTURY OF CIVIL WAR

The last century of the Roman Republic, beginning with 133 B.C., was a period of ever more acute factional strife, which repeatedly issued in civil war, until it finally led to dictatorship and monarchy. The struggle centered chiefly about the continuance of the political monopoly and economic special privilege of the senatorial aristocracy, which persistently withstood all reform that would endanger its exclusive prerogative. Opposed to the Optimates was the "People's Party," or Populares, centering in the urban unemployed who often served as the political machine of any demagogue who offered them the largest sop. These were even less fitted than the senate to rule an empire. Such a party had little semblance of unity or consistency of action and often drew to it groups representing other diverse interests, such as peasants, soldiers, and knights, in opposition to the special privilege of the senate.

The party drew its leaders largely from the nobility, at first, young liberals who honestly sought to meet the crying need for reform, later, demagogues and generals, ambitious for personal power. The strife of parties therefore degenerated rapidly to a sordid struggle for personal supremacy and was accompanied by a growing lawlessness, violence, and cynical disregard of the constitution by both factions. Thus the vital issues and problems were obscured in the scramble for power and became the political tool of would-be supermen.

The repeated acute military crises in Italy and abroad which required the senate to send out strong armies and generals with large powers, the ambition of the generals to win prestige, a loyal army, wealth by foreign conquest so as to dictate to the state, and the greed of Roman capitalists for wider fields of exploitation expanded the stage of domestic strife to include the whole Mediterranean world. Thus this period of social revolution and civil war is also distinguished by the rise of a frank policy of aggressive imperialism and vast territorial expansion. At the close of the period, Roman authority extended from Syria, Egypt, and practically all of Asia Minor to the Rhine, and encircled the entire Mediterranean coast except Mauretania. Meanwhile, the final settlement of the problem of Italian citizenship, after a bloody civil war, built a new Italian nation and extended Roman rule to the foot of the Alps. The reckless struggle of rival politicians and generals for power, the greed of

¹ The best source, based on a contemporary account, is Appian, *Civil War*, Bk. I. Others are Plutarch, Livy, and Diodorus. Cato's *De Agri Cultura* casts light on the agricultural situation.

Roman capitalists who were now a dominant influence in politics, and the growing inefficiency and venality of the senatorial class made the century also a period of monumental misgovernment and shameless exploitation of the provinces, which brought some of them to the verge of bankruptcy.

The utterly changed conditions and the resulting problems facing the nation in 133 B.C. were probably fairly clear to the more thoughtful leaders of all parties. But, as usual, their proposed remedies were very diverse, and none really went to the root of the difficulty. Extreme conservatives had no program except to guard against subversive Greek liberal influences and perhaps to punish flagrant cases of individual corruption. The moderates hoped to make a temporary adjustment by superficial reforms that avoided all drastic changes in the system. The radicals alone frankly faced the issue. They proposed, as solutions for the three chief problems, drastic agrarian reform, the extension of Roman citizenship to all the Italian allies, and popular government. But the first and third proposals meant bitter class war with the senatorial oligarchy, the third was utterly unpractical in view of the character of the popular assembly, and the second had no hope of being accepted by either party without war.

The problem was at bottom political. As a result of the rapid expansion of the past fifty years, the old political system had become utterly inadequate. It was breaking under the strain of empire. The pressing question was how to adapt the constitutional machinery, intended for a small rural city-state, to the efficient control and administration of a world empire. The failure to find a satisfactory solution of this problem would lead to the breakdown of the Republic. But the problem of adaptation was inseparably related to necessary basic changes in the social and economic system, and such reform was also an extremely complex, difficult, and delicate matter, for the roots of the social and economic evils were intricately entwined with the whole process of expansion and touched the very foundations of senatorial special privilege.

II. THE IMMEDIATE PROBLEM OF THE GRACCHI

The Gracchan reforms are the initial chapter in the century of struggle that ended with the fall of the Republic. The problem of constitutional reform was at first avoided, but it was inevitably brought to the fore by the proposals of Tiberius Gracchus for social and economic reform. Rome's so-called agrarian problem of the new agriculture on great slave plantations, with its intimately allied problems of the decline of the Italian peasantry and the rapid increase of the urban unemployed, and the overgrowth of slavery have been sufficiently analyzed in the previous chapter.² The term is misleading, however, for the problem that faced Rome and Tiberius Gracchus was not primarily the rehabilitation of Italian agriculture. The slave plantations were prosperous enough, more intelligently managed, more productive, and more profitable than was the old system. The project of Gracchus to bring back the small farmer, if fully successful, would probably have reduced agricultural produc-

² Cf. Chapter Seven.

tion. But aside from the larger profit to a limited number of wealthy owners, the plantation system was a distinct menace to the future of Rome and Italy. The real problem was social, moral, political, and military, and in the city rather than in the country, the menace of the urban unemployed and its complement, the dangerous overgrowth of slavery. The proletariat, being propertyless, were as yet useless to the state for military service and, still worse, were a constant danger to its stability. The problem could not be met, except to a very limited degree, by employment in commerce or industry. The only solution appeared to Tiberius Gracchus to be to resettle large numbers on lots in Italy. Thus he hoped to replenish the military resources of the nation, develop new morale, and by rebuilding the middle class of citizen freeholders, curb the slave menace in the Italian countryside, reduce the dangerous drones in the city, and provide a better basis for a popular government.³

III. TIBERIUS GRACCHUS

The Gracchi brothers came of the finest Roman stock. Their father, Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, had won the highest eminence as a statesman and had made the name Gracchus the synonym of justice and fairness in the provinces. He was also known for his popular sympathies and sternness against the vices of his own order. Their mother, Cornelia, was the daughter of the elder Scipio. Their sister, Sempronia, was the wife of Scipio Aemilianus, the lover of Hellenism. Tiberius married the daughter of Appius Claudius Pulcher, an eminent liberal senator. Since his father died early, the chief influence in the training of Tiberius was his mother, a noble product of the new Hellenic education, which was also being extended to women. So chaste and gracious was her speech that her sons were reputed to have learned their eloquence from her.⁴ The boys were trained in Greek rhetoric and Stoic philosophy by teachers from the East, and were imbued with the spirit of political liberalism from the Greek theorists. But the rationalism and refining influence of Hellenic culture in no way undermined their strength of character. Young Tiberius had also been influenced by the finest liberal spirits in the Rome of his day. Thus, both by ancestry and training, the Greek ideals of political liberalism and popular rights were rooted in his very nature.

At the age of fifteen he won recognition for his courage in Africa with Scipio. As quaestor in Spain in 136 B.C., he won the regard of the provincials for his fairness and honesty. Both a thinker and a man of action, he was aroused by the pressing need of reform, and probably realized that in the coming struggle the bitter opponent of reform would be his own class. His experience in Spain had impressed upon him the military needs of his nation. According to Plutarch, as he passed through Etruria, on his way to Spain and "observed the dearth of inhabitants in the country, and that those who tilled its soil or tended its flocks there, were imported barbarian slaves, he there first

³ So Hugh Last in *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. IX, Chap. 1, who rightly holds that the agrarian law was a means rather than an end. Cf. Plutarch, *Tiberius Gracchus*, VIII, 7, and Appian, I, 11, 43.

⁴ Her fame extended to Egypt for one of the Ptolemies, probably Euergetes, sought her hand in marriage.

conceived the public policy which was the cause of countless ills to the two brothers." ⁵

In his election campaign for tribune, he urged the crying need of agrarian reform, not merely in the interest of the urban unemployed, but because the welfare of all Italy was at stake. He described the sad depopulation of the Italian countryside, the resulting depletion of Rome's military resources, and the menace of the slave gangs, already vivid enough to all in view of the slave rebellion then threatening to dominate all Sicily. He pleaded for the "houseless and homeless" poor, who had neither "sepulchers nor altars" to defend, "nor a single clod of earth to call their own."

IV. THE AGRARIAN LAW

Elected tribune at the age of thirty in 133 B.C., he proposed his new land law to re-establish the small freeholders and thus replenish the military resources of the state. In form, the law was an amended re-enactment of an earlier measure, the so-called Licinian-Sextian legislation of 367 B.C.,⁶ which had apparently been renewed in Cato's day, though it had always been largely a dead letter. By way of conciliation, Tiberius added to the 500 *jugera* (more than 300 acres) of public land permitted the head of each family by the old law an additional 250 for each adult son up to a possible maximum of 1,000 per family. All land held in excess of this amount was to be returned to the state, and future occupation of public land was forbidden. The land held within the legal limit was henceforth to be owned in full right as private property, and some compensation was to be paid by the state for improvements on the surrendered lands.⁷

The public lands recovered by the state were to be assigned in lots of not over thirty *jugera* to landless Roman citizens in hereditary right, though the lots were inalienable and subject to a small annual rental to the state.⁸ To execute the law a commission of three men was established, and soon afterward the commission was given full judicial powers with *imperium* to decide between private and public lands. The public lands to which the proposed law applied were distinctly limited in extent, since certain rich sections such as the Campanian and many other tracts were excluded. The area affected was partly the poorer pasture lands. Plutarch rightly calls the law "mild." It was conceived in no narrow spirit of partisanship, and the offer of compensation for improvements and full tenure for the 500 or more *jugera* was most conciliatory. If the poor of the Italian allies did not share in the grants, however, they had a distinct grievance.

⁵ VIII, 7, taken from a "certain pamphlet" of his brother Gaius. *Loeb Classical Library* translation, by permission of the Harvard University Press.

⁶ Cf. Chapter Four, Sec. III, 5, on a possibly much later date.

⁷ Only Plutarch, IX, 2, mentions this.

⁸ The prohibition of sale was probably a temporary provision to prevent the repurchase of the lots by the rich at a cheap price.

V. THE CONSTITUTION STRETCHED

The proposal caused great consternation among the senatorial vested interests. They knew they were not real owners of the public land, but they had felt entirely secure in its possession. The bill was to them "confiscatory," "socialistic redivision of the land in a radical Greek fashion."⁹ There was an element of truth in their arguments. The land had been in their families for generations, and their ancestral homes and tombs had been built there. It had been pledged to others or divided among sons, or dowries had been invested in it. Roman capitalists had accepted it as security for loans and some holders had bought the land outright from previous squatters.

The senate in defense of its vested interests and prerogatives, resorted to its usual procedure and persuaded a tribune, Octavius, to veto the proposal. As we have seen, the tribunes had long ago lost their old function as protectors of the plebs and had become practically magistrates, *mancipia nobilitatis*¹⁰ ("the possessions of the nobility"), used by the senate to block any legislation inimical to their special privilege. Octavius himself was a large holder of public land, though he refused to accept compensation out of Tiberius' private purse.

Tiberius was in dead earnest and was not to be stopped by a tribune's veto representing a small minority. The field was otherwise clear. He had the enthusiastic backing of the populace, now swollen by multitudes of rural citizens who had come in to vote for the measure. He redrafted the bill in more drastic form, probably omitting the provision for compensation. When the veto was repeated, he forbade all magistrates to perform their functions until action on his bill was permitted. This was a revival of the old right of the tribune now long in abeyance to enjoin the acts of all magistrates. The fact that the magistrates obeyed the injunction reveals the enormous power now behind Tiberius. When Octavius still interposed his veto, Tiberius broke the deadlock by having the assembly vote for his removal from office and elect a substitute. This act was apparently illegal, or at least an absolute innovation in practice, but it was hardly an attack on the whole principle of collegiality, as Plutarch, II, 4, says. But the claim that when two magistrates were absolutely opposed the people had a right to choose between them furnished a rash and dangerous precedent, more extreme than the Athenian democracy in its most radical days, for the latter was checked by the *graphé paranomōn*.¹¹ The doctrine might have worked when the popular assembly was a compact, responsible body of Roman farmers, but now that the citizenship was so widely scattered, and the assembly was dominated by an irresponsible mob, it was a different story. If Octavius could be dropped, it removed the only real check against any future demagogue who could secure the vote of the city populace for his reckless measures. Tiberius was thoroughly sincere. He had a worthy cause, and the procedure of the senate was inexcusable, but in deposing his colleague he rashly failed to weigh the future probabilities, dangerous to the state, implicit in his act.

⁹ For the arguments, pro and con, cf. Appian, *Civil Wars*, I, 10.

¹⁰ Livy, X, 37, 11.

¹¹ The Gracchi have well been called "the first true democrats in Rome, and probably the last."

VI. THE COMMISSION AND THE TREASURE OF ATTALUS

He now had his agrarian bill read and passed, and the commission of three was elected, Tiberius, his brother Gaius, and his father-in-law, Appius Claudius. Since this placed the entire authority for the execution of the law in the hands of the Gracchi, one of whom, Gaius, was still a mere youth, it was sure to arouse bitter criticism. Especially objectionable was the later grant to the commission of full judicial powers with *imperium* to determine between public and private lands. This placed the aristocrats entirely in the hands of a possibly perpetual commission and superseded even the regular jurisdiction of the courts. It was a precedent not overlooked by later demagogues to secure for themselves unlimited power under the guise of an agrarian or colonization law. The only recourse of the senate was its control of the treasury, and it retaliated by fixing the limit of expenses for the commission at a mere pittance.

The resulting lack of ready funds was embarrassing to the commission, faced as they were with the problem of how to finance the poor on their new lots. Fortunately for Tiberius, the dilemma was met by the arrival of an envoy from Pergamum announcing the gift of the kingdom to Rome by the will of the late Attalus III. The inheritance was accepted, and Tiberius secured by a plebiscite of the people that the moneys and personal property of Attalus should be used by the commission to execute the agrarian law and finance the new settlers on their lots.¹² This was a new and far bolder challenge to the traditional prerogative of the senate over state finance and foreign affairs, which naturally aroused their determined opposition. Senators warned of the danger of tyranny and monarchy, and threats of prosecution of Tiberius at the conclusion of his term, as the profaner of the sanctity of a tribune, were rife. The retort of Tiberius was that a tribune or magistrate was sacrosanct only if he fulfilled his function as protector of the people's interest, which was paramount.

VII. CAMPAIGN FOR RE-ELECTION, AND DEATH

He now demanded re-election to the tribunate on the plea that his work was unfinished. While not strictly unconstitutional, since the tribune was not technically a magistrate, it was entirely contrary to established usage. As an added attraction, he is said to have offered a new program of legislation, including the shortening of the term of military service, an attack on senatorial judicial monopoly, the proposal to include knights on the panels for trying provincial governors, and even the grant of citizenship to the Italian allies.¹³

The opposition now became all the fiercer, and the senators would stop at nothing to block the election. The Gracchi were accused of plotting to seize the supreme power and establish a family dynasty. When the re-election of

¹² Here again his purpose was good, but it was a dangerous precedent to hand over the control of provincial policy to the irresponsible masses in Rome. The revolt of Aristonicus in Pergamum prevented the treasure from reaching Rome for some time.

¹³ If this is true, then he rather than Gaius was the pioneer in the larger program for building a permanent popular party.

Tiberius seemed imminent, the senate was summoned to stop the alleged illegality. Scipio Nasica, in an impassioned speech, appealed to the moderate consul, Mucius Scaevola, to intervene. On his refusal, the frenzied senator summoned all to follow him and act where the consuls failed. Then the dignified body completely lost its head. Nasica was followed by many senators and their retainers armed with clubs, staves, and chairs straight through the crowd to attack Tiberius and his bodyguard. There the great tribune was clubbed to death and three hundred followers with him. Thus did the dignified fathers, posing as "conservers of the constitution," degenerate to the level of a frenzied street mob, and by their violence became the first to trample upon law, order, and individual rights. The ancient historians of the Republic rightly regarded this act of violence as epochal in Roman history. The vested interests had refused to permit a peaceful reinterpretation of the constitution to meet new needs and the demands of national welfare. Their violence begat violence and the result was civil war, dictatorship, and the final complete destruction of their cherished constitution. But Tiberius, though honest and sincere, must also bear his share of blame for the sequel, for by his rash acts he undertook to break down all barriers to the unlimited rule of the irresponsible city masses.

VIII. THE SEQUEL

(132-123 B.C.)

The senate now proceeded to remove all further danger to the constitution which notwithstanding it had itself just repudiated. A judicial commission was established to punish all leaders who were proven guilty of aiding the Gracchi, and many were banished or put to death. Only Appius Claudius and P. Licinius Crassus Mucianus, the respective fathers-in-law of the two Gracchi, were left undisturbed. Meanwhile the counterthreat of prosecution of Nasica, the murderer of Tiberius, caused the senate to send him on a mission to Asia, where he died. After putting down the revolt of a pretender in Asia, it took over the management of the new province, thus restoring its prerogative.

The oligarchy had temporarily blocked the radical advance, but it dared not risk the opposition of the populace by immediately attempting to repeal the Agrarian law or end the commission. It even accepted the son-in-law of Gaius Gracchus as the substitute for Tiberius on the board. Meanwhile, the increase of adult male citizens fitted for military service by over 75,000 during the decade 135 to 125 B.C. indicates that the work of the commission was at least a partial success. Four surviving boundary stones of the surveyors bearing the names of the commissioners for the year 132-131, and two for the following year, are interesting witnesses to their activity.

Another evidence that the work of the commission was producing results was the serious complaint from many Italian communities which also "occupied" public land. As noncitizens, they had no constitutional recourse against the decision of the board. They found a worthy champion in Scipio Aemilianus, the recent victor at Numantia, whose sympathies had been awakened

for their overworked regiments in Spain. In 129 B.C. he secured that the decision of disputed cases should be transferred from the commission to a consul, and since the consuls now absented themselves from Italy, the work of the commission was temporarily interrupted.¹⁴ Apparently Scipio was also about to propose larger political rights for the allies, but was found dead in bed on the very morning when he was to have addressed the assembly. There were rumors of foul play. He had openly expressed the opinion that Tiberius had met a just fate. He had also incurred the anger of the popular party by blocking the bill of Carbo to legalize re-election to the tribunate, by his championship of the cause of the allies, and by his scornful denunciation of the Roman proletariat as "stepsons of Italy." His death at the age of only fifty-seven was an irreparable loss to Rome. The supreme general of his age, victor over Carthage and Numantia, the chief Roman representative of enlightenment and Hellenic culture, he was also the outstanding moderate in politics, who had sought to hold the balance between opposing factions, and to whom the selfish reactionaries of his own class and the unconstitutional methods of the Gracchan radicals were alike hateful. Had he lived, he might possibly have furnished a peaceful solution for the vexed question of Italian citizenship. He might also have saved Rome from the more acute social discord of the next decade, though his scorn of the masses made such a result unlikely.

With his death, the Gracchan party resumed the struggle. They seem to have successfully carried the bill of Carbo, and even proposed to offer the franchise, to the Italians. In answer the senate sternly expelled many Italian supporters of the bill from the city and sent Fulvius Flaccus, its author, on a military mission to Liguria. The acute disappointment of the Latin allies was expressed in the revolt of Fregellae, one of Rome's most loyal Latin communities, which was ruthlessly destroyed. Feeling ran high in Rome over the revolt, and accusations against democratic leaders were rife, even against C. Gracchus. But he had just returned from his quaestorship in Sardinia, and hence could easily prove his innocence. The revolt had made the grievances of the Italian allies the primary problem that faced Rome when Gracchus was elected tribune in the year 124 B.C.

IX. GAIUS GRACCHUS¹⁵

More richly endowed and a more magnetic personality than his brother, Gaius Gracchus was also far more intense in his emotions and more eloquent, impassioned, and dramatic in speech and gesture. His rich diction was not spoiled by artificial rhetoric, but was natural, simple, and direct. He had an enormous capacity for work and was a masterly political strategist, whose comprehensive program of reform included every significant problem of the day. His membership on the land commission since its inception and his alleged stand for Carbo's bill to legalize re-election to the tribunate had brought him

¹⁴ But, judging by the results for the decade, the work of the commission could hardly have ceased. Cf. E. G. Hardy, *Six Roman Laws*, p. 39.

¹⁵ The two ancient sources are Appian and Plutarch, but Appian on Gaius is not as good as on Tiberius. Livy, LX, is lost.

into the public eye as a popular leader to be reckoned with. Already, he was the idol of the city plebs. After a year in Sardinia as quaestor, he had returned, despite the suggestion of the senate to remain for another year. In his eloquent defense before the Censors, against the accusation of being implicated in the revolt of Fregellae, he scathingly indicted the life of the average noble official when away from Rome and was probably acquitted. After easily clearing himself of the accusation, since he had only just returned from Sardinia, he stood for election to the tribunate, an election in which no stone was left unturned by the oligarchy to defeat him, "but so great a throng poured into the city from the country, and took part in the elections that many could not be housed, and since the Campus Martius could not accommodate the multitude, they gave in their voices from the house-tops and tilings."¹⁶ Even so the opposition was so far successful that he was elected only fourth in the list. Yet he was the recognized leader, and the college was as if it had been one man.

On assuming office in 123 B.C., he faced, not only grave problems of state and society, but a most difficult political situation. Opposed by an uncompromising senate, he saw clearly that no vital reform was possible without building a strong democratic party whose permanent nucleus should be the urban proletariat, but strengthened by the enlistment of other more substantial interests, such as the wealthy middle class, the Roman peasantry, the soldiers, and finally the Latin and Italian allies. But to win the urban masses by active continuance of the agrarian reform meant the increasing complaint of the Italian allies, and to press for Italian citizenship was sure to alienate the masses who preferred to reserve all the dividends accruing from full membership in the Roman corporation for themselves. Most of his measures, therefore, reveal a mixture of political opportunism with real statesmanship. During his first tribunate when the senate, though sullen, was not so openly hostile, he proceeded with statesmanship and conciliation to bring needed reform with the least friction. Later, the active opposition of the oligarchy drove him to more extreme political partisanship. But he never lost sight of the statesman's purpose and never stooped to the cheap demagoguery and sordid play for power that characterized his successors. Convinced of the necessity of breaking the monopoly of the senatorial oligarchy on legislation, he persistently ignored the senate and brought all business to the assembly. Such a procedure was not strictly unconstitutional, since the senate had acquired its supreme position only as a result of usage and convenience. The time had come, in his opinion, to break this throttle hold and bring government back to the people.

He first undertook to guard against a repetition of the recent tragic past by reviving an old law prohibiting the establishment of a court to try a citizen on a capital charge, except with the sanction of the people. Popilius, the consul who had hounded the associates of his brother to their death, was forced into exile. The way was thus prepared for his first major reform for which he has perhaps been most severely criticized both for its motive and results, the *lex*

¹⁶ Plutarch, *C. Gracchus*, III, 1, *Loeb Classical Library* translation, by permission of the Harvard University Press. Perhaps Plutarch, writing under the Empire, was not very clear on how the assembly voted.

frumentaria providing cheap grain to the citizens. While there was doubtless an element of political opportunism in this, to win the city plebs and free the clients from dependence upon their patrons, its purpose was far broader, to meet a very real problem. For two centuries the Hellenistic cities had recognized a vital function of government to be the provision of an adequate and cheap food supply, and at times they had even distributed free grain to the poor. The Gracchan policy was therefore only a recognition of this long-accepted principle. It was especially necessary in ancient states, in view of slavery and the far more precarious conditions as to production and transport which endangered the supply or caused sudden shifts in prices, resulting in great distress to the poor. The recent bad harvests, reducing the grain supply from Sicily, had made the problem more immediately acute to Rome.

Gaius would lift the problem out of the realm of the haphazard and unplanned, the political tool of the aediles, to the plane of systematic and forehanded state planning to secure an adequate supply of grain and prevent price soaring. He had extensive granaries built beneath the Aventine to store the grain, and established a regular provision of five *modii* per month at $6\frac{1}{3}$ *asses* per *modius* (1.1 pecks) to every citizen who applied for it in person. Though this was only about one-half the average Roman price under an uncontrolled market, Gaius probably figured that the state, by careful buying and eliminating the speculative profits of the middleman, could manage the project without too great an added burden to the treasury. His primary purpose was certainly not to buy votes, corrupt the poor, or to establish a dole such as later disgraced Roman politics, but to deal with a recognized pressing problem in a comprehensive and systematic way. Nor did the measure stultify his agrarian project, as is sometimes asserted, since the small farmers re-established in Italy sold their surplus, not in Rome, but in their nearest inland town.

Nevertheless, Gaius can hardly escape the criticism of subsidizing the masses, and of unwittingly setting an evil precedent for future more sordid imitators to pauperize the urban unemployed, and make the city a Mecca for drones so as to establish their own power.¹⁷ The drain on the exchequer also proved to be far heavier than he had estimated. Like imperialism itself, its worst evil was in making the Roman people parasites on the provinces. This evil did not die with Gracchus or the Republic, however, but continued as long as the Empire lasted.

Gaius soon had more constructive and far-reaching measures to propose. In the middle of the year 123 B.C. he was re-elected for a second term, apparently without opposition or claim of illegality. Rome seemed to be developing to an Athenian-like democracy with Gracchus as the Pericles who might hold his power by repeated re-election in defiance of the senate as long as he could win a majority in the assembly. He could now look forward to eighteen months for the development of a comprehensive program of legislation.¹⁸

¹⁷ Nevertheless, then, as now, the unemployed could not be left to starve. In both cases the criticism of relief must go deeper to the conditions that make it necessary. Cf. F. B. Marsh, "In Defense of the Corn Dole," *Classical Journal*, Vol. XXII, pp. 10-25.

¹⁸ The exact order of the legislation is unknown. Some of the following laws may have been passed before his re-election.

He first undertook to improve the morale of the army and incidentally to win the support of the soldiers, citizens, and allies, by laws setting the minimum age for conscription and requiring the state to furnish the suits of the soldiers free of charge. Since the lowering of the minimum property qualification for military service, the poorer soldiers were finding it very difficult to meet the added expense. This provision showed a moderation that would not have been true of a raise of wage or grant of free food. Another law striking at senatorial power and curbing its alleged venality and favoritism in the assignment of provinces required the appointments to be made to prospective consuls before rather than after election. But there was little to choose between the initiative of the senate and of the assembly in the matter.

A measure for which Gaius has been especially criticized was his provision placing the collection of the entire revenues of the new province of Asia in the hands of Roman tax contractors. But while the law was clearly an attempt to win the wealthy knights to his cause, and an attack on senatorial privilege, he was faced with a real problem of administration, and certainly had no intent to betray the provincials into the hands of greedy exploiters. To require a tithe of the annual produce instead of a fixed sum was a more equitable arrangement, but it made collection much more complicated, requiring the development of an elaborate civil service. Gracchus naturally chose the simpler way of collection through private contractors who had previously enjoyed a fair reputation for honest and efficient service. This was no innovation. The system was already in operation in Sicily, only there the contractors were usually not Romans but native Sicilians, and provision was made against abuses. The results, however, were most unfortunate. The Roman contractors considered that they had bought the right of unlimited exploitation, and in their wake followed a devastating horde of greedy speculators and loan sharks.¹⁹ They were free from any fear of trial for extortion that faced the governors, and being on the juries,²⁰ they could intimidate any governor who sought to check their rapacity. Still worse, the law brought the wealthy knights definitely into Roman politics.

Another political gift to the knights and a direct attack on senatorial privilege calculated still more to separate the two orders into hostile camps was his Acilian law, which substituted wealthy knights for senators as judges, especially in the permanent courts for trial of extortion. The law specifically excluded from the juries the relatives of senators who were still eligible to the eighteen centuries.²¹ Thus the equestrians were definitely delimited as an order with specific public functions, and became class conscious as to their prerogatives and interests. The motive of Gaius was not mere political strategy. He sought to relieve the abuse resulting from the failure of senatorial juries to convict members of their own class.²² But the reform brought no relief to the oppressed

¹⁹ The marked expansion of financial activities of the knights in the East, dating from passage of the Gracchan law, is attested by the inscriptions of Delos.

²⁰ Cf. below.

²¹ Cf. Hugh Last, *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. IX, Chap. II, for the view that Gracchus first offered a milder solution.

²² For a list of ancient sources on the law, cf. T. Frank, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 244; also cf. Hardy, *Six Roman Laws*, pp. 1-34.

provincials, since the court was now composed of men whose primary interest was exploitation, and who could use their new position as jurors to stop any governor from restraining their rapacity.²³ Also, no other Gracchan law had such a sinister effect in driving a wedge between the two orders which should have stood together for decent constitutional government in the chaos of the civil wars that followed. Doubtless Gaius did not envisage the full meaning of his act at the time, but he cannot escape serious indictment, since Cicero cites the reformer himself as boasting that he had "hurled daggers into the Forum."²⁴

We may now turn from such questionable acts as the above to certain great, constructive measures of enlightened statesmanship of Gaius, which were largely free from the taint of political opportunism. The land law of Tiberius was re-enacted, returning full judicial powers to the commission. But the amount of available public land in Italy still left for distribution was now probably quite limited, and the census of the next decade reveals no increase in the citizen population.²⁵ An enlightened supplement to the whole agrarian policy of the Gracchi was the extensive road-building project of Gaius largely in his second tribunate. His object was not primarily strategic as in the building of the previous great highways, but to improve trade, to provide better markets and communications for the new settlers, to furnish employment, though most of the hard labor would be done by slaves, and to lay a basis for a more unified and stable government. The work was done under his own direct supervision with remarkable rapidity and efficiency,²⁶ but the project was not free from political strategy, for the roads would make it easier for countrymen to come to Rome for the elections. Its direct execution by Gaius was also a blow to the power and prestige of the senate, whose traditional authority over public works and finance was thereby repudiated. In its place was Gaius, to whom all contractors and artisans were alone beholden.

Another constructive scheme of the reformer was for extensive colonization both in Italy and across the sea. His broader outlook appears in his preference for strategic commercial rather than agricultural sites such as Capua, Tarentum (Neptunia), and Carthage, which was renamed Junonia. His colonists also were carefully chosen, not from the poorest, ne'er-do-wells, but from the upper stratum of the proletariat, the traders and artisans of broken fortune.²⁷ In this way he provided opportunity for other urban elements to turn from parasitic indolence and become self-sustaining citizens. He hoped later to include the allies in his colonial schemes, thereby indirectly securing for them Roman citizenship. His boldest scheme, revealing his freedom from superstition and narrow national prejudice, was his plan to recolonize the now desolate Carthage,

²³ Yet Cicero says that no suspicion of bribery of the knights on the juries arose in the period between Gracchus and Sulla.

²⁴ *De Legibus*, 3, 20; Appian, I, 22, reports a similar boast that he had "permanently broken the power of the Senate."

²⁵ For an explanation of the stationary numbers, cf. T. Frank in *Classical Philology*, Vol. XIX, p. 333.

²⁶ Appian, I, 23; Plutarch, *C. Gracchus*, VI, 3-4. Even his enemies were amazed at his practical genius, remarkable versatility, and vast capacity for getting things done.

²⁷ Plutarch says exaggeratedly, "From the most prosperous sections of society."

a prophecy of the later imperial policy of settling the Roman citizen body overseas. Here again the 6,000 colonists were by no means to come exclusively from the poorest class, since some of the lots were to be as large as 200 *jugera*. While the colony was primarily agricultural, doubtless Gracchus envisaged the future development of a new great commercial center on the splendid harbor. Gaius undertook personal supervision of the settlement at Carthage, being absent from Rome seventy days, thereby giving his enemies a chance to undermine him. The project was bitterly opposed by the senate, since here again Gaius had struck at its traditional right of provincial administration.²⁸

The most enlightened and statesmanlike measure of Gaius, his bill for the full enfranchisement of the Latin and Italian allies,²⁹ was scuttled by the short-sighted selfishness of all Roman parties, rich and poor alike, who had no eye for the larger welfare of Rome and Italy, but saw only their own petty privilege. The base appeal of the oligarchy to the masses was: "They will crowd you out at the festivals and games." It was later to require a devastating civil war to bring such a necessary reform to successful issue. The proposal was the rock on which the Gracchan régime split, since through it, even Gaius's chief support, the proletariat, forsook him.

The senate now determined to defeat him by an insidious appeal to the superstition, greed, and jealousies of the city mob. His long absence of seventy days at Carthage gave them time to organize their attack. They aroused prejudice against his great project at Junonia by spreading false tales of the dire effects from colonizing the "accursed" land. They raked examples from history of the danger of the colony outgrowing the mother city and accused Gracchus of discriminating against the poor in his choice of colonists. Livius Drusus, an Optimate of great political sagacity, who might have put his talents to better use, was elected tribune and became the willing tool of the senate to lure the masses from their idol. His method was to win them by offering more attractive counteradvantages, a type of political game that is still popular. He vetoed the chief project of Gracchus for Italian citizenship as unnecessary and disadvantageous to the masses, offering as a substitute a provision guaranteeing the Latin allies security against the tyranny of a Roman magistrate. The colonial scheme of Gaius in Italy was made ridiculous by offsetting his two colonies of picked settlers, who must pay a nominal rental for their lots, with twelve colonies, each having 3,000 colonists chosen from the poorest class, whose lots were to be rent free. This magnificent scheme was of course never realized, but was only a bait to bribe the credulous masses.

Such procedure forced Gaius from his earlier dignified attitude as a reformer to stoop to the same demagogic methods. But it was too late! Drusus had successfully split the once solid proletariat vote and left him only the very poor. He failed of re-election in 122 B.C. for a third term, but as commissioner and tribune he was still safe until the end of the year. During the last months the situation grew ever more menacing and was made more acute by the organiza-

²⁸ The law was repealed in 111 B.C., but a later law confirmed the settlers in their allotments.

²⁹ Appian, I, 23, states that Gaius first proposed the enfranchisement of only the Latins, and Latin rights for the Italian allies. Probably the broader proposal resulted from the opposition of Livius Drusus.

tion or Gracchus and his followers for armed defense. A proposal to repeal his Carthaginian law precipitated the crisis. Amid the high tension, an obscure but insolent member of the oligarchic faction, slain by the followers of Gracchus, gave the senate just the pretext for action for which it had been waiting. A state of martial law was decreed (*Senatus consultum ultimum*), authorizing the consul, Opimius, to take all necessary measures for the defense of the state (*de republica defendenda*).³⁰

Opimius lost no time in organizing his forces, and the followers of Gracchus prepared to defend themselves on the Aventine. In answer to offers of conciliation, the senate demanded that Gaius and his chief follower, Flaccus, should defend themselves before it. Gaius would have complied, but was prevented by his associates, and the consul attacked and routed them, killing about 250 men. Gaius, hunted down by his enemies, fell either by his own hand or by that of his faithful slave. Opimius, thirsty for revenge, set up a senatorial judicial commission which condemned without trial and put to death 3,000 of his leading followers. The first attack, unlike that of Nasica or Tiberius, had at least a form of legality, but the later slaughter had not even the semblance of justice, yet Opimius was later tried and acquitted. The senatorial "conservator of the constitution" had again sown to the wind by educating the Romans in the law of violence, and would later reap the whirlwind. As a monument of his bloody triumph, Opimius built the Temple of Concord!

X. GENERAL ESTIMATE: THE AFTERMATH

The Gracchan period stands out as a significant milestone in Roman political history. The Gracchi created a democratic party, the *Populares*, in deadly conflict with the senatorial *Optimates*, brought the equestrians into active politics, and drove a permanent wedge between them and the senate. They taught future ambitious politicians the art of demagoguery and furnished them with a model program, preparing the way for the coming of monarchy in Rome. They brought to a head the issues that entailed an era of civil war, unconstitutionality, and violence, culminating in the death of the Republic. The Gracchi, slain, became heroes and martyrs to the urban masses, still their glorified leaders, to whom the sites of their death were holy ground.

It is practically impossible to find a truly dispassionate judgment on these pioneer reformers. The ancient sources are distinctly partisan, and the glaring social contrasts and clash of interests of today render a balanced judgment still difficult. Unquestionably, they were sincere idealists who sought to solve the acute social and economic problems of their day by remedial legislation. But they were dealing with an almost impossible situation; and like most reformers, they interpreted their problem too simply and took themselves too seriously. While many of their proposals were legitimate, their means of attaining them were often questionable. When the need was for softening instead of intensi-

³⁰ The *Senatus consultum ultimum* took the place of the earlier dictatorship, which had long fallen into disuse as dangerous to senatorial power. Technically, it gave no new authority to the magistrate, but strengthened him by the assurance of full senatorial support to disregard the ordinary process of law in opposing an alleged menace to the state.

fying class feeling, they deliberately sought to set class against class by their agitation. But the Gracchi did not create the class conflict. The seething social contrasts and discontent were already present. They only brought them to the surface. The senate was complacently sitting on the lid which would soon have been blown off by the pressure from within, regardless of the Gracchi. It is a usual superficial complaint against political agitators, ancient and modern, that they are arousing class conflict. The trouble always lies deeper, in the intolerable social and economic abuses and the persistent refusal of the dominant class to permit needed reform. The greatest menace to society in every period of history is not the agitator, but those who, like the Roman senatorial oligarchy, insist on retaining the *status quo* in an utterly changed society.

On the whole, however, much in the Gracchan program was socially undesirable, as we have seen. The reformers left Rome, Italy, and the provinces in many respects worse than they found them, though this was only to a limited degree their fault. Their political program, even if successful, could have brought no permanent improvement. To substitute for a selfish and inefficient senatorial oligarchy a still less efficient assembly was certainly no solution, as the sequel showed. A more statesmanlike plan would have been to develop new constitutional forms to meet the needs of an empire. The judiciary, grain, and Asian revenue laws of Gaius also proved to be positively vicious. His statesmanlike project for Italian citizenship, blocked by the selfish blindness of classes and masses alike, only served to embitter the allies the more, and prepared for the devastating struggle a few decades later. His road-building and colonial programs were wise and of permanent value in so far as they were realized. The latter became the forerunner of the great future projects for resettlement of Roman citizens beyond Italy.

The agrarian program of the Gracchi had resulted in a considerable increase of self-sufficient citizens, but it only grazed the surface of either the problems of the proletariat or the declining peasantry. The basic difficulties in the situation, cheap slave labor, military conscription, and to some degree the competition of cheap grain from the provinces, were left untouched. Probably the permanent effects of the work of the land commission became ever less significant. By the year 120 the restriction on the sale of the allotments in Italy was removed. Two years later the senate curried favor with the Italian allies by abolishing the commission, and doubtless many of the lots were swallowed up again in the great estates. By 111 B.C. all rentals to the state were abolished, and all public lands then in the hands of the occupiers were declared private property, a measure especially favorable to the large proprietors.³¹ Henceforth the character of the agrarian agitation changed. The political strife between rich and poor over possession of public land in Italy was a thing of the past, and future political leaders turned their attention to colonial schemes and land allotments for returned veterans. The acute domestic issues now passed somewhat into the background, obscured by the larger military and imperial interests.

Meanwhile, though the senate won against the Gracchi, its victory was dis-

³¹ This law left certain lands in the Campanian area, the lands granted in use to municipalities and colonies, and lands given by Rome as security for the national debt, still public.

tinctly Pyrrhic. It emerged much weakened, its triumph was only temporary, and bought at the fatal price of violence. Its power had been badly challenged by the continuous re-election of the tribune, the attack on his veto power by recall, the organization of the knights as a strong political factor, and the persistent disregard of traditional senatorial prerogatives. On the whole, however, the oligarchy used its victory with prudence. It did not attempt to repeal the grain law or deprive the knights of their advantages as jurymen and tax farmers in Asia. Its approach to the final settlement of the work of the land commission was also gradual, as we have seen. But prudence was now too late. The senate was soon to face foes far more unprincipled and dangerous to their continued power than the Gracchi, victorious generals with seasoned veterans at their back, ready to accomplish their ends, not through peaceful discussion in the Forum, but by force of arms.

Chapter Nine

CIVIL WAR AND FOREIGN CRISES; MARIUS AND SULLA (122-78 B.C.)

I. FROM THE GRACCHI TO CAESAR

Gaius Gracchus had organized the *Populares*¹ and aroused uncompromising conflict between them and the *Optimates*. He had driven a wedge between the senate and the knights, made the latter a political factor in the state, pointed the way to future ambitious demagogues with his grain and colonization laws, and brought the problem of Italian citizenship to the stage of acute political agitation. For a time he had deprived the senate of its initiative in legislation, finance, and foreign affairs, and though it again assumed cautious control after his death, its old political monopoly was forever lost. Meanwhile, the popular party sullenly awaited new leadership and opportunity to seize the reins again.

The drama now enters a new phase of civil war with the above as its setting, and with a change in the *dramatis personae* from sincere reformers to ambitious generals and demagogues, cheap imitations of Gaius Gracchus. The senate at first seeks to turn the attention from domestic affairs, and opens opportunity for colonization of the proletariat by encouraging military expansion in southern Gaul and Africa. But it grows less inefficient in provincial administration, and its foreign policy is increasingly weak. Repeated military crises, domestic and foreign, with which the senatorial leaders prove utterly unable to cope, necessitate the grant of extreme powers to a strong general. He returns as victor with his seasoned veterans at his back and dictates his demands to an unwilling senate. He illegally has himself repeatedly elected consul, as Marius, or in utter defiance of the constitution, makes himself dictator, as Sulla. If he is a democrat, he is backed, not only by his veterans, but also by the urban poor who stand ready to serve as the nucleus of his political machine for a price. Like Marius, he fills the lower offices with his own sordid satellites, ready to propose the basest demagogic measures to bribe the masses. If he is an *Optimate*, he may, like Sulla, restore the senate's supremacy, while as dictator he defies it.

The pattern now becomes more complex. The Gracchan opposition between senate and assembly degenerates to an unequal conflict between the senate and

¹ Though they lacked any regular party organization in the modern sense, and their domination of the political scene at intervals depended upon the leadership of some astute demagogue who was able for a time to win the support of the knights or other disgruntled groups, yet politicians, conservative or liberal, must henceforth reckon with them. The addition of multitudes of ruined peasants to the city plebs, who still voted in their rural tribes, made senatorial manipulation now much more difficult. On the whole problem, cf. F. B. Marsh, *A History of the Roman World from 146-30 B.C.*, chapters I-III and Appendix 2.

demagogues and generals, and between ambitious military leaders like Marius and Sulla, devastating Italy with their armies in a deadly struggle for the right to dictate to Rome and lead the Eastern campaigns. Later these military supermen, though of opposite parties, temporarily sink their differences and pool their interests in a triumvirate so as to dominate the political situation for five-year periods, defying constitution, senate, and assembly alike. They arrogate to themselves supreme control in Rome and vast powers throughout the Mediterranean world, exacting enormous sums from the provincials, annexing new lands, constituting new provinces, making treaties, and conquering a whole new empire entirely on their own responsibility and in defiance of the senate. Under such conditions, both senate and assemblies come to have less and less place in the actual government. Finally the disruption of the triumvirate of supermen is the signal for renewed civil war which ends in the dictatorship of Julius Caesar and the fall of the Republic.

Meanwhile, the desperate struggle of the Italians for citizenship devastates the Italian countryside and endangers for a time the very existence of Rome. Their final complete enfranchisement vastly broadens the basis of the state, but the salient effect is long largely nullified by the concentration of the new Italian citizens in a few tribes.²

The wealthy equestrian capitalists and contractors play both ends against the middle in politics to determine imperial policies for their own financial advantage. Thus they enjoy an ever freer rein in the exploitation of the provinces, often unchecked by the senatorial governors, many of whom are as venal, or if not, they are practically forced to administer their charge in the interest of the financiers. Great wealth, luxury, coarse show, and the glaring contrasts of wealth and poverty rapidly increase at Rome with the declining prosperity of the looted provinces, while the domestic problems of slavery, the Italian peasantry, and the urban unemployed grow ever more acute, vainly awaiting a solution. The old conscript army of citizen farmers, loyal to their state, is transformed to volunteer forces of proletariat veterans, beholden only to their generals, while the teeming population of the capital rapidly takes on a new character with the ever-increasing flood of immigrants.

But Rome was not yet decadent. The small citizen freeholders were still numerous in Italy. The provinces would later recover through good imperial government. During this very century of civil war the state vastly expanded its boundaries, and could look forward to glorious centuries of attainment in culture, prosperity, and power.

II. NEW FRONTIERS

During and immediately succeeding the Gracchan struggle Rome made considerable progress toward securing a continuous northern frontier from Thrace, Macedonia, and Illyricum to Italy, and many secondary campaigns were fought, especially in Dalmatia. In the west the advance was far more significant. The Balearic Isles were conquered in 122 B.C., giving Rome control of the sea route

² Cf. below, Chapter Nine, Sec. VII, end.

to Spain. Especially important was Roman expansion in southern Gaul, by which a land route was secured from Italy to the Spanish province. Even before the middle of the century, Rome had aided Massilia against the Gauls, but had retained no territory or control. When the invasion was renewed about 125 B.C., a marked change had come over Roman policy. The commercial class, now strongly influential, were seeking new opportunities for trade and exploitation, and the senate itself was probably glad to turn popular attention from the domestic struggle by winning prestige abroad. This time, the call of Massilia resulted in the decisive defeat of the Gauls by 123 B.C. and the establishment of a Roman fort at Aquae Sextiae. Two years later the Gallic tribes to the west of Massilia were thoroughly subdued. Rome now dominated the whole south coast of Gaul from Italy to the Pyrenees and organized it into the province of Transalpine Gaul, or Gallia Narbonensis. A Roman colony was established at Narbo in 118 B.C., and a military road, the *Via Domitia*, was extended through the new province to Spain.

III. THE JUGURTHINE WAR ³

Soon afterward Rome became involved in an extended conflict in Africa, the Jugurthine War, which laid bare the incompetence and corruption of some of the ruling nobility and brought popular opposition again to the fore. At the death of Micipsa, King of Numidia, in 118 B.C., his kingdom was left to his two sons and his adopted nephew, Jugurtha, a prince notable for his ability and unscrupulous ambition. Disposing of one colleague by assassination, he expelled the other, Adherbal, and assumed sole mastery of the kingdom. Adherbal appealed to Rome as an ally, but Jugurtha knew his senate. According to Sallust, he sent envoys to Rome primed with plenty of bribe money, and was not disappointed. Instead of punishing him the Roman commission assigned to him western Numidia, the richer half of the kingdom. But Jugurtha wanted the whole. He therefore laid siege to Adherbal's capital, Cirta, while he staved off Roman interference by oiling the palms of two senatorial commissions sent to investigate.⁴ Taking Cirta, he put to death the king and all the defenders, including many Italian resident traders.

The news of the slaughter of so many Italians aroused a storm of popular indignation at Rome and the commercial interests united with the populace to force the unwilling senate to declare war. The next year, 111 B.C., the consul Bestia was sent with an army, but yielded to Jugurtha's "golden" eloquence and made disgraceful terms. When the outraged knights and populace forced the summons of Jugurtha to Rome to divulge the Roman objects of his bribery, two venal tribunes were persuaded to forbid him to speak. So insolent did he

³ Practically the only ancient source is Sallust, the first extant Roman historian, whose *Jugurthine War* was written after 44 B.C. Though bitterly partisan against the senate, and aiming at fine writing rather than accuracy or detailed history, the general outlines of the picture are doubtless true.

⁴ Doubtless the senate was not so utterly corrupt as the partisan Sallust implies. It naturally leaned to inaction, owing to its weak position and the threat of war on the northern frontier. Cf. Walter Allen in *Classical Philology*, XXIII, Jan., 1938, pp. 91 f., who accounts for the favorable attitude of the senate to Jugurtha, chiefly by personal influence of the Scipionic group rather than by bribery.

become that he overreached himself by securing the murder of a possible rival even in Rome itself, and was therefore forced to escape from Italy.

This outrage was followed by further corruption of Roman generals, which resulted in the defeat and surrender of another Roman army (109 B.C.). It submitted to the disgrace of passing under the yoke and was released only by recognizing Jugurtha as supreme in Numidia, and as an ally of Rome. The senate rejected the treaty,⁵ and a tribune's bill to summon the guilty officials to Rome for trial was ratified by the assembly. Metellus, a general of ability and integrity, was now given command against Jugurtha and gradually reduced him to the status of a guerrilla warrior in western Numidia. But to the disgust of C. Marius, one of his officers, he failed to end the protracted disgrace to Roman arms by capturing the king.

Marius came from an obscure village in the territory of Arpinum. He served with distinction under Scipio Aemilianus at Numantia, and had gained some financial competence through handling public contracts. At first, backed by the noble Metellus, he was elected tribune in 119 B.C., as a "new man," and proved his mettle by defying the hostile senate. The people acclaimed the rise of a new popular leader. He was elected praetor in 116 and went as propraetor to Spain in the following year, later serving on the staff of Metellus in Africa. Despite the contempt of the nobility for him as a "new man," he rose to supreme power by sheer force of his rugged personality and military genius.⁶

On the failure of Metellus to bring the war to a close, Marius finally gained leave to return to Rome and stand for the consulship for 107 B.C., to which he was elected. When the senate, wishing to retain Metellus, failed to assign Numidia as a consular province, the tribal assembly, disregarding the senate's prerogative, conferred the command against Jugurtha on Marius. Thus Marius, the "new man," superseded Metellus the Optimate.

He recruited a much larger army than had been provided by opening the ranks to all volunteers regardless of the property qualifications.⁷ On his arrival in Africa he found that his task was now made doubly difficult by the alliance of Jugurtha with his father-in-law, Bocchus, king of Mauretania. Though Marius won several victories against them, the war dragged on, and it might have degenerated into a permanent occupation had not the brilliant young quaestor, L. Cornelius Sulla, induced Bocchus to play traitor and hand over his son-in-law to the Romans. Thus in 105 B.C. the prolonged war in Africa was ended, not by military victories, but by Sulla's diplomacy, though the thorough work of Metellus and Marius had prepared the way. The Romans gave full credit for the victory to Marius and re-elected him consul before his return, contrary to constitutional precedent. Jugurtha, after sating the curiosity of the city rabble in the triumph of Marius, died in a Roman dungeon. The senate still refrained from annexing new territory in Africa, Bocchus was rewarded for his treachery by a larger kingdom, and the native chiefs were left to rule under the suzerainty of Rome. But Numidia was now safe for Italian commerce.

⁵ Apparently, the majority of senators was not corrupt, or else they saw the political handwriting on the wall.

⁶ He is unfortunate in his biographers, except Sallust, to whom he is a superman and the first of the Populares.

⁷ Sallust, *Jugurthine War*, 86, 2.

The Jugurthine War, though of small significance in itself, had momentous consequences for the future. Marius' admission of propertyless volunteers to his army was no great innovation, since the property qualifications for military service had been successively reduced, and he only completed the logical process. But the results were revolutionary. Thereby the army was transformed from a conscript force of landsmen to a volunteer army of the proletariat. The conscript soldiers had regarded military service as an irksome interruption of their regular occupation to be ended as soon as possible. Now, army life itself became more of a profession, by which a living, land allotments, booty, and other advantages were gained from the general.⁸ As a result, the army became a new power in Roman politics. The bond between the soldier and his state was cut, and the tie that bound him to his general was strengthened, to whom he looked for employment and finally the reward of a land lot. Thus the change to a volunteer, propertyless army, more than any other factor, made possible the civil wars that followed, leading to the death of the Republic. The disgraceful Jugurthine episode had also brought the coalition of equestrians and city masses again to power under the leadership of Marius, "the first of the Populares."⁹

IV. THE INVASION OF THE CIMBRI AND TEUTONS

The hasty election of Marius to his second consulship had been largely due to the threatened invasion of Germanic and Celtic tribes, the Cimbri and Teutons.¹⁰ These tribes had long since wandered from their original home on the shores of the North Sea in search of new lands, but it was not until the end of the second century that they began to swarm into Gaul. They came as entire tribes, bag and baggage, with their women and children trailing in crude wagons, perhaps numbering half a million souls.

In 113 B.C. a Roman consul was defeated in a battle with the Cimbri north of the Alps, but they then failed to follow up their advantage by invading Italy. Instead, they wandered westward to the Rhine, joining the Teutons and certain Celtic tribes. Two years later the united tribes crossed the Rhine into Transalpine Gaul and demanded lands. On being refused, they continued their advance, winning repeated victories over the incompetent Roman consuls. Finally, in 105 B.C., they annihilated two Roman armies at Arausio (Orange), inflicting a possible loss of 80,000 soldiers besides noncombatants, the worst disaster since Cannae. Transalpine Gaul and Italy itself now lay open before the invaders, but again they did not continue their advance. Not until the close of the year 102 did they again unite for a drive on Italy. Marius had been appointed to the command against the invaders and prepared to meet them by a thorough reform of the army. To offset the growing decline in the military spirit of the propertied classes, he now depended still more fully upon volunteer enlistments from the urban masses and whipped his

⁸ Probably the army as yet did not regard it as a profession. Cf. F. B. Marsh, *A History of the Roman World, 146-30 B.C.*, Methuen, 1935, pp. 84-88, 327-329.

⁹ The Gracchi had made no appeal to military force and were real democrats at heart.

¹⁰ Both peoples were probably Germanic in origin, though with some Celtic admixture resulting from their wanderings. The Celtic Tigurini and Ambrones joined them in Gaul.

forces into shape by thorough drill and discipline. He also introduced needed changes in the arms and equipment of the legions and probably increased the legion to 6,000 men, dividing it into ten tactical divisions, or cohorts. The larger military unit, however, was no sudden innovation of Marius, but had been growing in favor for some time. It retained the flexibility of the maniple with a far greater solidity. Thus was created the most efficient military machine of the ancient world.

Marius kept his army in Gaul awaiting the approach of the invaders. Because of the continued crisis, he was re-elected consul for the year 103 and again for 102. At the close of that year the Cimbri rejoined the other tribes, and together they prepared to move on Italy. Fortunately they separated in two divisions, the one following the direct route from southern Gaul, the other taking the Alpine route. Marius, refusing battle on the east bank of the Rhone, permitted the invaders to march past him, later attacking them on the march and totally annihilating them at Aquae Sextiae. He then hastened to the aid of his colleague, Q. Lutatius Catulus, against the invading hordes from across the Alps, who had already forced his army to retire and were wintering in the Po Valley. The following year, as consul for the fifth time, he won another signal victory over the invaders at Vercellae by completely destroying the Cimbri. Thus Italy was saved from again experiencing the horrors of the Gallic invasion of the fourth century. A colony, Sporedia, was later established to guard the Alpine pass into Italy.

The crisis was not an overwhelming menace, though it had entailed the loss of five Roman armies. To meet it effectually required only a capable general and a disciplined army, as Marius proved. Nevertheless it was significant as a warning to Rome of German expansion which would eventually overwhelm the entire western half of the Empire. But its immediate importance was in lifting Marius, a mere soldier, to supremacy. Repeatedly re-elected to the consulship, hailed as the savior of the state, the idol of his veterans and the urban plebs, he returned to Rome as its first self-appointed dictator, the precursor of Julius Caesar and monarchy.

V. SLAVES AND PIRATES

While the northern barbarians were menacing Italy, Rome was faced with other serious threats to her authority. A bankrupt Roman knight organized and armed 3,500 slaves at Capua, within two hundred miles of the capital. A second rebellion of thousands of slaves, led by "King Tryphon" devastated Sicily for three years. Independent groups in eastern and western Sicily later united, reinforced by the lower classes of freemen, terrorizing the whole island. Cities were reduced to the verge of starvation, and the Roman grain tribute was seriously cut. All attempts of the inefficient senatorial generals to crush the rebellion failed until the victory of Marius at Aquae Sextiae in 102 B.C. made possible the diversion of a part of his force against the slaves. The thoroughness of the Roman revenge ended the slave menace in Sicily for all time.

At the same time, pirates were defying Roman power in the East Mediterranean. Piracy had been an increasing menace since Rome had permanently

broken Rhodian sea power and had provided no adequate police force of her own. As slave traders, the pirates also terrorized the whole Mediterranean coast, especially Asia Minor, kidnapping multitudes of victims to supply the great slave mart at Delos. Appeals to the senate long went unheeded, since the traffic furnished an abundant supply of cheap labor for their plantations and was profitable also to the business interests. But by 102 B.C. the highhanded ravages of the pirates finally stirred it to action. The praetor, Marcus Antonius, under a special command, destroyed their chief strongholds in Cilicia and annexed part of the territory which became the province of Cilicia.

VI. A DECADE OF SORDID POLITICS IN ROME

Meanwhile public morality at Rome was at a low ebb. Party strife, inefficiency in the wars, and demagoguery were rampant. The incapacity of the senatorial generals and the victories of Marius again gave the *Populares* their innings, who secured the conviction of several of the generals,¹¹ and the choice of the members of the College of Augurs and Pontiffs by popular vote. On the return of Marius to Rome, flushed with the victory of Vercellae, not satisfied with his violation of the constitution by five successive consulships because of the foreign crises, he now determined to seek a sixth term for the year 100 B.C. He allied himself with the unprincipled demagogues, Saturninus and Glaucia, who sought to bribe the Roman masses by a sordid imitation of the Gracchan program. Through bribery and violence, Saturninus was elected tribune and Glaucia, praetor. Saturninus then introduced a whole program of sops to the veterans and the unemployed, proposals for land allotments in Transalpine Gaul, colonies in the provinces with allotments of a hundred *jugera* each, rewards for the Marian veterans in Africa, and a grain dole to the proletariat at one-eighth the Gracchan price. His impossible grain law probably never passed, but the rest of the program was put through with the aid of some of the Marian veterans. A colleague who vetoed the veteran bill was stoned from the field, and the bill became a law. The censor who tried to have the demagogues removed from the senate was mobbed by the populace. Saturninus stood for re-election in defiance of the constitution and secured his election by having a dangerous rival murdered, while Glaucia was elected consul.

The violence and folly of the régime, with its appeal to the basest passions of the rabble, disgusted all decent citizens, caused the equestrians to desert the *Populares*, and even alienated the disciplined old soldier, Marius. The frank favoritism to the veterans also angered the proletariat. The senate took advantage of the shift in feeling to proclaim martial law and summoned Marius to uphold the order and safety of the state. Marius tried to save his *quondam* friends from the vengeful mob by locking them in the senate-house, but the mob tore up the tiles from the roof and pelted their victims to death. Thus once more the senate had won by an appeal to violence. Marius, who had proven himself devoid of political leadership and unable even to keep his

¹¹ The *lex Appuleia de majestate* (103 B.C.), defining the offense of wanton injury to the majesty of the Roman people, made possible their conviction, and hence became a partisan weapon in the struggles that followed.

satellites from utterly discrediting the party, went to Asia and passed into temporary eclipse, suspected by the senate and despised by his former friends.

With the elimination of Marius, the alienation of the knights from the Populares, and the utter discrediting of the popular party by the outrageous violence of its leaders, the Optimates again took the reins, hoping that the danger of the successful general was past. But they were soon to receive a rude awakening by the return of the military menace in a more dangerous form. Renewed conflict between the senate and the knights over the juries was inevitable, and soon flared forth with greater fury. The senate had previously attacked the Gracchan law, but probably lost its representation on the juries again during the régime of Saturninus and Glaucia. A cause of special bitterness to it was the knights' use of their preferred place on the juries to intimidate the senatorial governors against interfering with their unjust exactions in the provinces. As a result, the brief harmony of the orders collapsed in 93 B.C. with the outrageous attack of the knights on Rutilius Rufus. As a *legatus* in Asia he had aided the governor, Mucius Scaevola, in protecting the provincials against the rapacity of the tax farmers and their agents. He was therefore the object of the revenge of the knights, since they dared not attack the highly respected senator, Scaevola. Prosecuted for alleged extortion, he defended himself against the palpably false charge, but was condemned, and retired to Asia. The verdict laid bare the venality of the knights and revealed the Gracchan reform as worse than a farce. It was a warning to all future governors to keep hands off the capitalistic interests in the provinces, and a signal for renewed uncompromising conflict between the two orders.

The conflict was aggravated two years later when Livius Drusus, a tribune from an eminent noble house and a son of the rival of C. Gracchus, introduced a compromise bill for the reform of the juries.¹² He proposed to double the number of senators by adding 300 wealthy equestrians, and to choose the juries, half from the new senate and half from the remaining equestrian order. The equestrian jurors were also to be liable to prosecution for accepting bribes in office. The primary aim of Drusus, however, was to end the now acute discontent of the Italian allies by granting them full citizenship.¹³ The rest of his varied program was probably intended to secure the support of all classes for this project. By his compromise jury bill, he hoped to win the goodwill of the senate, while conciliating the knights. The masses were to be won by the usual proposals for new colonies and cheap grain.

To meet the growing opposition of senators and knights to his judicial measure, and the general distaste for his main proposal, he shrewdly included them in an omnibus bill with his other proposed reforms. The bill was pushed through the assembly, probably by bribery as also by coercion through packing the city with a multitude of Italian allies. On these grounds, and especially on the plea that such an omnibus bill was unconstitutional, the senate boldly declared the whole legislation void. Drusus bowed to its decree, and was pre-

¹² His adopted son was destined to be the father-in-law of Augustus. The entire book of Livy devoted to this year, 91 B.C., is lost.

¹³ The discontent was much aggravated by the decree of 95 B.C., expelling all Italians from the city.

paring to present again his primary proposal for the Italian franchise when the tragedy of C. Gracchus was re-enacted. Deserted by the fickle populace, he was murdered, probably by a tool of his political enemies.

In his two chief aims Drusus was an enlightened statesman, and his motives seem to have been lofty and sincere. But unlike C. Gracchus, he stooped to wholesale bribery, and his overbearing intolerance of opposition and unsympathetic nature were not the qualities of a successful leader. His tragic death marks the last attempt in Roman history to secure needed reforms through the peaceful channels of discussion and persuasion. Henceforth they were to come only by military force and dictation. With him also died the last hope of the Latin and Italian allies for conciliation with Rome. Their problem must now be settled in blood.

VII. THE ITALIAN, OR SOCIAL, WAR

(90-88 B.C.)¹⁴

The problem of the allies was by no means of recent origin. After the disaster of Cannae, a liberal senator proposed that each "Latin" city have two representatives in the Roman senate. Had the sane advice been followed and extended to the Italians, the future of Rome would have been far more stable. The later failure of the proposals of Gracchus and Drusus and the increasingly overbearing attitude of Roman magistrates brought the issue to the stage of revolt.

The Italians had been preparing for rebellion since the drastic law of 95 B.C., expelling them from the capital. Secret plots had been formed for the assassination of the consuls in 91 B.C., and 10,000 disgruntled Italians marching on Rome were only persuaded to disband by promises of satisfaction. Italian leaders had been in close touch with Livius Drusus, and the failure of his bill would be the signal for revolt. With his assassination, their aim became more revolutionary, not the franchise alone, but the end of Roman supremacy, and the creation of a new Italian confederacy including Rome as an equal of the other allies. The spark that started the flame was a massacre of all Romans in Asculum because of the insolence of a Roman magistrate. The city then sent envoys to Rome demanding the franchise. The blunt and indignant refusal of Rome was the signal for general rebellion and a declaration of independence. A confederacy of the Marsic and Samnite cantons was formed, with its capital at Corfinium in the central Apennines, renamed Italia. A new federal coinage was issued having on one side a female head personifying *Italia*, and on the obverse an Italian bull goring a Roman wolf. The government consisted of a senate of 500 with absolute power, assisted by two consuls and twelve praetors, presumably chosen by it. But the model was cantonal rather than Roman, and the representative principle was probably not employed.¹⁵

The confederacy comprised most of the more warlike peoples of the central

¹⁴ Appian, *Civil Wars*, I, 38-53, is the only continuous narrative. The Italian coins and the sling bullets from Asculum furnish interesting contemporary data. Cf. map (A) opposite p. 46.

¹⁵ Cf. Hugh Last in *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. IX, p. 186 f., and note 2.

and southern Apennines and encircled Rome from the northeast to the southeast. Its heart was the Samnites and the Marsi from whom the war was named. Umbria and Etruria, though disaffected, were slow to join the revolt, since the great estate-holders preferred to retain their bond with Rome. The Latin colonies, maritime towns, and Greek favored communities in the south, such as Neapolis, Heraclea, and Tarentum, also remained loyal. Thus Rome's control of the chief harbors and the sea opened to her vast resources in money and war supplies in the provinces. The Italians were also weaker in leadership, since they had always fought under Roman generals. Otherwise, the two were equal in numbers, arms, tactics, discipline, and leadership, having fought side by side under the same generals on three continents.

The Italians made no organized attack on Latium or Rome, but directed their campaigns against Etruria and Campania. The Romans, in turn, sought to offset these drives by taking the offensive against allied territory. During the first year the Roman forces, led by L. Julius Caesar, met repeated reverses, and the allies occupied much of Campania even to the coast. In the north the results were less decisive with a number of successes and defeats for both sides. Here Marius, though kept from the chief command by the suspicious senate, retrieved the situation for Rome by winning a great victory over the Marsi.¹⁶

The success of the allies was beginning to arouse revolt in Etruria and Umbria. Still worse, the activities of Mithradates of Pontus were endangering Roman supremacy in the East Mediterranean. The senate therefore now offered through the Julian law of 89 b.c. what both it and the assembly had so long blindly withheld, full Roman citizenship to all communities that had remained loyal or would at once lay down their arms. Thus the Latins and the Greek allies were rewarded for their loyalty, disaffection in Umbria and Etruria ceased, and many Italian communities laid down their arms.

In the second year the war was continued chiefly by the Samnites, who alone refused to accept the offer, and the tide turned everywhere in favor of Rome. In the north the war was practically ended by the capture of Asculum. All the leading men were scourged and beheaded, and the rest of the population was sent out of the doomed city destitute. The profit from the auction sale of the loot and slaves was apparently pocketed by Pompeius Strabo, the general, though the Roman treasury was then in direst need.

In the south Sulla recaptured the towns in Campania, after which he undertook to break the rebellion in Samnium. The confederacy was now disrupted and Italia abandoned. The chief inspiration of the revolt, Q. Pompeidius Silo, continued the struggle in Samnium. With an army of over 30,000 troops, including thousands of armed slaves, he was a formidable enemy for a time and even sought to persuade Mithradates to invade Italy. But with his death in 88 b.c. the revolt collapsed, though sporadic rebellion was not finally stamped out until the ravages of Sulla in the territory about 80 b.c. The Julian law had been supplemented soon after by the *Lex Plautia Papiria*, which granted Roman citizenship to all free individuals in any allied community

¹⁶ There seems to be no basis for Plutarch's assertion (*Marius*, 33) that he lost his reputation in this war.

who made application within sixty days. To these was now added the Pompeian law which extended the franchise to all free non-Romans south of the Po, and Latin rights to those north of the river.

The Romans had paid a heavy price for their blind exclusiveness. In loss of man power, only the Punic wars compare. Rome had been brought to the verge of bankruptcy. The fairest regions of Italy were shorn of their wealth and prosperity, and Sulla later completed the devastation by his harrying of Etruria and Samnium. Towns had been taken and retaken, and the strife between rich and poor was made all the more acute. Even now, the aristocracy seemed to have learned little by their folly and restricted the new citizens to eight of the thirty-five tribes, so that they could not outvote the older citizen body.¹⁷ The time to end the exclusiveness of the city-state by making Rome the capital of a united Italy of equals had not yet come. The enrollment of the allies as citizens was also irritatingly slow and continued to be a disturbing question in Roman politics.

The first great step had been taken, however, toward the building of a real Italian nation. The long-standing anomaly of so-called "independent" states in Italy within a few miles of the walls of Rome, the capital of a world empire, was at last ended. The area of the Roman *ager* had increased from 21,000 to more than 52,000 square miles, and the adult male citizen population, according to census statistics, had risen from about 395,000 in the year 125 B.C. to 910,000 in 90 B.C. But this figure falls far short of the actual results, since the enrollment was slow. A fair estimate would be at least 2,000,000. All free residents of the peninsula were now Romans, from Tarentum to the cities in the valley of the Po. Local government was still left largely in the hands of the Italian municipalities, and no organized effort was yet made to change their laws and institutions. But with Roman citizenship and more direct intercourse inevitably came a gradual assimilation of the diverse races to a united Italian nation. With the increased spread of Roman law and literature throughout the peninsula, also, the local Italic dialects gradually faded out, and Italy emerged by the close of the century with a common Latin culture.

VIII. SULLA AND THE FIRST MITHRADATIC WAR

(89-85 B.C.)

The civil disorders in Italy had encouraged Mithradates VI Eupator, the ambitious king of Pontus who boasted descent from the Persian royal house and Seleucus, to seek expansion in defiance of Rome. Succeeding to a small Hellenistic kingdom in northern Cappadocia in 121 B.C., he had gradually annexed the Greek cities on the eastern and northern shores as far as the Danube, thereby establishing the strong kingdom of Pontus.¹⁸ But his expansion southward in Asia Minor brought him into conflict with Rome, whose policy was to permit the rise of no dangerous rival in the East and no en-

¹⁷ Since the vote was by tribes.

¹⁸ The native land of the geographer, Strabo, who gives a very detailed description of it (XII, 537). It was a fertile land rich in iron, copper, and silver. The Greek coast cities exerted little influence on the Asiatic interior.

croachment on her preserves in Asia. Repeatedly, his attempts to expand in Asia Minor had been blocked by Rome.

The outbreak of the Social War was therefore his golden opportunity. With his well-disciplined army, he easily crushed the limited native recruits of the Roman governor of Asia, quickly dominated Bithynia and much of the Roman province, while his fleet of 300 decked ships and 100 biremes, aided by the Cilician pirates, controlled the Aegean. Won by his promise of a cancellation of debts and five years' immunity from taxation, the exasperated provincials hailed him as their deliverer from the rapacious Roman governors and capitalists. At his command, on a specified day in 88 B.C., they massacred all Roman and Italian residents in Asia, estimated at 80,000. Soon afterward the fleet of Mithradates seized and sacked Delos, the great commercial center and slave mart, and massacred all its Italian residents, which fact permanently crippled the prosperity of the island.

Meanwhile, the Athenian populace had overthrown the oligarchic government, backed by Rome, and joined Mithradates. Then most of southern Greece followed suit, while a large force entered Greece from the north by way of Thrace and Macedonia. Both Greeks and Asians were soon to rue the day, since the half-barbarian Mithradates proved an even harsher master than Rome, and, still worse, they would soon suffer the inevitable terrible revenge of an outraged Rome, who never forgot. That such a general defiance of her authority in the East should face Rome when she was involved in a life and death struggle for supremacy in Italy was crisis enough. But its gravity was greatly heightened by the drying up of the golden stream from her richest provinces at a time when her budget was taxed to the very limit.

I. CIVIL WAR IN ROME

The situation called for a strong general, and the problem of choice produced a crisis at Rome which ended in civil war. Sulla, consul for the year 88, had been granted the command in the East, but his departure had been delayed to consummate the siege of Nola in Campania. He was an Optimatus, though from an obscure and not wealthy family. Originally a handsome youth with golden hair, fair complexion, and piercing gray eyes that had a "terrible gleam," his face became marred in later life by coarse blotches of red, due to his excesses. He was a clever wit, fond of good cheer and dissolute company, a voluptuary to the end despite his overweening ambition. But whether for pleasure, politics, or war, he always lived intensely. As was true of many of the young bloods of his day, the luxurious and chaotic Roman society suddenly enriched by foreign conquest had bred in him a cynical contempt for all moral principle and a brutal disregard for all human values. Despite his easy indolence and cynical indifference in public life he was brilliantly efficient and a born leader. But he brooked no opposition to the consummation of his ambitions or plans, ruthlessly overriding all that stood in his way.

Such a man, already a proven success in three major wars, was supremely fitted to end the Eastern crisis. Marius, however, backed by equestrians and Populares, plotted to seize the command for himself, though now in his

sixty-eighth year. In his support the tribune, Sulpicius Rufus, organized a personal force of 600 young knights and began a rule of violence. Against the determined opposition of the consuls, he forced a law through the assembly enrolling new citizens and freedmen equally in each of the thirty-five tribes. Also, in Sulla's absence at Nola, a law was passed deposing him from his command in the East in favor of Marius.¹⁹

Sulla and his colleague in the consulship, in turn, decreed an indefinite suspension of public business (*justitium*). But in the rout that followed Sulla was forced to terminate the decree and left for his legions at Nola. Then the program of Sulpicius was enacted into law, and the army at Nola was ordered to come to Rome to accept the command of Marius. But the legions were loyal to their general, and at their head he marched on Rome. For the first time a Roman army had declared war on the existing government in loyalty to their general. Henceforth the general was the real government, and constitutionalism and political processes were a sham. Sulla took the city by surprise and entered it almost without resistance. He forced the assembly to declare Marius, Sulpicius, and a few other Marian leaders outlaws and enemies of the Roman people to be slain with impunity. Thus were Roman citizens illegally deprived of life and property without the right of a trial, another dangerous precedent. Sulpicius was murdered, but Marius escaped to Africa. Their program was invalidated on the ground that it had been passed by force. Sulla now introduced a series of bills to give to the senate the initiative in legislation and the right of final action upon all bills passed by the assembly. All public business was transferred from the tribal to the conservative centuriate assembly, and the tribunes lost their initiative in legislation.

2. SULLA IN GREECE AND ASIA

With affairs in Rome settled, Sulla, at the conclusion of his consulship early in the year 87, sailed with his army for Greece to meet the grave crisis in the East. On his arrival he laid siege to Athens and its port, Peiraeus. Though reduced almost to cannibalism by starvation, the Athenians held out for several months, when Sulla finally discovered an unguarded place in the walls. The city was given over to pillage and massacre, and the sacred groves of the Academy and Lyceum were cut down to furnish timbers. But the public buildings were spared, and the city was permitted to retain its liberty. Soon after, Peiraeus was taken by storm with terrible losses to the besiegers and was given over to destruction. Since the Marians controlled the sea and he could not secure supplies from the hostile home government,²⁰ Sulla looted the sacred shrines of Delphi, Epidaurus, and Olympia of their costly treasures.

From Athens he hastened north to meet the army of Mithradates, where at Chaeronea he won a decisive victory. The Thebans were deprived of half their land to repay the looted temples. Sulla now marched north to Thessaly to meet the consul, Lucius Valerius Flaccus, who had been sent by the Marian government in Rome with another army to supersede him. Since a conflict

¹⁹ Whatever his motive, his citizenship bill was a statesmanlike proposal, which places him in the line of succession from C. Gracchus and Drusus.

²⁰ Cf. below, Sec. IX, for explanation.

between the two Roman armies would have played into the hands of Mithradates, and Flaccus feared to fight Sulla lest his own army desert him, he marched northward to Thrace. The compromise left Sulla free to meet and annihilate at Orchomenus another Mithradatic force from across the Aegean. But the king still controlled the Aegean, and Sulla, unable to cross to Asia, passed the winter in Greece.

The following spring of 85 B.C., L. Lucullus, his quaestor, having collected a fleet from Rome's allies in the East, defeated the navy of Mithradates, thereby opening the Aegean for Sulla's passage to Asia. Mithradates now found himself in a critical position. The Greek cities in Asia, exasperated by his extreme demands, were ready to desert him. Flaccus had been slain in Bithynia, but Fimbria, his successor, was a still more dangerous foe and had already taken over the coast of Asia Minor as far as Pergamum. The king was therefore ready to talk peace, and Sulla also was anxious to end his commission in the East, so as to return and settle with the Marians in Rome. After considerable parley the terms of Sulla were accepted in 85 B.C., the surrender of Cappadocia, Bithynia, the province of Asia, and all other conquests in Asia Minor, the loss of part of his fleet, and the payment of an indemnity of 3,000 talents. But the king was permitted to retain his realm of Pontus intact. The comparatively easy terms were due to Sulla's fear lest Fimbria might join Mithradates against him. Fimbria's troops now deserted to Sulla, and he ended his life by suicide.

Sulla spent the winter in settling affairs in the province of Asia. The loyal states, especially Rhodes, were rewarded, but the rebel cities were forced to bear the expense of his legions and to pay a huge indemnity of 20,000 talents (\$24,000,000) to meet the cost of the war and their five years' arrears in taxes. Unable to pay, they were victims of the Roman moneylenders at usurious rates, mortgaging their public buildings and theatres for security. The next year (84 B.C.), leaving a representative to administer the province, Sulla sailed for Greece and, later, for Italy, taking with him enormous spoils and treasures to grace his triumph. The most precious were the treatises of Aristotle, which after long obscurity were now to be published to the Western world by the scholars, Tyrannio and Andronicus of Rhodes.²¹ The Greek states had suffered most severely for their disloyalty. Their lands in Attica and Boeotia were ravaged, Athens and Peiraeus were depopulated and laid waste, the sacred shrines had been looted of their costly treasures, and the coasts had been harried by the fleet of Mithradates. Of all the devastations of this long-suffering land, this of Sulla was the worst. From its blight, Hellas never entirely recovered.

IX. CIVIL WAR IN ROME AND THE DICTATORSHIP OF SULLA (87-78 B.C.)

Roman politics during the absence of Sulla present a sordid picture of inefficiency and brutal revenge. Sulla had scarcely left Italy for the East when

²¹ Plutarch, *Sulla*, 26, 1; Strabo, XIII, 608 f.

the Marian party, headed by the consul, Cinna, seized control and re-enacted the Sulpician laws. Deposed and expelled from the city as a public enemy by his colleague, Gnaeus Octavius, and the senate, he soon returned in triumph at the head of an army raised in Campania, and pacified the still-warring Samnites by the grant of full citizenship. Marius, arriving in Etruria from Africa, enlisted an army of slaves and marched on Rome. The two laid siege to the city, and when Marius took Ostia the opposition yielded. Military force again won over politics. Cinna was reinstated in his office, the ban on Marius was lifted, the laws of Sulla were repealed, his property confiscated, and he was declared a public enemy and an outlaw.

Then followed a veritable carnival of massacre. Marius gave free rein to all the pent-up lust for vengeance of an outraged old man in his dotage, while his slave army sated itself with loot and butchery of his political enemies. Leading senators, including the consul, Octavius, were massacred, and their heads displayed on the Rostra. Many less notable victims lay in their blood, with no friend who dared to offer burial. For five days and nights of terror the orgy of revenge continued, until Cinna ordered his troops to end the carnage by killing the Marian slaves. On January 1, 86 B.C., Marius began his seventh consulship, but he died during the month. A great soldier, who had twice saved Rome, he was a wretched failure as a statesman and a sinister influence in civic life, a monumental example of the danger of making successful generalship the primary qualification for political success. The cessation of the Asian revenues, debased coinage, and chaos at home brought on financial panic. Money values were chaotic and land prices sank. Cinna tried to relieve the crisis by withdrawing the debased coins from circulation, and a partial moratorium on debts was declared, which cost the creditors three-fourths of their loans.

In 85 B.C. Sulla, having made peace with Mithradates, sent a veiled threat to Rome, declaring his intention to respect the rights of all citizens, but to take vengeance on his enemies.²² The Marians, headed by the two consuls, Cinna and Carbo, now saw the handwriting on the wall and began levying troops to oppose him. Illegally continuing their consulship for another year (84), they were planning to ship troops across the sea and take their stand against Sulla in Macedonia. But in a mutiny of the troops awaiting embarkment at Brundisium, Cinna was killed. Carbo was sole consul for the year, unconstitutionally blocking the election of a successor to Cinna. He planned now to recall the troops and meet Sulla in Italy. Meanwhile, the senate had entered into negotiations with Sulla with a view to ending further civil war. In answer, he promised to protect the senate, but refused to disband his army and demanded the return of all his property and honors, as well as those of his followers. But Carbo blocked conciliation.

The following spring of 83 B.C. Sulla arrived at Brundisium with 40,000 hardened veterans who had sworn abiding loyalty to him, not to the state. To win the Italians, he proclaimed his purpose to respect fully their new privileges of citizenship. But the majority, especially in Samnium and Etruria, were

²² Cf. Appian, I, 79.

suspicious of their recent enemy and supported the Marians. He was welcomed, however, by the leading senatorials, and by Gnaeus Pompey, who had raised an army on his own initiative. The Marians were disunited and were no match for Sulla in military skill. He pushed his way into Campania, where he defeated the army of one consul and won over the other to his standard. The next year he defeated the consul, Marius, the younger, in Latium. Marius fell back on Praeneste and ordered the urban praetor at Rome to put to death the remaining chief Optimates, among whom was the eminent jurist, Q. Mucius Scaevola.

Carbo, after meeting repeated defeats in Etruria, fled to Africa, and the Marians made their final stand in union with the Samnites. Failing to relieve Praeneste, they marched on Rome, but were decisively defeated by Sulla outside the Colline Gate. The fall of Praeneste and the suicide of young Marius, soon after, practically ended all resistance in Italy. Rebellious Samnium and Etruria were terribly ravaged by Sulla's troops, and more than 3,000 Samnite captives were ruthlessly massacred.

During the next three years Pompey hunted down the Marian forces in Sicily and Africa and executed their leader Carbo. At Sulla's order he had been illegally granted the command with the *imperium* of a propraetor, though he had not yet held any public office. On his return to Rome in 79 B.C. he was reluctantly granted a triumph by Sulla, an honor heretofore reserved only for magistrates, and he assumed the name Magnus, "the Great."

I. SULLA'S PROSCRIPTIONS

Backed by his veterans, Sulla, now absolute master of Rome, was ready to wreak vengeance on his enemies. He outlawed all public or private citizens who in any way aided the Marians. With cold-blooded calculation and with cynical disregard of all legal rights of trial, he posted each day the names of his outlawed victims for whose heads a reward was offered and whose goods were confiscated by the state. As always happens in such a situation, there was no lack of informers and gangsters to contribute to the list of the proscribed so as to secure a reward for their death. Thus many innocent fell with the guilty, victims to the greed or personal animosities of Sulla's friends. At least 4,700 are recorded among the proscribed, among whom were 90 senators and 2,600 knights. Sulla's special vengeance was reserved for Marius and his house. His ashes were disinterred and cast into the Anio, his monuments overthrown, and his adopted nephew cut to pieces as an offering to the shade of Catulus. When a younger associate, wearied of the slaughter, tactfully suggested that Sulla quiet the fears of the Romans by designating all those who were still slated for death, he continued his proscriptions still more ruthlessly without even communicating his lists to any magistrate. The property of the proscribed was sold at auction under his direct supervision, and their descendants to the second generation were denied the right of ever holding any public office.

Similar atrocities were practiced also in all Italian municipalities that had opposed him. Whole communities as well as individuals suffered his ruthless

vengeance.²³ Etruria and Samnium were ravaged with fire and sword, and great tracts of their lands were expropriated to reward his more than 100,000 veterans. An incidental result of this fatal disturbance to peaceful agriculture was the rapid Latinization of these sections. Many of the veterans, however, later lost their lands by debt and were ready for another civil war under the leadership of Catiline or any other adventurer. Ten thousand slaves of the proscribed were set free by Sulla and called Corneli as his clients. Like his veterans outside Rome, these served him as a potential standing army, ready to do his bidding in the city. All these highhanded acts of Sulla, as also his previous acts as consul and proconsul and his future measures, were perforce sanctioned by the pliant senate. The reign of terror was indelibly stamped on the memory of all Romans, and the fear of its repetition cast a shadow over the remaining years of the Republic.²⁴

2. SULLA'S DICTATORSHIP AND THE CORNELIAN LAWS (82-79 B.C.)

Unlike Marius, however, Sulla aimed not merely at revenge and personal power, but at constructive statesmanship. He sought to rebuild the shattered constitution and establish a strong, stable government that could withstand the menace of the urban masses and its demagogues on the one hand and the returned proconsul with his loyal veterans on the other. To accomplish this, he must have at least some semblance of constitutional right. Since neither consul had survived, therefore, he had the senate, late in the year 82, appoint an *interrex*, who by a special law named him dictator. This was not for the constitutional term of six months but for an unlimited period, to "enact legislation and reconstitute the commonwealth" (*legibus scribundis et rei publicae constituendae*). The unlimited character of the dictatorship and its background of military force behind the veil of constitutionalism gave him practically the powers of a monarch or a Greek tyrant, a precedent for Julius Caesar and Augustus.

Sulla was far more than an ordinary despot, however. The eventful changes of the past half century had awakened him to the pressing need of a total reorganization of the government, which he now undertook. The enfranchisement of all Italians without the addition of the representative principle had made the old theory of government a glaring anomaly. An assembly in which the urban rabble predominated was now especially unrepresentative of the actual citizenship. Still worse, through the Marian military reform which transformed the conscript army of property-holders to a volunteer proletariat force, constitutionalism had given place to force. Rome was at the mercy of ambitious returning proconsuls, and government had become the prey of rival generals. If the Republic was not to perish, military domination of the civil authority, must cease and "Sulla must be the last Roman to conquer Rome."²⁵

²³ Plutarch, *Sulla*, XXXI, 5, says "in every city of Italy, and neither temple of God nor hearth of hospitality, nor paternal home was free from the stain of bloodshed." *Loeb Classical Library* translation, by permission of the Harvard University Press.

²⁴ Cf., for example, the letters of Cicero written early in the year 49 B.C., when Rome was faced with the return of Julius Caesar. The proscriptions were officially ended in 81 B.C.

²⁵ Hugh Last in *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. IX, p. 282.

To end these two fundamental evils, however, he had no remedy save the turning back of the hands of the clock by the partisan restoration of the senatorial oligarchy to its old supremacy before 133 or even 287 B.C., and by the guarantee of its permanent power. To fit it for its task he rejuvenated the depleted senate with new blood by the addition of 300, chiefly from the wealthy knights, thereby also helping to close the breach between the two orders.²⁶ He freed it from dependence on the censorship,²⁷ and by raising the number of quaestors to twenty and giving them a seat in the senate, he arranged for its annual recruitment automatically by the vote of the people. The pontiffs and augurs were also increased to fifteen each, to provide more offices, and the election was taken from the people and returned to the colleges themselves.

The measures enacted to secure the supremacy of the senate were largely a renewal and extension of Sulla's legislation of 88 B.C. No bill could be submitted to the assembly without the previous approval of the senate, and the senate's right of validation of all legislation by the popular assemblies was restored as before the Hortensian law of 287. The tribunes were also relegated to their original negative function of veto, losing all initiative in legislation. To insure against further danger from the tribunate, its personnel was made insignificant by excluding the tribune from holding any other office, and forbidding his re-election to the tribunate within ten years. The new senate was also given a monopoly of the juries. Especially significant was his reform of the *cursus honorum*, making the ages of quaestor, praetor, and consul respectively 30, 39, and 42, thereby insuring maturity and long experience in the senate for the higher magistrates. An interval of ten years before re-election was also rigidly required.

To guard against the power of the extraordinary proconsul and the danger of continuing a consul in office year after year, and to provide sufficient provincial governors, the number of praetors was increased from six to eight, who with the two consuls were sufficient to man the ten provinces.²⁸ Thus, after a year of service at Rome, they passed automatically to their provinces as proconsuls or propraetors for another year. As a result, the distinction between magistrates and promagistrates became more clear cut, and the promagistrates lost their extraordinary character. Sulla also defined the law of treason, whereby a governor was forbidden to pass beyond the bounds of his own province with an army or to start a war on his own initiative. The above legislation on the magistrates was fairly effective, since for nearly three decades no praetor and rarely a consul was employed outside of Rome during his regular term. The consuls continued to have the right of military command, but their sphere was regularly limited to Italy, though their *imperium* might be exercised beyond the Italian frontiers. The right of appointing any person to an extraordinary military *imperium* in any section of the Empire that the crisis might demand remained technically in the hands of the assembly, though until 70 B.C. the senate had a dominant influence in the choice.

²⁶ So Livy and Appian. Sallust, *Catiline*, 37, 6, probably expresses a partisan prejudice in his claim that the new senators were men of no distinction.

²⁷ Probably the censorship was continued as necessary for the periodic census for the *centuriata*.

²⁸ The tenth was Cisalpine Gaul, probably made a province by Sulla.

To meet the financial crisis, besides his extreme imposition on Asia, Sulla made a forced levy on the entire Empire outside of Italy, sold political privileges, and reduced the drain on the treasury by abolishing the sale of cheap grain to the populace. An occasion for irony was that a man of his habits should attempt sumptuary legislation against luxury and the regulation of public morals.²⁹

In the face of an utterly changed world, Sulla should have realized that a return to the senatorial supremacy of the old days was impossible. The senatorial oligarchy had not changed its spots, and the danger of a proletarian assembly, demagogues, and rival generals had been only temporarily checked, to flame forth again with the passing of the dictator. Only as a representative body of delegates from all Italy could the senate have met the new demands of the imperial state. But neither the Optimates nor the Populares nor Sulla himself who, at first, opposed the equal distribution of the Italians in all the tribes, had the vision for such a revolutionary reform. But even if they had, the basic problem would not have been touched, how to reward the volunteer armies without the need of pressure from their generals.³⁰ The only other solution was a monarchy, which Sulla did not see fit to establish. He should be credited, however, with having clearly envisaged this problem, and with making a genuine, if futile, effort to solve it.

Far more significant and abiding was his nonpartisan reform of criminal law and procedure, in which his remarkable powers of organization appear at their best. The right of appeal of Roman citizens to the popular assembly from the judgment of a magistrate had long been palpably absurd in view of the nonrepresentative and irresponsible character of that body and its unwieldy size. As a criminal court, it was an impossible farce. As a result, the senate had arrogated to itself the authority to commission certain magistrates to assemble a *consilium* of leading citizens, who executed the sentence without appeal to the people, to the indignation of C. Gracchus.

Sulla organized special jury courts (*judicia publica*), presided over by praetors, for the trial of all major crimes such as treason, bribery, fraud, peculation, violent assault, and murder. The juries were chosen entirely from the senate, and their verdict was final. These courts were patterned after the permanent court for the trial of extortion of public officials and entirely superseded the old procedure of appeal from the verdict of the magistrate to the assembly. This new machinery for the administration of criminal justice continued to operate successfully until the reforms of Augustus, though the senatorial monopoly of the juries was broken in 70 B.C.

Sulla was not ambitious for permanent political power in itself. In accord with the principles of his reforms, when he had established his new consti-

²⁹ Th. Mommsen, *History of Rome*, transl. Dickson, 2d ed., Scribner, 1871, Vol. III, Bk. IV, pp. 430 ff., ascribed to Sulla or his age the development of a real municipal system with standard municipal constitutions providing a machinery of government similar to the Roman, but incorporated organically in and subject to the Roman state. But there is no sufficient basis for believing in the definite development of such a general municipal law at least until the age of Julius Caesar, though the grant of Italian citizenship had naturally posed the problem. See *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. IX, p. 303.

³⁰ A practically insuperable difficulty in the way of representative government in Italy also was the lack of any means of creating a united public opinion on the same issues throughout Italy.

tution, in 79 B.C., he voluntarily resigned his dictatorship, secure in the loyalty of his veterans and his Cornelian freedmen. He retired to his Campanian estate for a life of relaxation and pleasure, which he had always preferred. In the following year, at the age of sixty, he died, to the great relief of multitudes of all classes. Now that the lion was dead, his political enemies came out of hiding and sought to deprive his body of fitting burial honors, but Pompey secured for him a magnificent public funeral. His epitaph, written by himself, is a fitting characterization of his primitive ethics: "No friend ever surpassed him in kindness and no enemy in mischief."³¹

A great military genius, a master of tactics and strategy, and a born leader with marvelous powers of inspiring loyalty in his men, Sulla was also a shrewd diplomat and a man of outstanding ability in organization and administration. As a statesman he probably envisaged more clearly than any of his contemporaries or successors until Julius Caesar the essential political problem of his day and the glaring defects in the Roman constitution as a practical instrument for the administration of an empire. But aside from his judicial reforms in which he showed remarkable administrative talent, his new constitution reveals no great breadth of vision or constructive statesmanship. Though he wisely attempted to reform and broaden the senate for its task and to distinguish more clearly between the functions of magistrate and promagistrate, his face was turned essentially toward the past. His only answer to the acute constitutional problem was to cramp imperial Rome back into an outgrown city-state constitution of the fourth century by restoring the senatorial oligarchy to a political monopoly for which it had proven itself utterly unfitted either in efficiency or character, and that, too, even in the face of the recent enfranchisement of the whole free population of Italy.

He should not be judged too severely, however, for his failure. A child of his chaotic age, whose problems were thrust upon him from his predecessors, his attempted solutions were naturally bound largely by the horizons of his day. The problems were perhaps impossible of solution in the light of his times. Neither senate, assembly, nor tribunes proved capable of reform; representative government for all Italy, if it had been conceived, was not then feasible; and the menace of civil war of rival generals with their personal armies of veterans could probably not be ended, in those times, except by concentration of authority in the hands of one man.

Hence his ruthless slaughter to extirpate the Marians root and branch must be judged in the light of the fierce partisan strife of his age. But such methods were foredoomed to failure as they had proven with Marius. His opponents were not crushed. They had only gone into hiding to become all the more venomous as soon as the lion was dead. The only result, as always, was a new heritage of hate and bitterness that rendered the permanence of his reforms all the more impossible. Neither his reforms nor his atrocious revenges succeeded in bringing peace or stability to the chaotic Roman world. His failure is a signpost in the history of Rome pointing toward Julius and Augustus Caesar and the death of the Republic.

³¹ Plutarch, *Sulla*, XXXVIII, 4.

Chapter Ten

ROMAN POLITICS AND EASTERN EXPANSION (78-60 B.C.)

With the death of Sulla, all the dissatisfied individuals and factions that he had crushed again boldly raised their heads. The masses sought to regain their grain dole and the powers of tribune and assembly; the equestrians, their restoration to the juries; the sons of the proscribed, the return of their lands and civic rights; the debtors and unfortunates of every class, a new deal; the ambitious politicians and military leaders, a new opportunity to control the state. The historical stage is dominated by a few eminent personalities who largely determine the political developments both at home and abroad. Sulla's aims to strengthen the senate and make it supreme against both tribune and returning general were doomed to failure. Weak and vacillating in policy, unable to control the domestic factions or to cope with the grave military crises, the senate was repeatedly forced to grant extraordinary commands with full *imperium* to ambitious generals. Politics became again the tool of rival military leaders, the volunteer army was increasingly the real power in the state, and military success was the sure path to political supremacy.

I. THE REVOLT OF LEPIDUS

The first episode centered about M. Aemilius Lepidus, a political opportunist devoid of either character or ability. As consul for the year 78, he proposed a new grain law, the restoration of civic rights and confiscated lands to the Marians, and perhaps the restoration of the tribunate, but was blocked by his oligarchic colleague, Q. Lutatius Catulus. The following year, as proconsul of Transalpine Gaul, he did not leave Italy, but raised an army and marched on Rome to enforce his re-election to a second consulship. The senate then passed the ultimate decree for defending the commonwealth and called on Gnaeus Pompey, though no magistrate, to assist Catulus in quelling the rebellion. Lepidus was defeated and escaped to Etruria and later to Sardinia, where he soon died. The remnant of his forces under M. Perperna made their way to Spain to join Sertorius. The episode, though of no great significance in itself, revealed the surging discontent in Italy, and the anxious weakness of the senate in passing the ultimate decree in so slight a crisis, whereby Pompey was provided with another opportunity to advance toward military supremacy.

II. THE REVOLT OF SERTORIUS

The real crisis to the senate and the Sullan constitution came through the rebellion of Sertorius in Spain. For thirty years after the fall of Numantia peace reigned, but thereafter a chronic state of rebellion had existed as a result of the rapacity of Roman governors and *negotiatores*. Sertorius¹ had won his spurs under Marius against the northern barbarians and in the Marsic War. In the year 88 he had been rejected for the tribuneship through the opposition of Sulla and was a restraining influence in the Marian dictatorship. He went as governor to Hither Spain in 83 B.C. and later as a Marian became the military champion of the provincials. With an army of 20,000 foot and 15,000 horse, reinforced by the troops of Lepidus under Perperna, he repeatedly defeated Sulla's general, Metellus Pius, and organized a separate government in the province with a senate and himself as governor. By the close of the year 77 B.C., he had made himself master of most of Spain and was extending his influence into Narbonese Gaul.

The situation demanded the appointment of a general of proven capacity to aid Metellus, and the senate reluctantly sanctioned a bill of the assembly conferring the proconsulship and *imperium* upon Pompey as the only one competent to meet the crisis. This was a fatal blow to the Sullan constitution, since Pompey was not even a member of the senate and no real friend of the oligarchy. Thus, for the second time in one year, the senate had, by the appointment of extraordinary commands, rendered futile the main aim of Sulla.

For the next two years Sertorius was more than a match for the combined forces of Pompey and Metellus. He formed alliances with the Eastern pirates and Mithradates, so that Pompey was forced to recross the Pyrenees and sent an urgent letter to Rome requesting reinforcements. But by the close of the year 74 the tide had turned for Rome. Sertorius was treacherously murdered in 72 B.C. by his officer, Perperna, who assumed command, but was soon defeated, and the rebellion collapsed. The following year Pompey returned to Spain boasting that he had taken "876 towns."

The defection and death of Sertorius was a costly loss to Rome. A man of rugged integrity, a general of outstanding leadership and genius in military strategy and tactics, and of great promise as a statesman, he might, under other conditions, have served his country well. The estimate of Mommsen is probably not extreme: "So ended one of the greatest men, if not the greatest man that Rome had hitherto produced, a man who under more fortunate circumstances might have become the regenerator of his country."²

III. THE REVOLT OF THE GLADIATORS

Meanwhile another grave crisis had arisen in Italy in 73 B.C. in the revolt of the gladiators. Under the leadership of Spartacus, they drew to their standard

¹ Cf. Plutarch's *Sertorius* and *Pompey* (popular sympathy); Appian, *Civil Wars*, I, 108-115, and Livy's *Epiomes*, XC-XCIII (senatorial sympathy).

² IV, 302 f., cited by Hugh Last in *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. IX, p. 325, who considers him "worthy of a place not far below Hannibal and Julius Caesar."

70,000 slaves, repeatedly defeated the Roman armies, and overran Campania and all southern Italy. The senate was therefore again forced to grant a special command to M. Licinius Crassus, one of Sulla's chief officers, who had won great wealth through the purchase of the property of the proscribed. He inspired the troops with a new morale and soon succeeded in driving Spartacus and his army to Bruttium, where Spartacus was defeated and slain. Six thousand of the slaves were crucified. A contingent of five thousand who escaped to northern Italy were met by Pompey on his return home and annihilated.³

IV. THE CONSULSHIP OF POMPEY AND CRASSUS

(70 B.C.)

Rome was now faced with the two rival victorious generals, backed by their veterans, who demanded a triumph and the right to stand for the consulship. When the senate, fearing a military dictatorship and civil war, refused their demand as clearly unconstitutional, they sank their mutual jealousies and united in forcing it to legalize their candidacy by special bills. By promising to reinstate the tribunate and to replace the knights on the juries, they were both elected and took office January 1, 70 B.C.

This was the end of the Sullan constitution, which had already become largely a dead letter. The tribunate was freed of its legal restrictions, the censorship was restored, and Sulla's law requiring the approval for all bills to be brought before the assembly was repealed. Henceforth ambitious generals were to find the tribunes their valuable allies. The senatorial juries had proven hopelessly corrupt, and not only Pompey and Crassus but also Cicero favored drastic reform in order to relieve the senate of its evil reputation. Popular indignation also ran high at the scandals of provincial misgovernment under the Sullan régime.

V. THE TRIAL OF VERRES

(70 B.C.)

The storm broke with the return of C. Verres in January, 70 B.C., from his three-year term as propraetor of Sicily, scandalously enriched by his rapacious exactions. His was the most notorious case of provincial misgovernment in the history of the Republic. On his heels came embassies from every municipality in Sicily except Syracuse and Messana demanding his indictment. Even before going to Sicily he frankly inquired how best to enrich himself, and so sure was he of acquittal by the senatorial juries on his return that he was shamelessly open in his extortions. Like a "pirate" he exacted money and valuables from his victims by every illegitimate means, and is said to have brought home with him wealth estimated at 40,000,000 sesterces (\$2,000,000) as well as many priceless masterpieces of sculpture and painting. With utter impunity he stripped the homes and even the temples of their art treasures, appropriated inheritances in the most highhanded manner, dominated the courts, acquitted the

³ Pompey had been recalled with his army to aid Crassus, thereby enabling him to bring his army to Italy legally.

basest criminals for a price, arbitrarily imposed on the provincials whatever payments suited his whim, embezzled state monies, outraged all moral decency by his lecheries, and tortured and executed all, even Roman citizens, who opposed his despotism. He openly boasted of having made three fortunes from his three-year term, the first year for himself, the second to repay his friends and political patrons, and the third and largest to secure his acquittal from the jurors.

His assurance was not ill-founded, for he had behind him the wealth and power of the elite of Rome. Quintus Hortensius Hortalus, the outstanding orator and lawyer of the day, who was to be the consul for the following year, pleaded his cause, supported by men like Publius Cornelius Scipio, the future father-in-law of Pompey, and the three powerful Metelli, one of whom, Marcus, as praetor later presided at his trial. The Sicilians chose Cicero of Arpinum, a "new man," as their champion, a rising younger orator who had won their confidence by his fairness as quaestor in western Sicily five years previous.

The powerful friends of Verres used every subterfuge to delay the trial until the following year when a sure friend of Verres would preside as praetor, and used every means to prevent Cicero from securing the evidence in Sicily. But he outwitted them at every turn, collecting overwhelming data in only 50 of the 110 days allotted for the purpose, and spoiling their plans for delay by foregoing a lengthy speech for the prosecution. After briefly summarizing the shameless record of Verres in Asia Minor, in Rome as city praetor, and in Sicily, and the attempts of the opposition to circumvent his prosecution, he called his witnesses.⁴ The evidence was so overwhelming and irrefutable that Hortensius practically abandoned his case. Verres went into exile before the testimony was completed and was condemned in his absence.

One important result of the trial was the passage of the Aurelian law by which an equal number of jurors from senate, knights, and *tribuni aerarii*⁵ were included in each panel of jurors. This meant that the senatorial jurymen were sure to be outvoted almost two to one. The conviction was a triumph for Cicero and made him supersede Hortensius as the supreme advocate of the day.⁶ It also opened the way for his political advancement, of which he was not slow to take advantage. He published his entire evidence as an extensive political pamphlet in the form of five speeches, a damning indictment of the character of Verres, his outrageous rapacity and oppression in Asia, Greece, and Sicily, and the inefficiency and corruption of senatorial control.⁷

Meanwhile, Pompey and Crassus ruled mildly, not even dictating nominations or their own re-election to the consulship.⁸ Optimates were elected for the

⁴ Cicero claimed that no suspicion of corruption had arisen against any equestrian juror from Gracchus to Sulla, but that since the return of the juries to the senate, it would be better not to have the court at all, since, in that case, the governors would steal only what they needed for themselves.

⁵ These were financial officers of the several tribes, though their duties are somewhat obscure. Their assessment was next to that of the knights.

⁶ Probably a strong factor in the conviction, however, was the fear of the senatorial jurors, in view of Cicero's warning lest they lose their privilege.

⁷ Only the first of the Verrine orations was delivered at the trial and was not one of those above named.

⁸ For the measures repealing Sulla's constitution, cf. above, Sec. IV.

years 69 and 68, and the two generals disbanded their armies, passing into temporary retirement,⁹ having refused proconsulships and remained in Rome awaiting their chance. In the year 67 the restored tribunate again became active in the persons of C. Cornelius and A. Gabinus, who pushed through popular legislation. The *lex Cornelia* was passed, requiring the praetors to administer justice in accord with the rules enunciated in their edicts, thereby placing the law above the magistrate. A harsh law imposed the penalty of a fine and permanent exclusion from active public life for bribery. A compromise measure also forbade the senate henceforth to grant any dispensation from the laws, except when a quorum of 200 were present. Finally, a Gabinian law was passed, making loans of money to provincials in Rome illegal, so as to prevent their bribery of the senators. But these were only preliminary attacks.

VI. POMPEY AND THE PIRATES

(67 B.C.)

That same year the senate was forced to grant another extraordinary command which gave the deathblow to its supremacy. Sulla had been too anxious to return to Rome to deal thoroughly with the pirates, and in the intervening years they had become an ever greater scourge. The extraordinary command of M. Antonius against them (74-72 B.C.) had been a wretched failure. His extortions on the provincials outdid the pirates, and though Caecilius Metellus conquered Crete and made it a province in the year 68, he did little to check the pirates' depredations. So bold had they become that they even attacked the coasts of Italy and Ostia itself and seriously interrupted the grain transport from Sicily and Africa. They were expert seamen, with ships lighter and much swifter than the Roman, and went in squadrons under trained admirals.

The popular demand for drastic action, backed by Pompey and the tribunate, was too strong for the senate to resist. Over its bitter protest, the Gabinian law was passed ordering the appointment of a general with consular *imperium* having supreme command for three years over the entire Mediterranean and its Roman coasts for fifty miles inland with authority to nominate as his assistants twenty-four senatorial *legati* and two quaestors, to raise the necessary money in addition to what he received from the quaestors, and to recruit troops and sailors for his fleet at his discretion. Thus "to one man was granted *imperium* over almost the whole world."¹⁰ Though no name was mentioned in the bill, Pompey was the only logical man, and the senate, despite its distrust of him, was forced by the popular demand to appoint him. He received a grant of 500 ships, and the right to raise up to 120,000 infantry and 5,000 cavalry.

This grant of such practically unlimited power to one man was a distinct step toward monarchy. Whether Pompey would later use this power to domi-

⁹ Young Gaius Julius Caesar was already coming to the front politically. A significant sign of his ambitions for the future was his *laudatio* (funeral eulogy) of his deceased aunt, Julia, the widow of Marius, and of his deceased wife, Cornelia, the daughter of Cinna, about this time, in which he boldly ascribed to his aunt royal and divine ancestry.

¹⁰ As Velleius Paterculus, II, 31, 3, says exaggeratedly. An army as well as a fleet was needed to capture the pirates' strongholds.

nate the state depended entirely on his own decision. The appointment of twenty-four *legati* also meant the virtual abandonment of the earlier usage that *imperium* should be exercised directly by the individual himself in the field. Pompey might have directed the entire expedition from Rome, as he later governed the Spains *in absentia*.

The appointment was justified by its fruits, however, for within three months Pompey had, with masterly strategy, swept the pirates from the seas and driven them to their fastnesses in Cilicia, where they were soon forced to surrender. He treated them with remarkable clemency, granting them their lives and freedom, and even settled some as colonists to replenish the depleted population of the province. The task was completed, but Pompey's command would not expire for considerably over two years, and he naturally sought to use it as a steppingstone to even wider authority in the East.

VII. THE THIRD MITHRADATIC WAR (74-63 B.C.); LUCULLUS AND POMPEY

The difficulties of L. Lucullus, commander in a new war against Mithradates, about this time gave Pompey his opportunity. As soon as Sulla returned home to face the domestic conflict, Mithradates had begun preparations to recover his conquests, regardless of the humiliating treaty of 85 B.C., especially as he received no written confirmation of it from the senate. He incited his father-in-law, Tigranes of Armenia, to join his alliance and annex Greater Cappadocia, Syria, and part of Cilicia, settling 300,000 of the people at his capital of Tigranocerta. This ended the régime of the House of Seleucus and made Tigranes the most powerful ruler in the East. Besides Tigranes, Mithradates had the Cilician pirates and Sertorius as allies, and the friendly neutrality of Egypt and Cyprus.

The third Mithradatic War with Rome arose over Bithynia. The king, Nicomedes III, died in 75 B.C., leaving his kingdom to Rome, which the senate accepted and made into a Roman province.¹¹ Mithradates openly disputed Rome's right and championed the cause of the king's son. Rome, therefore, declared war, and the senate assigned the two provinces of Asia and Cilicia to the consul L. Lucullus, together with the supreme command against Mithradates. His colleague, M. Aurelius Cotta, received Bithynia and a fleet to guard the Hellespont.

Mithradates defeated Cotta and advanced into Asia, but by the close of the year 73, Lucullus had deprived him of all his conquests and a large part of his army. During the next two years Mithradates was driven from his kingdom of Pontus and forced to take refuge in Armenia, though Tigranes now made peace with Rome.

Lucullus passed the winter of 71-70 in Asia, where he proved his fairness and constructive statesmanship by his reorganization of the finances of the cities, which were still staggering under a hopeless burden of debt to the Roman bankers contracted through Sulla's impositions. At the risk of incurring the undying hatred of the powerful capitalist classes at Rome, he set the maximum rate of interest at twelve per cent and declared invalid all arrears of interest

¹¹ Cf. T. Rice Holmes, *Roman Republic*, Vol. I, p. 398, on the bequest as a possible forgery.

that exceeded the principal. He also provided a regular method of annual payment of the balance of the indemnity by a tax of twenty-five per cent on crops, house property, and slaves.

The following year, on the alliance of Tigranes with the king of Parthia, and his refusal to surrender Mithradates, Lucullus invaded Armenia and captured his capital, but his plan to conquer all Armenia and invade Parthia was blocked by a mutiny among his troops. His harsh discipline of his soldiers and refusal to permit plunder after a strenuous campaign had alienated them, and he was accused of dragging on the war for his own selfish advantages. Some of the legions also, which had been in the East since Sulla's day, naturally longed to return home. Lucullus was therefore forced to remain inactive, while Mithradates recovered most of his kingdom of Pontus, and Tigranes recouped his losses and again invaded Cappadocia. Meanwhile, in 67 B.C., Lucullus was deprived of his authority in Asia, Bithynia, and Cilicia, and was superseded in his command by Pompey the following year.

Lucullus was the real conquerer of Mithradates and deserves a high place in the history of the Roman Republic as a master tactician and a wise administrator. His successful invasion of Armenia and Syria and his dream of invading Parthia prove him to have been something of an imperialist and the forerunner of Pompey and Caesar, though he turned back extensive lands in Syria to Antiochus. He failed to hold the loyalty of his soldiers, and while he could win great victories, he did not press the war to a final issue. After his recall he lived in wealthy elegance at Rome, and the term "Lucullan banquets" became a synonym for indulgent luxury. The multitude of Oriental captives whom he sent to Rome as slaves brought with them the mystery religions and the vices peculiar to the East.

Pompey, flushed with his remarkable victory over the pirates, was ambitious to supersede Lucullus and end the deadlock of the Mithradatic War. He had the enthusiastic support of the urban masses and the knights, whom Lucullus had mortally offended by his reconstruction of Asia. Accordingly, early in the year 66, the tribune, C. Manilius proposed the Manilian law to transfer Lucullus' authority over Bithynia and Cilicia and his military command to Pompey. The bill was strongly supported by Cicero in his oration on the Manilian law, probably, as a "new man," to secure the goodwill of Pompey and the equestrian order. C. Julius Caesar, recently returned from his quaestorship in Spain, also spoke in its favor, and despite the senate's opposition, the bill became a law. Thus another long step was taken toward monarchy by concentration of such vast authority and military resources in the hands of one man.

As soon as Pompey had taken over the command in 66 B.C., he won the support of Parthia¹² against Tigranes. He then disastrously defeated Mithradates at Nicopolis, forcing him to take refuge in Armenia, where he met a cold reception. Pontus, his kingdom, was made a Roman province. Tigranes now submitted to Pompey, retaining his kingdom as an ally of Rome, and Mithradates fled to Panticapaeum on the north shore of the Black Sea. The following year

¹² The strong state, successor to Persia and the Seleucid monarchy in the Tigris-Euphrates Valley and beyond. For expansion under Pompey, cf. map (F) opposite p. 110.

Pompey thoroughly subdued the allies of Mithradates between the Black and the Caspian seas, after which he proceeded to take over Syria, which had fallen into disorder since Lucullus had taken it from Tigranes.

VIII. THE JEWS AND POMPEY'S CAPTURE OF JERUSALEM

In the interim between the decline of the Seleucid Empire and Pompey's conquest, Judaea had enjoyed a stormy independence under the Hasmonaeans, who ruled both as high priests and kings. Judas Maccabaeus, perhaps the greatest warrior the Jewish people ever produced, won victory after victory against great odds over the forces of Antiochus IV, but was defeated and slain in 160 B.C. by the forces of Demetrius I, the successor of Antiochus V. He was succeeded by his brother, Jonathan, who became high priest in 153 B.C. Henceforth the office was in the hands of the Maccabees until its extinction. By backing a rival Syrian prince, he became the real founder of the Maccabean state. His brother, Simon (143-135), the most talented and noble of the Maccabees, took Jerusalem, ended all Syrian overlordship, and was formally recognized by Syria as hereditary high priest and king (141 B.C.).

His son, John Hyrcanus (135-105), was for a time again reduced to a tributary of the Syrian Empire, but Judaea was saved by Rome from complete subjection, and Hyrcanus again regained practical independence in 128 B.C. By the aid of a standing army of mercenaries, he extended the bounds of his kingdom almost to their greatest extent under David, but he was a warrior rather than a true high priest and was opposed by the Puritan Pharisees. The spiritual fervor and zeal for the faith that had made the first Maccabees invincible were now lost. His two sons were utterly corrupt and a disgrace to the holy office. Judas (better known as Aristobulus) (105-104 B.C.) conquered and Judaized Galilee. In his brother, Alexander Jannaeus (104-78 B.C.), the high priesthood and Hasmonaean rule sank to their greatest depths of infamy. He left two sons, Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, but his widow, Alexandra Salome, a noble character, was the actual ruler from 78 to 69 B.C., while her son, Hyrcanus, was high priest. After her death the prolonged dynastic quarrel between the two sons, and the opposition of Aristobulus to Pompey, led to his intervention.

Pompey forced his way into Jerusalem and stormed the temple, taking it after a three months' siege. A frightful massacre ensued, and the walls of the city were razed to the ground. This was the first time a Roman had entered Jerusalem with an army. Thus ended nearly a century of Jewish independence under the Maccabees. Syria was made a Roman province (63 B.C.), to which Judaea was annexed. Hyrcanus was installed as high priest and governor, tributary to Rome. Judaea was deprived of the entire coast and ten towns in the Jordan Valley, and was later (57 B.C.) divided into five separate districts under Hyrcanus and Antipater. Aristobulus and three sons later graced the triumph of Pompey. Henceforth the fate of Judaea depended on the shifting political scene at Rome.¹³

¹³ For convenience of reference, the relation of Judaea to Rome during the remainder of the Republic may be briefly outlined here. Crassus visited Jerusalem in 54 B.C. and looted the temple of coin and treasures valued at 10,000 talents, and a Jewish revolt resulted in the sale of 30,000

IX. THE END OF MITHRADATES

Meanwhile, the danger of a new Mithradatic revolt was removed in 63 B.C. by the suicide of the king, when his son, Pharnaces, made peace with Pompey, retaining his kingdom of North Pontus. Mithradates was an indomitable spirit of remarkable energy and initiative. For years he had been Rome's most formidable enemy in the East. He transformed a half-barbarous Oriental monarchy into a Hellenistic kingdom and encouraged the development of trade and city life. Even as a fugitive at Panticapaeum he attempted to organize an invasion of Italy by the Danubian Celts, but deserted by his army and his son, his long, brave struggle with Rome was ended.

X. POMPEY'S IMPERIALISM

In the year 62, after ordering affairs in Asia Minor, Pompey started on his triumphant return home. He had ended the long conflict with Mithradates, arranged vast territorial settlements in Asia Minor, and established two new Roman provinces, Bithynia-Pontus and Syria (including Judaea), and all apparently without the direct authorization of either the senate or the Roman people. With considerable reason, he has been called the first great Roman imperialist, who stood frankly for a policy of territorial expansion, in the interest of the commercial classes at Rome. Yet he continued the old policy of leaving large territories under native princes as allies of Rome, and annexed lands as provinces only where the military and political situation seemed to demand it. For example, he left Pharnaces in the Crimea, Tigranes in Armenia, a Galatian prince in eastern Pontus, and several other native chieftains under Rome in eastern Asia Minor. As an imperialist, however, he was second only to Julius Caesar, and his conquests, though largely prepared for him by Lucullus, and less brilliant than Caesar's, were little less significant in their influence on future history. He increased the Roman revenue in annual tribute from 200,000,000 to 340,000,000 sesterces (\$10,000,000 to \$17,000,000). Besides, he paid a bonus of 384,000,000 sesterces to his soldiers and turned into the Roman treasury 480,000,000 more. On his return, he claimed to have conquered 1,538 cities or citadels and 12,178,000 people between the Sea of Azov and the Red Sea, though this was an evident exaggeration. He established special charters in the provinces and gave a strong impetus to the spread of Hellenic city civilization by establishing many towns in Asia Minor, Syria, and Pontus. Late in the year 62, he arrived home with the prestige of a triumphant monarch, laden with the spoils of conquest and backed by his victorious veterans.

into slavery. Julius Caesar abolished the five divisions of the country and made Hyrcanus also tetrarch of all Judaea, as well as high priest, and Antipater procurator. He also permitted the restoration of the walls. Antipater was now the real ruler, and at the death of Caesar, Antony made Antipater's son, Herod, an Idumaeon, half Jew and half pagan, king of Judaea in 40 B.C. He later won the favor of Augustus Caesar and held his throne until 4 B.C., as a friend of the Romans and a hater of the priestly aristocracy, but a strong ruler and champion of Jewish interests. The development of the religion of Judaism during the last 150 years of the old era is discussed in Chapter Eighteen (end).

XI. POLITICS IN ROME DURING POMPEY'S ABSENCE

(67-62 B.C.)

I. JULIUS CAESAR

During the absence of Pompey in the East, both the senate and ambitious politicians like Crassus and Caesar were plotting to be able to meet him on an equal basis on his triumphant return. Caesar was already thirty-three years of age when Pompey left Rome.¹⁴ Though a patrician of the Julian *gens* that traced its ancestry back to kings and gods, his connection by marriage with Marius and Cinna, as well as his ambition for political power, had caused him to cast his lot with the Populares. At fifteen he was nominated for a priesthood, and at nineteen he had divorced his first wife to marry Cornelia, the daughter of Cinna. On his refusal to divorce her at Sulla's order, the dictator confiscated her dowry and deprived him of his priesthood. He was arrested but was reluctantly released by Sulla on the plea of his youth by influential friends, though he saw in him "many Mariuses."¹⁵ He probably escaped eventual proscription, however, only by voluntary exile to Asia, where he undertook a mission to the king of Bithynia for the governor of Asia. On the death of Sulla, in 78 B.C., he returned to Italy and won praises for his eloquence in the prosecution of political opponents and for his pleasing manner and his lavish entertainments.

In the winter of 75 he again went East to Rhodes to perfect himself in oratory, but his ship was captured off Caria by pirates, who held him for fifty talents' ransom. During his forty days of captivity before his ransom, he is said to have warned the pirates that he would some day return and crucify them all, which threat he later actually accomplished.¹⁶ On his return to Rome, about 73 B.C., he devoted his political and oratorical talent to the restoration of the tribunate and the rights of the sons of the proscribed, borrowing and spending recklessly to purchase popular favor. During the year 68 he won the appreciation of the natives in Farther Spain, where he served as quaestor, and on his return through Cisalpine Gaul, he fomented agitation of the Transpadane Gauls for full citizenship. He supported both the Gabinian and Manilian laws for Pompey's commands in the East and posed as his friend, though he secretly worked in his absence to offset his power.

As aedile in 65 B.C., he made himself the idol of the populace by the sumptuousness and prodigality of his public games, elaborate decoration of the Forum at his own expense, bold restoration of the monuments of Marius, and prosecution of Sulla's agents. But his lavish generosity left him with an overwhelming debt, probably to Crassus, which bound him as an ally to the Roman Croesus, who therefore had a double interest in his political advance.

¹⁴ According to the usually accepted date for his birth, but cf. T. Rice Holmes, *The Roman Republic and the Founder of the Empire*, Oxford, 1923, pp. 421, 436-441, who argues for 102 B.C. This blue-blooded house, which had never before produced a single man of notable ability, now, as by some freak of heredity, produced the outstanding genius in Roman history.

¹⁵ Dio, XLIII, 43, 2-4; Suetonius, *Divus Julius*, I, 3.

¹⁶ Suetonius states, as an example of Caesar's clemency, that he first had their throats cut.

During these years domestic politics were largely shaped by the plottings of Caesar and Crassus behind the scenes, to place themselves in a position of power as the counterpoise to Pompey. They found a fitting material for their political machinations in the many discontented and desperate elements of ruined fortune then in Rome, the dispossessed and disfranchised Marians, Sullan veterans who had squandered their living, and bankrupt nobles, who had all to gain and nothing to lose by a new deal and would stop at nothing to regain wealth and power. A sinister sign of the growing disregard for public authority was the activity of armed gangs of partisans to cow their opponents and dominate the assembly. Into such a background a reckless character like Catiline with his desperate plottings fitted perfectly. His sordid biography is an excellent commentary on the social and political conditions in the later Roman Republic.

2. THE CONSPIRACY OF CATILINE

Lucius Sergius Catilina was a bankrupt scion of a decayed patrician family, which had been obscure politically for two hundred years. A magnetic personality who attracted the gilded youth of Rome, he had remarkable courage and enormous physical and mental energy, but was utterly lacking in discretion and notorious for his reckless prodigality, violence, dissolute habits, and shameless activities as an agent in the Sullan proscriptions.¹⁷ He was praetor in 68 and spent the following year as propractor in Africa, returning in 66 B.C. to stand for the consulship for the year 65. Though not yet formally indicted, the active complaints against him for extortion caused him to be excluded from candidacy. Joining with the two consuls-elect who were also excluded for bribery, he plotted to murder the two substitutes and certain personal enemies in the senate by a coup on the first day of the year 65, but the plotters' reckless lack of precautions blocked their plans.

Strangely, the senate not only did not pursue the ugly rumors further, but even made Cn. Calpurnius Piso, a vicious incompetent, governor of Hither Spain. The reason was probably the influence of Crassus, who hoped through Piso to control the province, and who as censor-elect and a large creditor of many senators, held the whip hand over them.¹⁸ But Piso made himself so hated by the natives as to be assassinated late in 65 B.C.

Another scheme of Caesar and Crassus to counterbalance Pompey's power was to gain control of wealthy Egypt, on the probably false pretext that the father of the present weak ruler, Ptolemy Auletes, had bequeathed the kingdom to the Roman people. Through a tribune a bill for its annexation was presented to the assembly and won considerable support from the populace and knights, but was rejected through the determined opposition of the senate.

Catiline had not been eligible for the consular elections of 65 B.C., but his

¹⁷ Whether Catiline was guilty of all the infamies in his private life from murder to incest, of which Cicero publicly accuses him to his face, apparently without his denial, we shall never know. Most of the ancient sources are hostile, but Sallust, a contemporary anti-senatorial, paints almost as black a picture. (*The War Against Catiline*, V, XIV-XV.) Contemporary attempts to white-wash him have met with little success.

¹⁸ The claim of Suetonius, *Divus Julius*, 9, that Crassus was party to the first plot of Catiline seems improbable, though he may have known of it.

acquittal cleared the way for his candidacy in the following year.¹⁹ The candidates in this election for consul for 63 were Catiline, Gaius Antonius, and Cicero. The first two, backed by Crassus and Caesar, who hoped to use them as tools to check Pompey's power, joined forces against Cicero. Catiline, probably subsidized by Crassus, offered bribes on a wholesale scale. Cicero was recognized as a brilliant orator and a man of integrity and sanity. He had the favor of the knights and many nobles who had profited by his defense in the courts. But the Optimates naturally opposed his election, as a "new man." Catiline, however, stirred suspicions of a new plot by his reckless talk. The Optimates, therefore, turned to Cicero as the lesser of two evils, and he and Antonius were elected. Thus Cicero, the "new man," had broken into the exclusive senatorial circle.

3. THE RISE OF CICERO

Through his extensive correspondence,²⁰ Marcus Tullius Cicero is one of the most intimately known characters in ancient history, both in his external career and in his inner life. He was born in 106 B.C., near Arpinum. His mother was of noble lineage, but his father was only a country squire. Cicero received the best education in the Roman schools where he was known as a youthful prodigy. At seventeen he served under Pompey's father and also under Sulla in the Social War. He studied philosophy, rhetoric, and law and began legal practice at the age of twenty-five. His courageous and successful defense of Roscius the next year (80 B.C.), the son of one of Sulla's proscribed, won him fame, and after further study in Athens, Asia, and Rhodes, under Greek masters, he was recognized as one of the outstanding lawyers in Rome. Appointed as quaestor in western Sicily for 75 B.C., he gained the high regard of the provincials for his fairness. As aedile-elect for the year 69, he won recognition as the leading member of the Roman bar by his successful prosecution of Verres. Four years later as praetor, he delivered his famous speech on the Manilian law for Pompey. Though direct charges for legal services were not technically proper in Rome, he had added to his small inherited estate and the \$20,000 dowry of his wife, Terentia, by many gifts and legacies from his grateful clients. He thus lived in easy circumstances, having several villas, including one near Tusculum, to which he especially loved to resort for "complete rest from all worries and tasks" of his active life in forum and court.

4. THE CONSULSHIP OF CICERO (63 B.C.)

After his election to the consulship, Cicero definitely took the side of the senate and knights for orderly government, taking as his watchword the "Har-

¹⁹ It is an interesting sidelight on Cicero's political opportunism that he wrote to his friend Atticus (I, 2) in July, 65 B.C.: "I am thinking about defending my fellow candidate, Catiline. . . . I hope if Catiline is acquitted, it will make us better friends in our canvassing." (*Loeb Classical Library* translation (E. O. Winstedt), by permission of Harvard University Press.) That Cicero could play the political game with the best is clear from the letter of his brother, Quintus: "The Candidate's Handbook" (*Ad Quintum Fratrem*, I, 1, 43), which Cicero says he found very useful. Cf. Chapter Seven, Sec. I, 1 (Elections). On its genuineness, cf. T. Rice Holmes, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 238 f., 450 f.

²⁰ For a detailed consideration of his *Letters*, cf. Chapter Thirteen. For his portrait, cf. Pl. VII.

mony of the Orders." On the first day of his office he was faced with a new scheme of Caesar and Crassus for securing vast power, the land bill of the tribune, P. Servilius Rullus, who acted as their tool. The bill was ostensibly a revival and extension of the agrarian reform of the Gracchi so as to provide land for later veterans and rid the city of its surplus unemployed. It proposed to acquire land by resuming all public domain in Italy, by purchase of private estates, and by taking over the leases on confiscated municipal lands in the provinces and the estates of deposed princes. The scheme was to be financed by sale of certain tracts in all countries outside of Italy that had become the domain of the Roman people since Sulla's first consulship, a clause purposely vague enough to include Egypt. Other proposed sources of revenue were the new income from Pompey's conquests, an extraordinary tax on all the provinces, and the war booty which all generals for the next five years were to hand over to the commission. A commission of ten of praetorian rank was to be elected for a term of five years by an assembly of seventeen tribes chosen by lot. Pompey was definitely excluded by the provision that the candidates must appear in person, and the evident intention was to have the commission dominated by Caesar and Crassus. It was to have final judicial authority over all question of titles and compensation, with full right to sell public lands in Italy and in Pompey's recent conquests, to confiscate lands, found colonies, and enroll and maintain troops. On the surface the bill looked plausible. It recognized existing titles and offered fair compensation. It would relieve the urban poor and those whom Sulla had evicted, stop the wholesale speculations of generals, and end the evil of uncertain titles of the lands received through Sulla's evictions. But it was loosely worded, and its plain purpose was to enable Caesar and Crassus to build a vast authority to counterbalance Pompey's.

Cicero at once scathingly attacked the bill in the senate, openly accusing its authors of scheming to secure control of Egypt for political purposes. Though some of his arguments were sophistical, and he exaggerated the powers of the commission, yet his basic contentions were sound that Rullus was only a tool of Caesar and Crassus, who had no genuine reform purpose, and that the bill would place too vast a power in the hands of a few unscrupulous men. In his harangue to the urban masses, he indulged in unfair exaggerations and sophistries, posing as a "people's consul," and even urged them to continue living on public bounty instead of degrading themselves by labor on the land.²¹ As a result, the bill was either withdrawn or rejected by the assembly.

Caesar, however, had some consolation in his overwhelming election to the life office of Pontifex Maximus, an unprecedented event for a man of only thirty-seven. The office gave him also important political powers.²² Unlike Crassus, Caesar was not absolutely opposed to Pompey. He had strongly supported both the Gabinian and Manilian laws for his Eastern commands and would have preferred conciliation with him. He also despised Crassus, though their mutual interests, as well as his enormous financial obligation to

²¹ On these speeches of Cicero, cf. Hardy, *Journal of Philology*, 1913, Vol. XXXII, pp. 223-260. T. Rice Holmes, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 299, n. 2, advises the study of the three speeches, "especially the second, by all who aspire to become proficient in the art of misrepresentation."

²² To make his election possible, Caesar secured the reinstatement of the *Lex Domitia*, revoked by Sulla, which placed the election in the hands of seventeen tribes chosen by lot.

Crassus, drew them together. He had his own independent interests, however, chief of which at this stage was the restoration of the Marians to power. But in this scheme as in many others, he was temporarily checked by Cicero.

5. THE SECOND CONSPIRACY OF CATILINE (63 B.C.)

In July of the year 63 the consular elections were on for the ensuing year, and Catiline again determined to enter the lists, but this time apparently without the support of Crassus and Caesar. He therefore made his appeal to all desperate men of every class by running frankly on a platform of *novae tabulae*, a "clean slate," or a general cancellation of debts.²³ Such a proposal was by no means without precedent in Greek and Roman history. Only twenty-three years previous by the Servilian law all debts had been reduced by seventy-five per cent. But Catiline's appeal was clearly not to the urban masses, since they could not indulge the luxury of debts, nor even to the debt-ridden Italian peasantry, who could not come to Rome in large numbers to vote, but primarily to the many men of the upper class, who like Caesar had incurred overwhelming debts to finance their political game. Their vote would also be multiplied by their numerous clients. Cicero, as the representative of the creditor class, therefore, strongly opposed the bill as no genuine social reform, but a demagogic fraud. The "forgotten men" whose cause Catiline was championing were the aristocratic "have-nots." He was in no sense a successor of the Gracchi and their later imitators. Yet he was a real menace, for he had a large, devoted following, including not only the sons of the proscribed, bankrupt veterans of Sulla, and all the desperate elements of the Roman underworld, but many of the gilded youth of Rome and "society" leaders of large influence such as Sempronia, the wife of Decimus Junius Brutus, of the illustrious family of the Gracchi and the Scipios, famed for her beauty, culture, wit, accomplishments, and the charm of her salons. Of her Sallust crabbedly says that she could "dance more skillfully than an honest woman need," and had "many other accomplishments which minister to voluptuousness."²⁴ In the absence of her husband the plotters later met at her home.

Catiline had no strong competitors and enjoyed the secret support of Cicero's colleague, Antonius. But the arrival in Rome of veterans from Etruria to vote and his reckless boastings gave the consul the pretext for persuading the senate to postpone the date of the election. On later losing the election, Catiline conspired against the government, joined by many men and women of influence, including at least twelve senators and several knights. Its immediate aim was to assassinate the consuls and some other prominent nobles, set fires in the city, institute a reign of terror, and amid the confusion to start a march of veterans on Rome to seize control of the state.

Cicero was informed of the plot by Fulvia, the mistress of one of Catiline's

²³ This is the view of M. Cary in *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. IX, but it is not shared by all historians. Cf., e.g., E. G. Hardy, *The Catilinarian Conspiracy in Its Context*, Oxford, 1924, pp. 39-40, who rejects the *novae tabulae* as a part of Catiline's platform.

²⁴ XXV, 2, *Loeb Classical Library* translation (J. C. Rolfe), by permission of the Harvard University Press.

henchmen, and also by Crassus, who handed over letters that had been left at his door, urging certain senators to escape from Rome before the impending massacre.²⁵ The next morning Cicero presented his information to the senate with the proposed date for the plot, and when the senate learned that the veterans of Manlius in Etruria were already mobilized, it passed the ultimate decree and ordered the consul to take all necessary means for defending the state. Thus Catiline was foiled, and the fated day of October 28th passed without disturbance. Yet the plotter still retained his freedom, since Cicero, as a "new man," dared not risk his arrest on insufficient evidence.

The plot was only postponed, however. On the night of November 6-7th, Catiline and his henchmen met and conspired to carry out their plot, with the additional plan of arousing the slaves to loot the city and inciting the gladiators of Capua, the Italian farmers, and the armed herdsmen in southern Italy to revolt and march on Rome. The scheme was utterly foolhardy, since there was now little hope of arousing the Italians to revolt. In any event, Cicero was informed that very night through Fulvia and was thus able to foil the plans for his assassination. Yet he still hesitated to arrest Catiline on his own responsibility. Accordingly, on November 8th, he convened the senate, surrounding the building with armed guards, and delivered his famous *First Oration Against Catiline*. To his good fortune, the culprit had the hardihood to attend, so as to divert suspicion. Cicero attacked with the fiercest invective Catiline's whole criminal career, but closed with a seeming anticlimax, urging him to rid the city of his presence by voluntary exile.²⁶

The next day, leaving word that he was going into voluntary exile to Massilia as the victim of false charges, Catiline quit Rome, but joined Manlius at the head of his rebel troops in Etruria. On learning this, Cicero delivered another invective against him in the Forum to inform the people,²⁷ and the senate declared him and Manlius public enemies and took measures to quell any uprisings. The rebel troops in Etruria now numbered 10,000, but their delay in marching on Rome because of lack of arms caused the accomplices in the city to decide to strike during the Saturnalia on December 17th, when the slaves had special freedom. But again they were outwitted by Cicero and their own folly. A group of envoys from the Allobroges in Gaul whose support had been enlisted sold the information to Cicero, and on his instructions, securing from the plotters a sealed sworn agreement, let themselves be arrested with the documents as they were leaving Rome.²⁸ The consul at once arrested five of the conspirators who were still in Rome, summoned the senate, and faced the culprits with the damning evidence of their own seals. They were at once unanimously adjudged guilty and placed under guard, responsible to Crassus, Caesar, and others. Cicero had "shorthand" copies (abbreviated writ-

²⁵ The letters were probably genuine and not forged by either Cicero or Crassus as some have suggested. Certainly the Croesus of Rome had no interest in having his property destroyed.

²⁶ Sallust claims Catiline replied to Cicero, but Cicero denies it, probably with truth.

²⁷ The purity of motive of the self-righteous Cicero is tarnished by his political opportunism. In this same month he secured the acquittal of the consul-elect on a charge of bribery by facetious wit instead of argument, though the accused was clearly guilty under Cicero's own law against corrupt practices.

²⁸ Cf. *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. IX, p. 500.

ing) of all the testimony made and circulated throughout Italy, and again addressed the populace, who loudly cheered him for saving them from "burning."²⁹ Catiline attempted to escape to Gaul, but was headed off and forced to do battle. His army was annihilated, and he fell fighting with his usual indomitable courage.

Cicero now presented to the senate the question of punishment of the five prisoners, three of whom were senators, and urged their execution. The regular procedure would have been to prosecute each individually, but he felt the situation called for more summary action under the senate's ultimate decree, to discourage future plotting. He had won a majority of the senate to his plan, when Caesar, now praetor-elect for the year 62, boldly opposed the action, though aware that he himself was under suspicion. With shrewd diplomacy, he urged the consideration of the problem without passion, and while in no way shielding the prisoners, argued that summary execution would be both illegal and a dangerous precedent, proposing rather confiscation of goods and perhaps temporary imprisonment in several strong Italian towns.

His plausible eloquence was evidently winning the senate when Marcus Porcius Cato's incisive arguments and irony against Caesar as himself a suspect turned the tide, and a large majority voted for execution.³⁰ When Caesar was hastily leaving the temple, only Cicero's intervention saved him from the attack of the armed guards. Cicero had the five victims strangled at once, and amid applause gave out the usual laconic announcement to the people: "They have lived." The act was later to return to plague him. In the endless controversy over his action, Cicero has been adjudged everything from a "most brutal tyrant" to a beneficent father of his country. The execution was probably legal, however, since the ultimate decree of the senate took precedence of the Sempronian law forbidding the execution of any citizen except by a vote of the people, and, in any event, the prisoners had been adjudged public enemies who had lost the rights of citizens.³¹ As to the practical question, the proposal of Caesar was hardly feasible, and the immediate effect of the execution was good, for it dispersed much of the rebel force.³² The popular attack on Cicero, however, began at once. Though eulogized by Cato and other senators as "father of his country and deserving of a civic wreath," he was accused of illegal conduct by Q. Metellus, the tribune, who refused him permission to make a retiring speech on the last day of his consulship, and would have had him impeached had not the senate intervened. Early the following year, Metellus proposed a bill to the assembly to invite Pompey to save the constitution from Cicero's "autocracy."³³ The bill was supported by Caesar who wished to curry friendship with Pompey. Cato as tribune vetoed the

²⁹ The attempt of a spy the next day to incriminate Crassus was howled down by his senatorial debtors as a lie.

³⁰ The speeches of both Caesar and Cato (Sallust, LI, LII) would repay study as remarkable examples of persuasive argument, and also as excellent reflections of the character and personality of the speakers.

³¹ But cf. *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. IX, pp. 87-88.

³² On the problem, cf. T. Rice Holmes, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, 278 ff., and Hardy, *Journal of Roman Studies*, 1913, Vol. III, p. 55.

³³ I follow Plutarch, *Cicero*, XXIII, here rather than Dio, XXXVII, 43, 1, who says that the bill provided for the recall of Pompey to restore public order. Cicero had laid down his consulship, but he still had great influence.

bill and delivered an attack on Caesar and Pompey. Metellus threatened to disregard the veto, which act called forth another ultimate decree from the senate, and Caesar persuaded Metellus to withdraw his bill. Thus the senate by firmness had won temporarily for constitutional government.

Though Caesar had at first supported Catiline for the consulship, it is altogether unlikely that he, as Pontifex Maximus and praetor-elect, had been implicated in his plots. He was strongly suspected, however. Plutarch asserts that he later attempted to clear himself in the senate, but was hissed down, while the devoted mob outside demanded that he be permitted to leave undisturbed.³⁴ His enemies are also said to have tried to persuade Cicero to secure information against him from the Allobroges, but Cicero's refusal is a fair indication that there was no evidence, though in later years the orator did not hesitate to accuse him of complicity.

Cicero, because of his weak position and his inordinate vanity, doubtless exaggerated the menace of Catiline and endlessly plumed himself in his later writings and speeches on being the savior of the state from complete destruction.³⁵ In itself the plot had no great significance. But as revealing the weakness of government and the machination of ambitious leaders in a decade of extremely sordid politics in Rome, it is worthy of detailed study. Cicero showed great shrewdness in handling the crisis and some political foresight in pinning his hopes on Pompey's shift to a conservative policy. He also did well to organize a "Harmony of the Orders" against political revolution and lawlessness. But, like all his contemporaries except Julius Caesar, he failed to see the necessity for a drastic reform of both orders as well as the assembly and the army, as a prerequisite for restoring stability to the Republic.

6. THE RETURN OF POMPEY AND THE FIRST TRIUMVIRATE (60 B.C.)

Pompey returned to Rome in triumph at the close of the year 62 and, to the great relief and surprise of all, disbanded his army. Whether he thought his prestige was sufficient to secure his control or whether he had not the stomach for dictatorship will never be known.³⁶ By showing an appreciation of his services and attitude, the senate might have secured his invaluable support for the cause of constitutional government. It did reluctantly grant him a triumph which he celebrated with extraordinary magnificence in September of the following year. But no longer fearing his military power, it tactlessly refused his request for ratification of his acts, as a whole, and made no arrangements for land for his veterans. As a result, he sought satisfaction elsewhere. Unfortunately, the senate had also alienated the equestrians by refusing the

³⁴ *Caesar*, 8, 3-4. Cf. Pl. VII.

³⁵ He even wrote a very lengthy letter of self-glorification to Pompey before his return, and was much disappointed at Pompey's rather formal answer.

³⁶ Coincident with Pompey's return all Rome was stirred by the ugly rumor of Caesar's liaison with Pompey's wife, and especially with the trial of the notorious Clodius, the lover of Caesar's wife, Pompeia. He was discovered dressed as a woman in Caesar's house at the festival of the Good Goddess, in which it was a sacrilege for men to have part. To the disgrace of Roman justice, he was finally acquitted through wholesale use of Crassus's money, and, perhaps, intimidation, despite the efforts of Cicero and Cato. Caesar, however, divorced his wife, giving as his excuse the famous sentence, "Caesar's wife must be above suspicion." The jury was given a guard by the senate. (Cicero, *Ad Atticum*, I, 16; Dio, XXXVII, 45-46.)

request of the *publicani* for a modification of the terms of their contracts in Asia, in view of the "bad harvests,"³⁷ and by its attitude on the juries.

Such an impasse was just what the shrewd Caesar desired. He had recently returned from his governorship in Farther Spain, where he had carried on successful border wars and won the confidence of the provincials, while pocketing enough profits to stave off his creditors.³⁸ He now sought a triumph and the right to stand for the consulship while awaiting his triumph outside the city. On the senate's failure to grant his request, he gave up his triumph and became a regular candidate for the consulship. He, then, persuaded Pompey and Crassus to sink their differences,³⁹ and the three formed the so-called First Triumvirate, an unofficial coalition to secure the political aims of each, which was cemented by the marriage of Caesar's daughter, Julia, to Pompey. With the strong support of the coalition, Caesar easily won the consulship for the year 59, though the Optimates elected their candidate, Calpurnius Bibulus, as his colleague. Cicero had obsequiously courted Pompey, but the only course for him was passive acceptance of the inevitable.

³⁷ Cicero supported the request, but in his letters to Atticus (*Ad Atticum*, I, 17), he gave his real opinion of it.

³⁸ Crassus is said to have granted him a credit of 830 talents previously in order to meet his most pressing debts and enable him to go to Spain.

³⁹ Pompey had failed to secure a law to provide lands for his veterans, despite Cicero's attempts to secure a compromise on it between him and the senate. Pompey was thus reconciled to Crassus as a last resort.

Chapter Eleven

JULIUS CAESAR:¹ THE END OF THE ROMAN REPUBLIC AND THE FOUNDING OF THE EMPIRE (59-44 B.C.)

I. CAESAR'S FIRST CONSULSHIP

(59 B.C.)

As consul, Caesar at once undertook to fulfill his pledges. He first presented to the senate an agrarian bill to provide lands in Italy for Pompey's veterans, as also for the "deserving" poor in Rome. He promised not to disregard vested interests or to burden the treasury unduly, since the land would be purchased at a fair price, and the expense would be met by the new revenues from Pompey's conquests. The law was to be administered by a land commission of twenty, to which he and other regular state officials were ineligible.² The bill seemed moderate enough, and perhaps needed, since the state made no provision for pensioning its discharged soldiers, but the senate, led by Cato, Lucullus, and Caesar's colleague, Bibulus, opposed it as an unnecessary and demagogic measure, and prevented it from coming to a vote.

Rebuffed by the senate, he presented the bill to the assembly, ignoring the insistent declaration of unfavorable omens. To the surprise and disappointment of all conservatives including Cicero, Pompey, now for the first time, revealed himself as in league with Caesar by threatening to meet force with force to secure the passage of the measure. Many of his veterans had drifted to the city, and hoodlum gangs could easily be raised to intimidate the opposition. Thus Cato was silenced, two opposing tribunes were wounded, and with utter contempt for the dignity of the consulship, the ruffians befouled Bibulus with filth and even broke his *fascēs*. During the remainder of his consulship he withdrew to his home, posting daily protests and edicts announcing unfavorable omens so as later to give the senate a legal basis for declaring

¹ The two invaluable authorities are the two chief actors in the political scene: Cicero, *Letters (Ad Atticum and Ad Familiares)*, and Caesar, *Gallie Wars* and *Civil Wars*. Other extant contemporary sources are Bk. VIII of *Gallie Wars* and *Alexandrine War* by Aulus Hirtius, the *African War*, the *Spanish War*, some references in Catullus' lyrics, and fragments from Varro. The relevant books of Livy have survived only in epitome, but the original doubtless much influenced later Republican writers, such as Lucan (39-65 A.D.), *Pharsalia*, and Plutarch. Other sources are the Greek Appian (95-175 A.D.), *Civil Wars*; Dio Cassius (155-240 A.D.), *Roman History*, a Greek, but a senator and official of Rome, valuable for his impersonal tone; and the brief *History* by Velleius Paterculus (written 20-30 A.D.).

² Cicero was offered a place on the commission, but refused. Though he took an attitude of resigned neutrality, his *Letters* are full of bitter criticisms on the régime, and he repeatedly declares that he is "dying for a fight."

all of Caesar's acts null and void. Meanwhile, Roman wits dated their legal documents, "In the consulship of Julius and of Caesar."³

By such violence, the agrarian bill was passed, and all the senators and citizens were forced to take oath to abide by the new law. The opposition was now silenced, and Caesar had no difficulty in forcing through a more drastic measure to redistribute the Campanian lands, which were already occupied, among needy citizens who had three or more children. The lots were to be inalienable for twenty years.⁴ Many of Pompey's veterans were also included in the number, as is evident from their later residence in Campania. Capua was now reinstated and became a Roman colony.

Most of Caesar's other legislation during his consulship was presented through his henchman, the tribune P. Vatinius. Crassus and the equestrians were satisfied by the remission of one-third of the contract price for collection of the Asian revenues, on the plea of bad harvests. The acts of Pompey in the East were also ratified by the assembly. Caesar outraged decent public opinion by having the notorious patrician debauchee, Clodius, adopted by a plebeian, so as to qualify as a candidate for the tribunate and serve as his tool. For a practical bribe of about 6,000 talents, he also succeeded in having the senate recognize the weak Ptolemy Auletes as king of Egypt and friend and ally of the Roman people.

Aside from such sordid or partisan measures, however, Caesar showed some penchant for good statesmanship during his consulship. A wise provision was enacted for posting in the Forum a brief account of the proceedings of each meeting of the senate and popular assembly, as a sort of "Daily Gazette," so as to stop the falsifying of the record in the future. The three classes on the juries were henceforth required to vote separately to stimulate a greater sense of responsibility for their class. But the most constructive measure was his drastic Julian law against extortion in the provinces, which even Cicero declared to be "most excellent." The governor was also enjoined not to leave his province during his term, with or without an army, or to interfere in provincial matters not germane to his administration. In this measure Caesar gave some hint of his future farsighted policy of provincial government for the welfare of the provinces rather than for the exclusive benefit of the parasites of all classes in Rome.

The consular elections for the year 58 were dominated by the coalition and returned A. Gabinius, a strong friend of Pompey, and C. Piso, the father-in-law of Caesar, both of whom were to serve him well. In the hope of shelving him, the senate had assigned no province to Caesar for his proconsulship in 58, but the "care of the forests and country roads of Italy." But he was not to be so easily shunted. Since he had first awakened to his potential military talent in Spain, he had dreamed of conquests to balance Pompey's, perhaps in Gaul, where he might carry the victories of Marius to their logical conclusion. Rumor of new stirrings among the Gallic tribes, dangerous to the province, had probably whetted his ambition for military glory, and he had been im-

³ Contemporary European dictators have given rise to similar quips regarding one-man cabinets.

⁴ On the question of a second agrarian bill, cf. T. Rice Holmes, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 476-479. On the numbers (20,000?), cf. Cicero, *Ad Atticum*, II, 16; Appian, II, 10; Suetonius, XX, 3.

pressed by the visit of Ariovistus, the great chief of the Germans across the Rhine, requesting Rome to recognize him as king and friend of the Roman people. Caesar, therefore, secured the provinces of Illyricum and Cisalpine Gaul with three legions for a period of five years, and the right to appoint his own lieutenants. When Transalpine Gaul was suddenly left vacant by the death of the appointee, it was added by the senate, at his suggestion, with another legion. For the remainder of his consulship, Caesar held both offices, with authority to raise troops in Italy, and was, therefore, no longer dependent on Pompey's veterans to enable him to dictate to the state. His political future for five years was now guaranteed.

With the passage of the year, there was an increasing undercurrent of opposition to the thinly veiled dictatorship of the triumvirs, and a growing resentment toward Pompey. The scholar, Varro, openly dubbed the coalition a "three-headed monster." Crowds read with gusto the daily scurrilous edicts of Bibulus. Cicero refused all Caesar's olive branches⁵ and continued his indignant protests in his letters. The senate was sullen and non-co-operative, and, according to Cicero, public displeasure at Pompey and Caesar was openly shown at the theatre and games. The coalition itself showed some sign of disintegrating. Pompey was plainly tired of his bargain and ashamed of his associates, and he was urged privately by Cicero to cut loose from them, while ugly threats were rife as to his assassination. But Caesar seems to have still held the loyalty of the poorer masses, and had now his own legions at his call. Furthermore, Pompey's devotion to his wife, Julia, and the individual ambitions and unconstitutional record of the triumvirs still bound them together.

II. THE EXILE OF CICERO

(58 B.C.)

At the close of his consulship, Caesar and his two colleagues continued their control of the state in defiance of the constitution. As Cato had said, the coalition was the beginning of the end of the Republic. Caesar dared not leave Rome for Gaul until he had removed from the city his two most dangerous enemies, Cato and Cicero. Remaining just outside the city with his army, he put forward his creature, Clodius, to push through the necessary measures to insure his continued control during his absence in Gaul. Laws were enacted providing free grain distribution to all citizens who requested it, forbidding magistrates to stop the proceedings of the assemblies by means of portents, abolishing the law against political clubs, and forbidding the censors to omit any name from the list of senators or to banish any citizen without trial. By the first measure he won the urban masses, by the third he legalized his ruffian gangs to terrorize the opposition, and by the fourth he secured protection for himself and his satellites from legal attack. The consuls were bribed by promising each his preferred province in defiance of the Sempronian law of C. Gracchus requiring the consular provinces to be named before election.

With this preparation Clodius was ready for his attack on Cicero, whom

⁵ Such as offers of a place on the agrarian commission and on his staff in Gaul.

he hated for his testimony against him in his notorious trial for sacrilege.⁶ He secured the enactment of a bill outlawing any person who had put to death a Roman citizen without regular trial. Though Cicero's name was not mentioned in the law, all Rome knew that it was aimed directly at him for his execution of the Catilinarian conspirators. Clodius announced that the three triumvirs approved the bill and would force its passage, which assertion they did not deny. Knights and senators put on mourning in protest, and leading senators like Hortensius pleaded in vain with the corrupt consuls to intervene. Clodius' gangs of ruffians terrorized Cicero and his friends, and the threat of Caesar's army was just outside the gates.⁷ Caesar hedged when questioned, and Pompey, who had repeatedly given Cicero the assurance of his friendly support, now weakly retired to his villa to avoid his tearful appeals and shifted the responsibility to the consuls!

Finding that his friends had failed him, Cicero went into voluntary exile on March 20th without awaiting trial. He intended to spend his exile in southern Italy, but Clodius at once secured the enactment of a bill for his banishment from the bounds of the entire Empire. His home was destroyed and his property confiscated, but, to the credit of the Romans, no one could be found to bid it in. Soon after, through the pleas of his friends, the bill was amended to exclude him only from any place within five hundred miles of Rome, and he found refuge with the governor of Macedonia at Thessalonica.⁸

Clodius disposed of Cato by nominating him for a special mission to Cyprus, which had recently been taken over as a Roman province from a brother of Ptolemy Auletes, who had failed to pay his debt to the triumvirs. Cato's Stoic conscience prevented him from rejecting even this call of service to the state. If his enemies hoped to secure a basis for later attacking him, they were disappointed, for he returned after two years with a perfect record.

III. ROME IN THE ABSENCE OF CAESAR

(58-55 B.C.)

Four days after Cicero's exile Caesar, whose trusted lieutenant, T. Labienus, had probably gone before him, hastened to Transalpine Gaul to prevent the migrating Helvetians and their allies from invading the province. Meanwhile his henchman, Clodius, continued his highhanded methods at Rome. Angry with Pompey for supporting T. Annius Milo in his campaign for Cicero's recall, he terrorized Rome with his disreputable gangs and threatened Pompey. But he succeeded only in turning the tide against himself and in favor of Pompey, who was now able to meet force with force, probably by supplying Milo with money to oppose Clodius. By August, 57 B.C., the centuriate assembly withdrew the sentence of exile against Cicero and restored his property. His return journey was, according to him, like a triumphal procession, which reached its climax on his arrival in Rome, the following month.

⁶ Cf. above, Sec. XI, 6, n. 36.

⁷ On "The Gangster in Roman Politics," cf. *Classical Journal*, XXVIII, pp. 168-178.

⁸ Cf. his letters to his family bewailing his fate. (*Ad Familiares*, XIV, 1-4.)

He fondly thought that he was returning to his old position of leadership, but his mind was soon disabused.

Pompey was now temporarily again in the good graces of the Optimates, and through Cicero's good offices, he used the occasion of a grain famine in the city to gain the appointment as curator of the grain supply, giving him proconsular *imperium* both in and outside Italy for a period of five years, with authority to charter transports, control the ports, markets, and the entire grain trade throughout the Roman world, the equivalent of another extraordinary military command but without an army. With his usual thorough-going efficiency, he soon brought relief. The prestige of Pompey, however, availed nothing to stop the anarchy in Rome, terrorized by the lawless gangs of Clodius and Milo. Meanwhile, by the year 56, there were growing signs of disruption in the coalition. Crassus upheld Clodius against Pompey, and Pompey accused Crassus before the senate of plotting against his life. Cicero also, while playing a cautious game, sought to wean Pompey from Caesar. The disaffection of Pompey and Crassus emboldened others to begin a general attack on the triumvirate. L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, in the canvass for the consulship, openly promised, if elected, to deprive Caesar of his provinces. Reports of his victories and his politic distribution of the booty in Rome also were disturbing his colleagues and firing them with ambition to secure military commands to counterbalance his growing power.

IV. THE TRIUMVIRATE RENEWED

(56 B.C.)

It was time for Caesar to act. While wintering in Cisalpine Gaul, he summoned Pompey and Crassus to a conference at Luca in April, 56.⁹ The little town swarmed with proconsuls, praetors, and lesser seekers for some political advantage from the great man, but Cicero was conspicuously absent. There Caesar persuaded the triumvirs to sink their differences and renew the coalition for another five years, to secure their mutual ambitions. It was agreed that Pompey and Crassus should be consuls for the ensuing year, that thereafter Pompey should have the two Spains and Africa, and Crassus, Syria, each for five years; and that Caesar's extraordinary command in Gaul should be extended for another five-year term counting from March 1, 54 B.C.¹⁰

On his return Pompey politely suggested to Cicero that he postpone a motion, which he was intending to present, against the Campanian land law, and requested (practically ordered) him to reserve his valuable services only for the coalition. As a result, he took little part in public affairs during these years. In January of the year 55 Pompey and Crassus prevented the entrance of other candidates and secured their own election to the consulship with the aid of Caesar's veterans, who were home for a furlough. Cato, who had now returned from his mission and was their most dangerous adversary, they

⁹ The meeting was first called at Ravenna, but was changed because of Pompey's delayed acceptance.

¹⁰ The dates for the beginning and end of Caesar's second quinquennium are a subject of controversy. Those given above are not accepted by some historians.

managed to exclude from the praetorship. A tribune was then secured to put through a law ratifying the assignment of provinces of Crassus and Pompey as agreed at Luca, while they, as consuls, proposed a law giving Caesar both Gauls for five years. The triumvirs were again temporarily united and solid in the saddle, but the deeper reasons for the mutual disaffection had not been removed.

V. CAESAR'S CONQUEST OF GAUL

(58-51 B.C.)¹¹

I. GAUL AND THE GAULS

While this disgusting "witches' caldron" of lawless violence and political plotting was boiling in Rome, Caesar was making history in Gaul. When he undertook his command in 58 B.C., Transalpine Gaul had been a province for over sixty years and was quite thoroughly Romanized. The military stronghold of Narbo with its fine harbor now rivaled Massilia as a trade center.

The wide territory beyond, stretching northward to the Rhine and from the Rhone to the Atlantic, was then called by the Romans *Gallia Comata* ("long-haired Gaul"). It was much larger than modern France, including also Belgium, southern Holland, the Rhenish provinces, and much of Switzerland. The inhabitants were a confused medley of diverse tribes, but they fell naturally, as Caesar observed, into three main divisions, Aquitani, Celts, and Belgian Gauls. The Aquitani, between the Pyrenees and the Garonne River, had a large admixture of Iberian with Celtic blood. The Celts (in the narrower sense) inhabited the entire center between the Garonne and the Seine and Marne rivers. The Belgians, the last arrivals and the least touched by the civilizing influence of Rome, held the territory between these two rivers and the Rhine. They were more mixed with Germanic elements and were ever at war with their German neighbors.¹²

According to the Roman descriptions of the Gauls or Celtic peoples, they closely resembled the Germans in physical appearance, being tall and fair, with reddish hair and fierce blue eyes. Anthropologists usually classify them, however, as predominantly of the broad-headed Alpine stock. But the term "Celtic race" can be safely used only in a very limited sense. For centuries in their native haunts at the headwaters of the Danube in the Hallstatt region, they were strongly mingled with Germanic elements, and when they later spread over the whole central section of western Europe to the Pyrenees, they became assimilated with a number of Mediterranean racial types such as the Ligurian and Iberian. By about 500 B.C. the Proto-Celtic iron culture of the Hallstatt period in the upper Danube valley was succeeded by the Celtic la Tène culture. Fifty years later these people had spread to the western Pyrenees, except the Rhone Valley, and by 350 B.C. they were established in Spain and Britain and had entered Italy. We have seen them, in the third century, invading Macedonia and Asia Minor, and giving their name to

¹¹ On the chief ancient source for the conquest, Caesar's *Gallie Wars*, cf. below.

¹² The fullest Roman descriptions are by Caesar, *Gallie Wars*, Diodorus, and Strabo, *Geography*. Cf. map of Caesar's Gaul, opposite p. 238.

Galatia.¹³ By the close of that century they had also taken possession of the Rhone Valley, and a hundred years later they were mingled with the Cimbri and Teutons, whom Marius turned back.

By Caesar's day the Gallic peoples, especially in central Gaul, had advanced far beyond the stage of barbarism and enjoyed considerable prosperity. In battle their helmets, formed to represent fierce beasts, were at first a terror to the Roman soldiers. Besides their more primitive shelters of circular wooden huts, they also built well-thatched houses of timber and wattle and even of stone and clay. Their many strong walled towns on the hills were connected by roads for wheeled vehicles, and wooden bridges spanned the rivers. Cereals were widely cultivated, so that Caesar easily supported his soldiers from the country. Though the vine was still unknown, Italian wines were imported through Massilia. An active river trade had developed, and the maritime tribes had ships larger than some that plied the Mediterranean, and carried on an active trade with southern Britain. Industry was also fairly advanced. Some of the tribes had skilled miners, and the streets of the towns were lined with shops of busy artisans. The wealth and luxury of many of the Gallic nobles are proven by the fortunes gained by Caesar and his staff from booty. Each tribe had its own coinage. The numerous Gallic coins of gold, silver, and bronze reveal much as to Celtic social and political relations, customs, institutions, trade, and culture.

The Gauls already had a written language in Greek characters, knowledge of which was not limited to the priests,¹⁴ and some influence of the Latin language and Roman culture had penetrated even to the primitive Belgians. From the time of the La Tène period, the Celts had a remarkably well-developed art. The designs reveal both Greek and Oriental influence, though the art is very individual and shows considerable original genius. Painted pottery with spiral decorations, graceful curves, and geometric designs was common, and enameling and artistic metal work were also extensively developed.

The political and social organization was still tribal. Each tribe had a council of nobles and either a king or more often an elected chief. The masses were burdened by debt and taxation and were practically serfs under the power of the nobles and priests.

The fatal weakness of the Gauls before the menace of Germans and Romans was their volatile temper, their utter lack of political unity, and their endless intertribal war. Sometimes loose leagues were formed, but in general they were more conscious of their differences than of their similarities.¹⁵ The central Celts, also, had lost their pristine warlike vigor through contact with Roman civilization and were no match for primitive Germans or the trained Roman legions. The German menace was making for unity, however, as were also the geographical character of the country and especially the common Druid religion, which was their strongest bond.

¹³ Cf. Vol. I, Chapter Thirty.

¹⁴ Records, in Greek characters, of the number of fighting men were found in the camp of the Helvetians.

¹⁵ As Caesar observed: "All these differ from each other in language, institutions, and laws."

Druidism was probably inherited by the Celts from the previous inhabitants of Gaul. Its priests formed a close corporation, who guarded jealously their secret rites and priestly lore, and required a long period of apprenticeship of their many young students before admission into their sacred order. They were governed by a supreme pontiff, who held office for life. The priests were free from taxation or military service. They were highly organized and wielded a vast power over the ignorant masses, holding a practical monopoly on education, medicine, religion, and civil and criminal procedure. They also enjoyed great political influence, having the final decision on war and peace, and in some tribes even the right of appointing the chief. The Druid religion was of a gloomy type, like their shadowy forests, and grossly superstitious. The priests taught the doctrine of transmigration of souls to stimulate courage in war, and cruel rites, even occasional human sacrifices, were included in their ritual. Disobedience to their decrees or doctrines meant excommunication from the civil as well as the religious community.¹⁶

2. THE HELVETIAN AND GERMAN CAMPAIGNS (58 B.C.)

Rome had long pursued the policy of protecting Narbonese Gaul from invasion by cultivating friendly relation with the border tribes. The Aedui and Sequani bore the honorary title of "friends of the Roman people," and even the German king, Ariovistus, from across the Rhine, had received the title on his own request. About 70 B.C., at the call of the Sequani, he had led an invasion of Suevi against the Aedui and had established his power in the region of Alsace. For some years Rome had feared the threat of a hostile migration of the Helvetians from western Switzerland, and Caesar had received news of their definite plans for invasion some months before he left Rome.¹⁷ He arrived in the province in March, 58, only in the nick of time to check their advance. Being refused a passage through the province by Caesar, and prevented from crossing the upper Rhone, they persuaded the Sequani to permit them to march through their territories and swarmed into the fields of the Aedui. On the frantic appeal of the Aedui, Caesar hastened to their aid and utterly defeated the invaders in the region of Bibracte. The Helvetians were forced to return home and accept the status of allies of Rome. The Helvetian migration had given him just the pretext he had sought for military intervention in Gallia Comata, and the opportunity was greatly enhanced by the Gallic fear of the Germans. As a result of his victory, congratulatory embassies came to him from "almost the whole of Gaul," requesting him to appoint a day for a convention of all Gaul to present to him their petitions.

The Aeduan and other Gallic envoys appealed to Caesar against the encroachments of Ariovistus, who had been previously called in by the Sequani to their sorrow, and now had 120,000 Germans settled in Gaul. He had seized a third of the rich lands of the Sequani and was now demanding another

¹⁶ On the Druids, cf. Caesar, *Gallie Wars*, VI, 13-14, 16-18. On the Gauls in general, cf. T. Rice Holmes, *Caesar's Conquest of Gaul*, pp. 11-20.

¹⁷ The Helvetians feared their German neighbors and perhaps hoped, by organizing the Sequani and Aedui, to present a strong front against both Romans and Germans.

third.¹⁸ Unless Caesar should bring aid against him, the Germans would soon dominate all Gaul. Caesar recognized the menace to Italy as well as to Gaul and realized that victory over Ariovistus would make him practically arbiter of Gaul. He first tried friendly diplomacy, but Ariovistus curtly rejected his demands as coming from one who had no business in his part of Gaul and challenged him to battle.

Meanwhile Caesar was disturbed by a report that another German horde of the Suevi was about to cross the upper Rhine and might reinforce Ariovistus. He, therefore, hastened by forced marches to meet him. Wild rumors of the giant strength, invincible valor, and terrible glare of the eyes of the Germans terrified the Roman soldiers, but Caesar restored their morale. In a fiercely fought battle near Strassburg, he utterly routed the forces of Ariovistus, who fled back across the Rhine with heavy losses. On hearing of the defeat of Ariovistus, the Suevi also returned to their own territory. Caesar had fought two victorious campaigns in a single season and had saved both Gaul and Italy from the German menace. Leaving Labienus in command of the troops in winter quarters at Vesontio, he repaired to Cisalpine Gaul to fulfill his duties as proconsul, and incidentally to keep a watchful eye on affairs at Rome. He was already the dominant influence in Gaul and had many of the central tribes as allies. Whatever his original purpose, he now probably dreamed of eventually conquering the whole of Gaul.

3. THE CONQUEST OF THE BELGAE, VENETI, AND AQUITANI (57-56 B.C.)

Before the end of the winter Caesar was disturbed by reports that the warlike Belgae, fearing Roman domination and incited by their Celtic neighbors, were conspiring to march against him. Without authorization he immediately raised two new legions in Cisalpine Gaul and sent them posthaste to Labienus. In the spring he rejoined his army and hastened by forced marches to the north bank of the Marne (Matrona) River, taking the Belgae completely by surprise. The Remi deserted them for Caesar. Though his entire force numbered only about 40,000, far below that of the enemy, and the Belgae were the fiercest fighters of all the Gauls, he decisively defeated their entire force. Many of the Belgian tribes now sent embassies and recognized Roman suzerainty. The noble Nervii, unspoiled by civilization, of whom Caesar later wrote with enthusiasm,¹⁹ proudly refused to submit. In one of his hardest battles, their vast numbers, valor, and tactics, and the fierce cavalry charges of their allies, the Treveri, almost meant his defeat, but his army finally rallied and almost annihilated them. Their allies, the Aduataci, he later defeated, and sold 53,000 of them into slavery because of treachery. The prestige of Caesar was so great from these victories that the peoples of Normandy and Brittany readily yielded to one of his legates, and even one of the German tribes from across the Rhine sent envoys to offer submission. In Italy his dispatches an-

¹⁸ In the region of modern Alsace. Here began the endless quarrel between Gallo-Roman and German. For Caesar's description of the Germans, cf. *Gallie Wars*, VI, 21-28.

¹⁹ *Gallie Wars*, II, 15, 4.

nouncing his conquests were received with rejoicing as avenging Allia, and even the senate voted a festival of thanksgiving of fifteen days, unprecedented in the history of the Republic.

While Caesar was spending the winter in Illyricum, however, he was informed that some of the maritime tribes of Normandy and Brittany, led by the Veneti, had rebelled and attacked his garrisons. The Veneti had a strong fleet of large ships and feared that Caesar intended to conquer Britain, with which they had a rich carrying trade. He sent orders to have a fleet built at the mouth of the Loire, and to secure oarsmen from the province. After re-establishing the triumvirate with Pompey and Crassus at Luca as above recounted, he hastened to meet the crisis in Gaul and, in the course of the summer of 56, reduced the Veneti to complete submission. The reduction of the Aquitani that same summer through the brilliant campaign of Publius Crassus now made the Romans masters of practically the whole of Gaul.

4. CAESAR'S CROSSING OF THE RHINE AND INVASION OF BRITAIN (55-54 B.C.)

In the summer of 55 B.C. Caesar attacked and practically annihilated two German tribes, the Usipetes and Tencteri, who had crossed the Rhine and invaded Gaul. His perfidy in arresting the German peace envoys, contrary to the law of nations, and his extermination of two entire tribes, including their women and children, were harshly denounced in the Roman senate, and Cato even proposed that Caesar be handed over to the Germans. But his frightfulness had served its intended purpose, for henceforth no Germans disturbed Gaul. To inspire them further with due respect for the Roman name, however, he bridged the Rhine near Coblenz and made a show of military force on the right bank, destroying the bridge on his return.²⁰

Late in the same summer, after collecting much information about the Britons from Gallic traders, Caesar crossed the channel at the Straits of Dover to punish them for their aid to the maritime Gauls. He made a forced landing, despite the hostile Britons, who were fierce in attack and looked forbidding enough with their long mustaches and flowing hair. But he attempted no campaign, since the stormy season was approaching and his force was insufficient. The following year, with a larger fleet and an army of about 30,000 men, he again landed on the island, forced his way inland across the Thames, and after hard fighting reduced Cassivellaunus and his Britons to submission, receiving hostages and promises of tribute. The adventure aroused great interest and enthusiasm in Rome, but it was only an exploit, for the pledges of tribute were soon disregarded, and Caesar never undertook another campaign there. Though it opened the way for Roman trade, another century was to pass before Britain was to come under Roman sway.²¹

²⁰ Cf. *Gallic Wars*, IV, 17, for Caesar's interesting account of its construction.

²¹ Cf. *ibid.*, IV, 20-37, for Caesar's vivid account.

5. THE GALLIC REVOLT (54-51 B.C.)

Though the Gauls had submitted to Caesar's legions, their independent spirit was by no means broken. The support of the Roman garrisons and the constant requisitions of grain had become an increasing burden, causing a growing resentment to Roman rule. Especially restive were the high-spirited Belgian tribes, the Nervii, Treveri, and Eburones. In the winter of 54-53 B.C. they organized surprise attacks on the Roman garrisons in their territories. One of the garrisons at Aduatuca was annihilated. The others, including the legion under Quintus Cicero, which bravely withstood a terrific siege for many days against great odds, managed to hold out until Caesar's reinforcements arrived and stamped out the rebellion.²²

This was only the prelude, however, to a far more serious uprising in the following winter of 52 B.C., encouraged by the conqueror's absence in Cisalpine Gaul and reports of the growing opposition to him in Rome. The revolt was led by a brilliant young noble of the Arverni, Vercingetorix, who inspired the volatile Gauls temporarily with a new unity and purpose. Caesar, whose troops were scattered throughout Gaul in their winter cantonments, was utterly taken by surprise. He returned in posthaste to the defense of his province and managed to collect his scattered forces, which he strengthened by German cavalry from across the Rhine. The aims of Vercingetorix to prevent Caesar from rejoining his northern legions and to face him with an acute shortage of supplies were at first partially successful. But the final surrender to Caesar of the important town of Avaricum with its abundant stores defeated his plans. The wholesale massacre of its 40,000 inhabitants, however, including the infants, women, and aged, only served to unite the Gauls all the more under the rebel leader. Caesar's failure to take Gergovia, the chief stronghold of the Arverni,²³ caused even the Arverni to join the revolt, which now became a real national movement including almost all of Gaul.

For a time the situation was extremely critical, and it looked as if even the Roman province might be in danger. But by a series of victories against the Gallic attacks, Caesar finally succeeded in shutting up Vercingetorix and his army in the stronghold of Alesia,²⁴ where the brave leader and his force were finally starved to surrender. Vercingetorix was sent to Rome in chains, where he languished in a dungeon awaiting Caesar's triumph and his own doom. Since Gaul was by no means thoroughly pacified as yet, Caesar wintered among the Aedui and spent the next year of 51 B.C. subduing the remnants of the rebellion and organizing the government, until Roman authority was again supreme. By his clemency in his treatment of the conquered rebels, he won the loyal allegiance of the Gauls to himself, which was later to serve him well.²⁵

²² The gravity of the crisis is best revealed in Caesar's account in Bks. V and VI.

²³ Cf. *Gaulic Wars*, VII, 36 ff., for his account of the siege.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, VII, 69 ff., on this siege.

²⁵ Caesar's famous "clemency" was usually opportunist. As we have seen, he could also use frightfulness on occasion, as cutting off the hands of one whole rebel garrison. In his eight years

All *Gallia Comata* to the Rhine was now Roman, but it was not yet made into Roman provinces. The several tribes were allies of Rome under the supervision of the governor of Narbonese Gaul and were required to pay a fixed annual tribute. They were free from the exploitation of *publicani*, being permitted to collect their own tribute, which was moderate for so extensive and rich a country, 40,000,000 sesterces (less than \$2,000,000) a year.

6. CAESAR'S MILITARY GENIUS

The reasons for Caesar's success, which in many instances hung in the balance, have already become clear from the above narrative. Among these were the lack of unity, tenacity, science, and discipline of the Gauls; the consistent loyalty of the Province; the valuable aid of the German cavalry; and, above all, Caesar's consummate genius in military tactics and strategy, swiftness, discipline, superb leadership, constant concern for his commissariat, and shrewd use of Gallic disunity. The marvel of his feat against a disorganized half-barbarous people, however, should not be exaggerated.

Did Caesar go to Gaul with a definite plan to extend the bounds of the Roman Republic to the Rhine and the Atlantic? We shall never know. On his return through Gaul from his governorship of Spain, he may have observed the vast opportunity there to win a military prestige equal to Pompey's. His choice of Gaul rather than the rich East, his procedure in the first crises, and his establishment of winter cantonments in northern Gaul also suggest some thought of deliberate conquest. It is quite improbable, however, that he had any detailed plan beforehand or that he purposed at first to end the Republic. But with advancing success in Gaul, he envisaged something of the vast meaning of his conquests for Rome's future, and his dreams of using his power to establish one-man rule were gradually formed. In any event, his is the first unqualified example in Roman history of deliberate aggressive imperialism for territorial expansion on a vast scale.

7. THE HISTORIC SIGNIFICANCE OF CAESAR'S CONQUEST

The tremendous significance of Caesar's conquest of Gaul, not only for himself, but especially for the future history of the Roman Empire and of Western European civilization, can scarcely be overestimated. As for Caesar, it made him master of the Roman world and changed him from a Roman politician to a man of imperial vision whose supreme interest was the welfare of the Empire as a whole. It made him the real founder of the Roman Empire. Through it also both the menace of German invasions and the orientalizing of the Roman state were postponed for centuries. With the passing of the Empire in the West, centuries later, Romanized Gaul, dominated by the Frankish invaders who took over the Gallo-Roman culture of the conquered, became France, the heart of medieval civilization. Clovis, Charlemagne, and the greater French monarchs from Philip Augustus to Louis XIV and Napoleon are the successors of Caesar, and Romanic modern France, with its brilliant Gallo-

of campaigning in Gaul, according to Plutarch, *Caesar*, XV, 3, he had taken 800 towns, subdued 300 tribes, slain 1,000,000, and enslaved as many more.

Roman culture, and its age-old quarrel with its neighbor across the Rhine, has its origins in Caesar's conquest of Gaul.

8. CAESAR'S "COMMENTARIES"

An incidental outcome of Caesar's campaigns of no small moment was his writing of his *Commentaries*, the *De Bello Gallico*, which he composed largely from previous copious notes just after his pacification of Gaul in 51 B.C. His account was left unfinished, and the last book (VIII) was written soon after his death by Aulus Hirtius to fill the gap between his *Gallic* and *Civil Wars*. The *Commentaries* are notable for their terse, vigorous, lucid Latin prose, which was highly praised by Cicero and later critics. As historical narratives, compared with the best Roman accounts, they are in a class by themselves. As a textbook on the art of war, they have been highly valued by the greatest modern generals, such as Napoleon. As the basis for learning Latin for many generations of modern youth, also, their influence on modern Western education for good or ill has been immeasurable. The attempts of some modern critics to impugn the credibility of the *Commentaries*, and to prove them to be primarily political propaganda to justify Caesar's conduct in Gaul, have met with little success. Though he doubtless sought to vindicate his acts, there is little evidence of warping the facts. The whole account is dignified, frank, and remarkably free, for that day, from undue self-praise and personal bias.²⁶

VI. CRASSUS AND THE PARTHIAN DISASTER

(55-53 B.C.)²⁷

While Caesar was making history in Gaul and Britain in 55 B.C., Crassus enthusiastically prepared to leave for his proconsulship in Syria, hoping to win for himself a military prestige equal to Caesar's and Pompey's by the conquest of Parthia. The Optimates strongly opposed the campaign, and feeling ran so high against Crassus that Pompey had to protect him as he left the city. Seldom has a general been less fitted for such an arduous campaign. Already a man of sixty and old beyond his years, he had been long without experience in the field and had nothing of the military genius of Caesar and Pompey. Still worse, he knew practically nothing of Parthia or the military tactics of the Parthians and fondly expected an easy victory. The Parthians were among the best-trained fighters in the ancient world. In cavalry and archery they had no peers and were the one power in the East now capable of opposing Rome. A Caesar might have taken advantage of their prolonged strife over the succession, but Crassus was no Caesar. He was especially weak in cavalry. His son, Publius Crassus, Caesar's brilliant young conqueror of Aquitania, had arrived with 1,000 Gallic horse, but he looked chiefly for cavalry to the Armenians and other allies, who were to disappoint him. He neglected to seek information from the Greeks as to Parthian warfare, or to discipline his troops.

²⁶ On the above problems, cf. T. Rice Holmes, *Caesar's Conquest of Gaul*.

²⁷ The chief ancient authority, Plutarch, is based on secondhand material and is quite unsatisfactory.

The first year, 54 B.C., he made only a preliminary raid into Mesopotamia, taking some towns and leaving a garrison there. The following year he again advanced across the Euphrates with a force of 28,000 foot, 4,000 light-armed troops, and 3,000 cavalry, intending to penetrate to the center of the Parthian Empire. But misled by a probably false guide away from the river into the parched desert plains of northern Mesopotamia, the Romans met the full force of the enemy near Carrhae. Their numbers were only about one-third those of Crassus, but their 10,000 swift cavalry sharpshooters, whose stock of arrows was repeatedly replenished from the stores of their 1,000 camels, completely demoralized the Roman forces. The young Publius Crassus and more than 20,000 Roman soldiers were slain, and several thousand were taken prisoner. Crassus escaped in the night with a small force to Carrhae and was later slain by Parthian treachery. Plutarch tells that, at the presentation of Euripides' *Bacchae* before the Parthian court, the tragedian won loud applause by appearing with the gory head, not of Pentheus, but of Crassus. Fortunately for Rome, the Parthians did not take advantage of their victory by invading Syria, but the defeat at Carrhae dealt a fatal blow to the prestige of Roman arms in the East, and the Parthians remained undefeated until the time of the emperor Trajan in 117 A.D.²⁸

The death of Crassus disrupted the triumvirate and made the already growing conflict between the two survivors, Caesar and Pompey, far more direct and acute. Already in 54 B.C. the chief bond between the two had been severed by the death of Pompey's beloved wife, Julia, the daughter of Caesar. Hoping to continue the alliance, Caesar proposed in 53 that Pompey marry Octavia, a granddaughter of his sister, while Caesar was to divorce Calpurnia and marry a daughter of Pompey by his first wife.²⁹ But Pompey declined and married Cornelia, the widow of Publius Crassus, son of the triumvir.

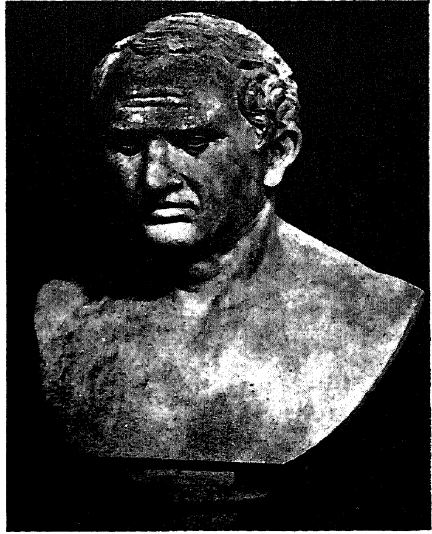
VII. ROMAN POLITICS (54-49 B.C.): POMPEY'S RULE IN ROME: THE END OF THE COALITION

On the plea of his office as curator of the grain supply, Pompey remained in Italy at the close of his consulship, governing his three provinces through his legates, while retaining his proconsular authority to levy troops. Meanwhile anarchy and violence reigned in Rome, terrorized by the armed partisan gangs of Clodius, the champion of the Populares, and of Milo, the Optimate. As a result, no consuls could be elected in 54 B.C., nor until after the middle of the following year. Pompey favored the Clodian faction, but remained inactive in his country retreat,³⁰ hoping that the crisis would become so acute as to force the senate to summon him to restore order. Such confusion reigned that neither consuls nor praetors could be elected for the year 52. Cicero supported Milo, and he and Clodius scurrilously abused each other before the dignified senate, while armed bands of both factions threatened the citizens. Finally, in a squabble between the ruffians of Clodius and Milo on the Appian Way, Clo-

²⁸ Caesar's planned expedition was ended by his assassination.

²⁹ Both the proposed women were already betrothed to other men.

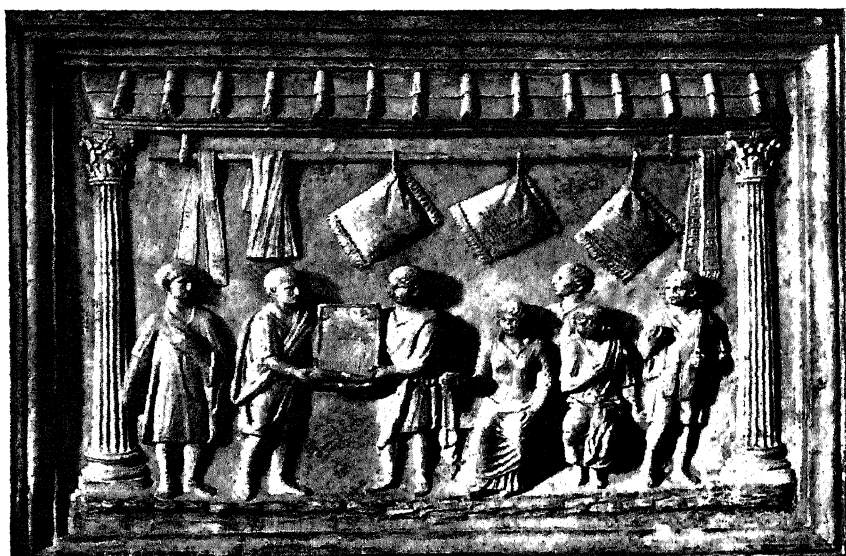
³⁰ Since, as proconsul, he could not legally enter the city.



Upper left: Bust of Pompey. His vanity appears in his imitation of the arrangement of Alexander's hair. The mediocre character of Pompey is in striking contrast to the strength and intelligence portrayed in the portraits of Cicero and Caesar. Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek, Copenhagen. *Upper right:* Bust of Cicero. (Vatican, Rome)

Lower: Head of a Colossal Statue of Julius Caesar in a Coat of Mail. Palazzo dei Conservatori, Rome.

GREAT ROMANS OF THE FIRST CENTURY B.C. In spite of their excellence, these portraits are all characterized by a certain heaviness which marks them as Roman rather than Greek.



INDUSTRY IN ITALY. *Upper:* Bas-relief portraying the interior of a shop with pillows, belts, and a large piece of cloth hanging on the walls. Two assistants are about to take a pillow from a box for the inspection of the two seated prospective customers. Uffizi, Florence. (*Alinari*) *Lower:* Arretine Pottery. Bowl portraying Kalathiskos dancers and satyrs, signed by Tygranes. (*Metropolitan Museum of Art*)

dus was murdered. The tribunes inflamed the masses in speeches over his wounded remains in the Forum, so that the mob raised a funeral pyre for him from the furniture and books of the Senate House and burned the building. Successive *interreges* were appointed, but were unable to set an election day.³¹

Finally the reluctant senate was forced by the utter anarchy to decree, contrary to the constitution, that if Pompey was elected he should govern alone as sole consul, with full authority to levy troops throughout Italy. Armed with such authority, he soon restored order. Milo was convicted of the murder of Clodius and exiled to Massilia.³² Many Clodians were also prosecuted and convicted under the law against bribery, though Pompey saw to it that Scipio, his father-in-law, escaped trial.

As sole consul, proconsul of three provinces, and curator of the grain supply, with authority to levy troops at government expense, Pompey, by the senate's own nomination, was now the supreme power in the state. The habit of granting extraordinary proconsular commands beyond Italy had developed to a grant of a super-extraordinary command in Rome and Italy itself. Freely granted supreme power as the one man indispensable to the continuance of the commonwealth, Pompey was now the recognized first citizen, or *Princeps*, the ideal of the benevolent ruler in Cicero's *Republic*, written two years before.³³ Such a grandiose position left room for neither rival nor colleague. Caesar must be eliminated. Thus Pompey became more and more openly the champion of the senate, and while Caesar was fighting to end the rebellion in Gaul (in 52 B.C.), his supposed friend was plotting with his enemies at home to consummate his ruin.

To avoid their inevitable prosecutions, Caesar must, therefore, manage, if possible, to pass directly from his proconsular *imperium* at the close of the year 49 to the consulship. According to the agreement at Luca, his command would regularly end on February 28, 49 B.C., but an earlier law of C. Gracchus had made it impossible to reassign his provinces until the year 49, enabling him to retain his command until the close of that year. Meanwhile, he hoped to be elected to the consulship and to assume his office on January 1, 48, directly from his proconsulship, thereby securing immunity from prosecution, confirmation for his acts, provision for his veterans, and a satisfactory future proconsular command.

By a tribunician measure sponsored by Pompey in 52 B.C., Caesar had secured exemption from the law requiring a personal canvass for the consulship. But Pompey now showed his hand as an opponent of Caesar by securing the re-enactment of the law. On the protest of Caesar's partisans, he wrote in a clause on his own authority, exempting Caesar. But the exemption was made a mockery by another measure providing that henceforth provincial governorships should be assigned to urban magistrates only after an interval of five years. The law was doubtless needed to check the rampant bribery in the elec-

³¹ These anarchic conditions in Rome encouraged the Gauls to undertake their great rebellion.

³² Intimidated by Clodians, Cicero broke down in his speech for the defense.

³³ To both the senate and Pompey, however, the combination of the consular and proconsular *imperium* was only a temporary matter of no fundamental meaning constitutionally, and new consuls for 51 B.C. were elected as usual.

tions to the magistracies with a view to securing a rich provincial berth the year following. But whatever was Pompey's motive, it struck directly at Caesar. By permitting the appointment of a successor to him on March 1, 49 B.C., it forced him to stand for the consulship as a private citizen, and even if elected, to be without an army or *imperium* until the opening of the next year. Meanwhile, in direct violation of his own act, as also of the precious constitution to which all did lip service when it was convenient, but which only a rare few like Cato took seriously, Pompey had the senate extend his own proconsular command in Spain for another five years.

Cato sought to curb both Caesar and Pompey, but his scorn of the usual electioneering methods of Cicero's "Handbook" overwhelmingly defeated him in his candidacy for the consulship in the year 52. The chief consul-elect, M. Claudius Marcellus, a bitter enemy of Caesar, openly attacked him by moving to disfranchise his Latin colony at Comum, but the measure was vetoed by the tribunes. In accord with Pompey's recent law on provincial governorships, Cicero, to his great disgust, was obliged to accept the province of Cilicia at the close of the year 52. It was to him a "terrible bore" to be absent from his beloved Rome and Italy, especially when the political pot was boiling almost as never before. Previous to his departure, he published his "Ideal Commonwealth" (*De Republica*), as a guide to the statesman. He left his affairs in the hands of the faithful Atticus. His young friend, Caelius, an acute political observer, agreed to keep him informed on affairs at Rome in his absence, and it is to his illuminating letters to Cicero that we are greatly indebted for our firsthand detailed knowledge of this critical year (51 B.C.).⁸⁴

The next two years (51-50 B.C.), the political atmosphere in Rome became ever more tense between the partisans of Caesar and Pompey over the vital question of the appointment of Caesar's successor. Caesar sought to prevent the legal appointment of his successor under Pompey's new law on provincial governorships, so as to hold his command until the end of 49 B.C. Pompey vacillated and tried to play a double game, but openly opposed this, while the Catonian conservatives and enemies of Caesar insisted on his retirement on March 1st. Caesar's partisans, led by the tribunes, sought to oppose this. The senate was divided, moved partly by the fear of civil war and partly by the persuasive influence of Caesar's money, which he used lavishly, but with shrewd discrimination, to purchase key senators and politicians in Rome. A flagrant example was the younger Curio, whom he won over from an active enemy to be his secret partisan by wiping out his enormous debts.⁸⁵ On Caelius, also, Caesar's money probably did its work. In a letter to his friend, Cicero, he rationalized his shift to the "stronger" side.

Caesar was ready to yield much to avoid civil war. On the rejection of his offer to give up all but Cisalpine Gaul and two legions, he proposed that both disband their legions and give up their provinces. But Pompey refused, and the senate insisted that Caesar should fully give up his command. He, therefore, now sent Mark Antony to Rome and secured his election as augur and tribune,

⁸⁴ Caelius was the successor of the poet Catullus as lover of the notorious Clodia.

⁸⁵ His father was an uncompromising anti-Caesarian. For his scandalous epigram against Caesar, cf. Suetonius, *Divine Julius*, 52, 3.

and after concentrating his legions at strategic points in Gallia Comata, he left without an army for Cisalpine Gaul to watch developments.³⁶ By December, 50 B.C., he was encamped at Ravenna, near the Italian border.

Cicero had already returned from his province, where he had made a rare reputation as an honest and humane governor. On his way to Cilicia, he had refused all contributions for himself or his staff. His regard for the welfare of his subjects, his fairness in judicial administration, and his attempt to give as much local independence to the municipalities as possible won the enthusiastic response of the provincials. But his record is marred by the naïve self-glorification with which his *Letters* are filled. "Nothing in all my life," he wrote to Atticus, "has ever given me so great pleasure as I feel at my own integrity."³⁷

Unfortunately, also, he had no large vision of the real significance of his task and declared that the whole business was unworthy of his abilities.³⁸ To his honor, he refused to permit Brutus to collect his 48 per cent from his victims in Cyprus by force, but he was finally persuaded to compromise and leave the whole matter open for his successor to decide. As proconsul, aided by his brother, Quintus, he made one brief campaign to protect his borders from the Parthians, and was even hailed as imperator by his soldiers for a petty victory over mountain natives. The real credit for turning back the Parthian raid of 51 B.C. belonged to C. Cassius of Syria, yet Cicero was granted a thanksgiving service at Rome for his victory, and even hoped later for a triumph!

On his return to Rome in November of the year 50, he used all his influence to effect a reconciliation between Caesar and Pompey.³⁹ But it was then too late. Pompey opposed all compromise, and the divided senate was finally persuaded to pass the ultimate decree in defense of the state. The two Caesarian tribunes, Antony and Quintus Cassius, then fled to Caesar in Cisalpine Gaul, and Caesar was declared to be a public enemy unless he resigned his command the first of March, 49.⁴⁰

On being informed of this action, Caesar sent for two legions from Gaul and ordered three others to be at his call. He had a strong army at his back in Gaul, the enthusiastic support of Cisalpine Gaul, and the assured welcome of the Roman masses. His enemies had command of the sea, but Pompey had no seasoned veteran troops in Italy, and his command would be hampered by the divided counsels of magistrates and senate. Caesar's surest defense was, therefore, a swift offensive. On the night of January 10, 49 B.C.,⁴¹ he led his legion across the Rubicon into Italy to "restore the right of the tribunes," which he was later to destroy. For a proconsul to pass the bounds of his province into Italy under arms was treason to the state. The civil war was on.

As to the relative merits of the case for Caesar or Pompey, there was little to choose. Both were desperately gambling for the supreme control of the state and would stop at nothing to secure their end. The state was their pawn. It was henceforth force against force, as all were too well aware. The Republican

³⁶ T. Labienus had previously been sent there with one legion.

³⁸ *Ad Familiares*, II, 11, 1.

³⁹ But Cicero's pettiness in the face of the crisis is revealed by his fears lest it may make necessary the repayment of his loan to Caesar, and thus prevent him from financing his triumph.

⁴⁰ On the date, cf. also *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. IX, p. 632.

⁴¹ By the unreformed calendar; by the Julian calendar on November 22, 50 B.C.

³⁷ V, 20, 6.

government, as it then existed, either for Rome or the provinces, could scarcely continue much longer, nor did it deserve to continue. The practical question is, therefore, whether the future of the Roman state was better in the hands of Pompey or of Caesar. At least, as far as concerns the present welfare of the provinces, there can be but one answer, Caesar.

VIII. THE CIVIL WAR

(49-46 B.C.)⁴²

I. CAESAR IN ROME

Caesar's advance southward was a triumph. The Italian towns readily opened their gates to him, the new levies joined him, and from all sides even his opponents flocked to his standard. Pompey and the senate were totally unprepared for his swift action, having foolishly failed to recall the legions from Spain. The only course now was to gather as many recruits as possible and to retire temporarily from Italy to Greece, and later to concentrate the military and naval resources of the East against Caesar there. Even after Caesar was on the march and Pompey and the senate had retired to Capua, and again when Caesar was at Brundisium, renewed attempts were made at conciliation, but without result.

When Caesar failed to prevent the embarkation of Pompey with his soldiers and many of the senators for Epirus, he started for Rome. He had surprised all by his unexpected mildness, unknown in Roman civil war, and was even now ready to accept a peaceful settlement on condition that he be accepted as consul. His tribunes, M. Antony and C. Cassius, summoned the senate outside the city, since legally Caesar's proconsular *imperium* did not permit his entrance. When a tribune vetoed a bill to place the money in the public treasury at his disposal, he repudiated the right of the tribunes which he had posed as defending and seized the treasure by force.⁴³

2. CAESAR IN SPAIN

Meanwhile, to insure against a blockade of the grain supply, some of Caesar's lieutenants had secured control of Sardinia and Sicily, and had crossed over to Africa. He himself, leaving trusted officers to hold Italy, Cisalpine Gaul, and Illyricum, hastened to crush the Pompeian legions in Spain before Pompey could organize his offensive from Greece. After a hard campaign of forty days, he forced the surrender of the Pompeian army at Ilerda and disbanded it. Masilia also yielded to him on his return, and was punished by the loss of its independence and most of its territory for favoring Pompey. Curio's expedition to Africa, however, ended in complete disaster.⁴⁴

⁴² The chief contemporary sources are Caesar's *Civil War*, the *Bellum Africum*, *Bellum Alexandrinum*, and *Bellum Hispaniense*, and Cicero's *Letters*. Later writers are Plutarch, Appian, Suetonius, and Dio.

⁴³ According to Pliny, *Natural History*, XXXIII, 56, 15,000 bars of gold, 30,000 bars of silver, and 30,000,000 sesterces.

⁴⁴ A defeat of Caesar's lieutenants was also suffered in the Adriatic with the loss of forty ships; also in Illyricum.

Caesar now hastened from Spain to Rome, where he had already been appointed dictator at his own suggestion. As dictator, he relieved the scarcity of money by a law against hoarding and by permitting debtors to turn over their property at a prewar value and deduct the interest already paid. He also restored the descendants of the Sullan proscribed to their civic rights and instituted a general recall of exiles. After having himself and a colleague elected as consuls, he resigned his dictatorship, having surprised all by his clemency and moderation. He then departed for Brundisium, from whence he embarked with his assembled army and transports for Epirus in pursuit of his enemy.

3. PHARSALUS: THE DEFEAT AND DEATH OF POMPEY

Pompey held the distinct advantage with at least 36,000 Roman legionary troops besides allies, over 4,000 light troops, 7,000 cavalry, and great food stores. His fleet of 300 ships also held the command of the Adriatic. Yet Caesar managed to effect a landing in the early winter of 49 B.C. with seven legions, and seized Apollonia. The armies were inactive during the winter, but in the spring Antony succeeded in joining Caesar with four more legions. It was to Pompey's advantage to pursue a waiting policy, since with every day he grew relatively stronger, whereas Caesar was hard pressed for food and was forced to risk an offensive. In the first trial of strength at Dyrrachium, he met a distinct defeat and was only saved from disaster by the topography of the country. But Pompey lacked the drive to press home his victory and permitted his enemy to withdraw to Thessaly. Following him there, he joined Metellus Scipio, who, with two veteran legions from Syria, had seized Larissa. After some days of maneuvering for position, Pompey offered battle at Pharsalus, trusting in his superior cavalry. But it disastrously failed him, and the battle became a rout. More than 24,000 of the Pompeian troops were finally forced to surrender. Pompey escaped to Egypt,⁴⁵ where he was assassinated by order of the boy-king, whose father he had befriended.

Pompey was no unworthy match for Caesar in military tactics and strategy. But, in war as in politics, he lacked resolution to strike at the crucial moment. He had failed to prevent Caesar's landing in Epirus and to drive home his victory after Dyrrachium. Though a great soldier, he lacked the initiative of a statesman, and had he won over Caesar he would probably have had no constructive program of reform to alleviate the ills of the decadent Republic either at home or in the provinces. Yet he honestly desired good government, and his efficiency never failed the state when confronted with a specific test.

4. CAESAR IN EGYPT AND THE EAST (48-47 B.C.)

After Pharsalus, Caesar hastened by way of the Hellespont and Asia Minor in pursuit of Pompey, arriving at Alexandria three days after his death. He had only a few ships, 800 cavalry, and about 3,200 troops, yet boldly declared his intention to intervene in the name of the Republic in the dynastic quarrel then raging between Cleopatra and her thirteen-year-old brother and consort,

⁴⁵ He might better have chosen Africa, where, backed by his fleet, he might have raised another army to seize Italy. Cf. Pl. VII.

Ptolemy Dionysus.⁴⁶ Cleopatra had recently been exiled by the Ptolemaic faction and was now at Pelusium with an army ready to force a return. Ptolemy was under the control of Caesar. The Alexandrians, incited by his faction, besieged the brazen Roman in the royal quarter for some months. Meanwhile, Cleopatra gained secret entrance into the city, and to Caesar, and faced him with a more pleasing siege to which he was notoriously susceptible. He was then over fifty, while she was only twenty-two. But she was beautiful, charming, and as high-spirited as Caesar himself. Before, he could not escape; now he was a willing captive, temporarily forgetful of his duties to the Republic.

The young king was permitted to return to his subjects, and the Alexandrians prepared to oppose Caesar. But Caesar won control of the harbor and secured reinforcements from Pergamum and Syria, and in a hard-fought battle at Pelusium, Ptolemy was defeated and slain. Caesar returned to Alexandria in triumph and was received by the citizens as suppliants. He now established Cleopatra as queen and a still younger brother as king and consort. He also probably helped himself to the unpaid balance of the debt owed to the triumvirate by their father. Still, oblivious of his world responsibilities, he lingered on for two months in dalliance with the fascinating young queen, doubtless to induct her into the arduous duties of her office.

The tie that bound the two, however, was probably more than sentimental. Even love never conquered ambition in Caesar, and Cleopatra was far from the Oriental seductress usually pictured. She was playing a desperate game to retain her throne, and perhaps even to make herself queen of the Roman Empire. Caesar, also, may have dreamed of becoming emperor of the Roman world, with his capital at Alexandria instead of Rome, for the East was more to his taste and more adapted to his imperial ambitions. He was doubtless well aware of the disturbing conditions at Rome, however, and did not intend to let the situation get out of hand. Meanwhile a crisis arose in Asia Minor. Pharnaces, son of the redoubtable Mithradates, had taken advantage of the civil war to recover Pontus and invade Lesser Armenia, Cappadocia, and Bithynia. Leaving three legions to protect his royal wards, Caesar hastened through Syria⁴⁷ to Pontus and decisively defeated Pharnaces at Zela, the battle of *veni, vidi, vici* fame. After making the necessary territorial arrangements in Asia Minor, he embarked to meet his responsibilities in the West.

5. CAESAR AND ROME

It was high time. Over a year had elapsed since his departure. No consuls had been elected for the year 47, and despite the protest of the Optimates, on Antony's return from Pharsalus with his legions, he forced them to recognize Caesar as dictator without limitation of time, and himself as his master of the horse. Meanwhile, as Caesar's deputy, he had found it increasingly difficult to keep order. Financial distress due to the civil war, the radical activities of dis-

⁴⁶ Since Ptolemy Auletes had left the throne to Cleopatra and her brother, under the protection of the Roman people, Caesar had some excuse for intervention.

⁴⁷ While in Judaea he took time to reward the Jews for their loyalty by restoring Jerusalem and confirming Hyrcanus as high priest, and Antipater, as administrator of Judaea. The walls of Jerusalem were rebuilt, and its seaport, Joppa, was temporarily freed from tribute.

grunted Caesarians, and the growing resentment of the veterans at their general's long dalliance in Egypt to the neglect of their promised rewards all made the situation ever more threatening.⁴⁸ The Pompeians, also, allied with Juba of Numidia, had collected a formidable force in Africa and were now preparing to invade Italy.

On arriving in Rome, Caesar quickly restored order in the city. Consuls were chosen for the remainder of the year 46, and new consuls were elected for 45. The depleted senate was also replenished with new appointees from the equestrian class and even from centurions. Caesarian leaders were richly rewarded, and leading Pompeians who submitted were pardoned. The threatened mutiny of his veterans, however, was a more serious matter. The historian, Sallust, sent to the camp with a mollifying offer of 1,000 denarii (\$200.00) each, scarcely escaped death by stoning. The troops then marched on Rome, demanding their promised rewards and discharge from service. But the sudden, bold appearance of their victorious general with his diplomacy, promises, and threats reduced them to submission. Only the ringleaders were executed, but his once-beloved tenth legion never entirely regained its old position of trust.

6. CAESAR IN AFRICA: THAPSUS: THE DEATH OF CATO

Having restored order in Rome and regained the loyalty of his legions, he embarked late in the year from Sicily for Africa to face the Pompeian rebels. They had assembled a formidable force with ten legions of about 35,000 foot under Metellus Scipio, nearly 15,000 horse led by the brilliant renegade, Labienus, vast stores of supplies, and a fleet of more than fifty warships. King Juba of Numidia, their ally, could furnish in addition about 30,000 men, besides sixty elephants and some Gallic cavalry. Caesar was greatly outnumbered at first, and even after three months he could assemble only ten legions, 4,000 cavalry, and 3,000 light-armed troops. In cavalry he was especially weak, and the resourceful Labienus twice almost brought him to disaster by his sudden attacks. Caesar, however, had the king of Mauretania as an ally to hold Juba in check.

After four months with no decisive gains, Caesar boldly laid siege to Thapsus. In a battle at the harbor, Scipio was disastrously defeated by the masterly strategy of his enemy and took his own life. The Pompeian opposition in Africa was ended. Within three weeks Caesar was master of all Roman Africa, and most of Juba's kingdom was made a new province, Africa Nova. The Pompeian opposition continued its activities, however, in Spain where Cn. Pompey, son of Pompey, the Great, was joined by the fugitive leaders, Labienus, Varus, and Gnaeus's brother, Sextus.

Cato, who held the command at Utica, committed suicide, like a good Stoic, after Thapsus. His death marked the end of the old and the beginning of a new régime against which he had so honestly and bitterly fought. Though out of sympathy with his time, largely negative in outlook, and great neither in intellect nor vision, he deserves recognition as the only notable leader in his

⁴⁸ The letters of Cicero for the years 48-47 reflect the deep anxiety of leading citizens at the serious conditions.

chaotic generation whose uncompromising loyalty to the dying cause of the Republic was totally disinterested. Like many a martyr to a great cause, his indomitable spirit lived on as the inspiration of future constitutional idealists. Well might Caesar continue to fear and hate him, though dead, for, in two brief years, his spirit, incarnated in men like Marcus and Decimus Brutus, was to consummate his own end.

7. THE TRIUMPH OF CAESAR

Caesar now returned to Rome to celebrate his long-delayed triumph, which eclipsed all previous ones in Roman history. As the first triumph of a Roman general was a prophecy of one-man rule, this was its final fulfillment, the symbol of the death of the Republic, and the birth of imperial monarchy. For four days the brilliant procession marched to the Capitol, one day each for Gaul, Egypt, Pontus, and Africa.⁴⁹ Royal captives marched before the conqueror, the princess Arsinoë of Egypt, the infant son of Juba of Numidia, and the noble Gallic rebel, Vercingetorix, who had languished six years in a Roman dungeon, to glorify the triumph of his captor. After the conquered rode in brilliant state the mighty Caesar himself in a triumphal car drawn by four white horses, preceded by seventy-two lictors, and followed by his victorious legions.⁵⁰ Next came an endless train of wagons crammed with costly furniture, silken fabrics, pictures, 2,822 golden crowns, luxurious ornaments, and gold, the loot of conquest. Five thousand denarii went to every legionary soldier, double to every centurion, and a hundred to every spectator, besides ten measures of wheat and ten pounds of olive oil, and still a great surplus remained for his treasury. The effect is reflected in the issue of a new gold coin, the *aureus*, equal to twenty-five denarii. The populace was fed at 22,000 tables, where choicest wines flowed freely. In the evening the victor was escorted by twenty torchbearers on elephants to his home, and the night was spent in revelry. In the wooden amphitheatre in the Forum, the populace was entertained with gladiatorial shows, animal fights, plays, and miniature military and naval battles. The spectacle of Caesar, the cynical unbeliever, humbly ascending the steps of the temple of Jupiter each day on his knees to dedicate his laurels on the altar of the god, was enough to arouse Homeric laughter among the Olympians.

8. MUNDA⁵¹

Caesar was now (July 28, 46 B.C.) absolute master of the Roman world, except Spain, where the sons of Pompey, Gnaeus, and Sextus, together with Labienus and Varus, had won over the old legions of Pompey from Caesar's service. After arranging for his absolute control in Rome and for the more pressing problems of economic and social reconstruction,⁵² he set out in the early winter with his legions for Spain. Though the Pompeians were greatly superior in numbers, having thirteen to his eight legions, besides 6,000 cavalry under Labienus, they avoided an open trial of strength with Caesar until

⁴⁹ Not for Pharsalus, as this was a victory over fellow Romans.

⁵⁰ Cf. Suetonius, 49, 4; 51, for their songs of the "bald adulterer."

⁵¹ The chief source is the *Bellum Hispaniense*, probably by an old centurion of Caesar's, a simple but honest account.

⁵² See below for detail.

March of the year 45, when he met and totally defeated them at Munda. This time the Caesarians showed no mercy, and the Pompeians were annihilated. Labienus, Caesar's renegade lieutenant, and Varus fell in battle, and Cn. Pompey was captured and put to death. His brother, Sextus, however, escaped, to continue the opposition later against Caesar's successor.

Caesar remained in Spain until September, during which time he probably finished his *Civil War*, which he had begun during his African campaign. Contrary to his usual magnanimity and sane judgment also, he wrote an *Anticato* (not now extant), a vicious attack on the personal life of Cato in answer to a panegyric by Cicero. During his absence the necessary paralysis of the whole government machinery made his autocracy all the more evident, and the rapidly growing gloom and disillusionment of the Republicans is well reflected in Cicero's *Letters*.⁵³ Amazed at the seeming indifference of his fellow Romans, he spent his time largely in his suburban villa, sublimating his private sorrow and political disappointment by "toiling day and night" on his philosophical works. In answer to the exhortation of Atticus to return to the Forum, he wrote bitterly: "What have I to do with the Forum, where there are no law-courts, no Senate, and where people are continually obtruding themselves on my sight, whom I cannot endure to see?"⁵⁴ But some months later he received a more urgent invitation from Caesar's master of the horse stating that he would "greatly oblige" both Caesar and himself by attending a meeting of the senate. He doubtless complied.

On Caesar's return to Rome in September, 45, he embittered many by celebrating a triumph over Roman citizens.⁵⁵ But the servile senate, which had some months before voted him further honors and a thanksgiving of fifty days in honor of his victory, hastened to go to even more extreme lengths of adulation.⁵⁶ His autocracy was now thoroughly established, and it was evident even to his most hopeful opponents that he had no intention of restoring the Republic.

IX. THE DICTATORSHIP OF JULIUS CAESAR

(July 28, 46-March 15, 44 B.C.)

I. POLITICAL POLICY, OFFICES, HONORS, AND TITLES

Caesar made an auspicious beginning as dictator by his magnanimity toward his political enemies. No Marian or Sullan bloodletting stained his victory. After Pharsalus, he generously gave the captured Pompeian leaders their freedom, and even after his return in triumph from Thapsus, his first act was to assure the senate against any fear of proscriptions. Pompeians shared alike with Caesarians in his political patronage. Even his bitterest enemies, such as

⁵³ Caesar still treated the orator with great deference and tactfully wrote him a letter of condolence on the death of his beloved daughter, Tullia.

⁵⁴ *Ad Atticum*, XII, 21, 5, *Loeb Classical Library* translation, by permission of the Harvard University Press.

⁵⁵ His African triumph had also been over Roman citizens, but it was included in his great triumph and was presented as a victory over King Juba. But cf. *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. IX, p. 704.

⁵⁶ Cicero's absence on this occasion saved him from voting for or against such measures.

M. Marcellus, he freely forgave in response to the appeal of Cicero and other friends.⁵⁷ But Caesar was not a man to be satisfied with mere conciliation. Neither did he need to be told what to do by Cicero and other academic advisers. He had a program. The Republican régime had collapsed, partly through his own work. It was now his responsibility to build where he had helped to break down. He had no satisfactory model in previous Roman history for reconstruction. To follow the Gracchan, Sullan, and Pompeian patterns would be clearly futile. Equally impossible was the academic theorizing of Cicero or the negativity of Cato. The administration of a world empire could no longer be committed to the selfish parasitism of either proletariat, self-seeking demagogues, or senatorial oligarchy. To Caesar the old régime had become an empty shell, and senate and assembly alike were beyond redemption. The time had come for a drastic remedy, the frank centralization of authority and responsibility in the hands of one man. A sham liberty for a few exploiters in Rome must give place to efficiency for the welfare of a world empire.⁵⁸

Unfortunately, Caesar was stricken down by death before he had completed his program so that we shall never know positively his actual aim. But the general trend of his policy and his conception of his own position in the state are fairly clear from the offices, powers, honors, and titles which he accepted at the hands of a subservient senate. These cast a veil of legality over his autocracy, which actually rested, in the last analysis, upon armed force.⁵⁹ In 46 B.C. he was reappointed dictator for ten years, and later for life, which fact in itself gave him absolute *imperium* free from interference of colleague or tribune both in and outside of Rome. As if this were not enough, since the year 48 he had held the continuous consulship with a colleague, and after Munda he was made sole consul. In addition, he held the full tribunician authority without the office, and in 45 B.C. the inviolability of his person was guaranteed. His supreme authority over the state religion, as Pontifex Maximus since the year 63, was supplemented in 48 by his admission to all priestly corporations. As "prefect of morals"⁶⁰ since 46, first for three years and finally for life, he also held the essential powers of the censorship.

This concentration of offices in his person was supplemented from time to time by the grant of other extraordinary powers independent of any specific office. Among these was the right to nominate one-half of the annual Roman and provincial magistrates and doubtless influenced the appointment of all, to take the lead in discussion in the senate (46), to make war or peace independently of the senate, and⁶¹ to have the sole command of the military and naval forces, and the supreme control of the public treasury. To climax this pyramiding of powers, in 44 the senate voted a wholesale ratification of all his future acts and required all magistrates henceforth to take oath to uphold them! This

⁵⁷ The consul in 50 B.C., who had moved to deprive Caesar of his command in Gaul. In appreciation of Caesar's act, Cicero made an eloquent speech urging him to restore the Republic.

⁵⁸ Cf. p. 242, n. 89.

⁵⁹ The following list of special offices, powers, and honors is given without distinction as to the date of their being granted before or after Munda.

⁶⁰ Nothing better reveals the purely formal character of religion and morals in Roman society. Yet some modern dictatorships are re-enacting the farce.

⁶¹ So Dio, XLII, 20, though the evidence for such a decree is questionable.

was about the limit of absolutism for any historic king, tyrant, emperor, or dictator. Though ostensibly by constitutional grant, it lifted Caesar, like Aristotle's tyrant, far above law or constitution and degraded all other magistrates to the status of mere servants of his autocratic power.

Such an exalted being must have corresponding honors and titles, which his flatterers in the senate readily voted, partly at his suggestion. In any event, he accepted them all, though not always with good grace.⁶² The title *imperator* which was regularly given by the army to a victorious general as his right until he laid down his *imperium* after his triumph, Caesar had naturally borne from the year 49 until his triumph in 46. But after Munda, contrary to all Roman precedent, he was granted the title by decree of the senate and assumed it as a permanent honor in peace.⁶³ He was also called father of his country (*pater patriae*); his birth month, Quintilis, was renamed Julius (July); his statue was placed with those of the kings of Rome, and his image in the temple of Quirinus (the deified Romulus) on which was the inscription, if we may trust Dio, "To the unconquerable god"; his statue was erected on a globe suggestive of world-wide victory; an ivory statue of him was borne with those of the gods in the festive processions; it was probably decreed, also, that his image be set up in all the cities and in the other temples of Rome;⁶⁴ his chariot was placed opposite the temple of Jupiter; his birthday was celebrated with sacrifices and prayers for long life; a pediment suggestive of a temple was authorized for his house on the Palatine; a temple was dedicated to Caesar and his clemency; and a priest (*flamen*) was set apart for his worship there; the Julian Luperci, a new college of priests, was also established in his honor; his head was placed on the coins; and he was given the title Jupiter Julius, and Antony was appointed as his priest.⁶⁵

With such an accumulation of life offices, honors, and autocratic powers, Caesar had all the authority of a king. The end of the Roman Republic and the beginning of the Empire date essentially, though not formally, from his dictatorship. Whether he intended later to establish a permanent monarchy in name as well as in fact, and to abolish even the forms of constitutionalism, his early death has left unanswered. But it is altogether probable that this was his ultimate aim. His acceptance of powers and honors from the senate, and his association of it with himself in public business, was probably only a temporary opportunism to conciliate Republican tradition. Clearly, he had an ill-disguised contempt for it, which was only increased by its fulsome flattery of him.⁶⁶

Roman political practice had been clearly moving in the direction of autocracy for more than a generation, and Caesar, despite his conciliatory attitude, was not a man of compromise. His claim to descent from kings and gods, his permanent use of the symbols of royalty, the laurel, purple robe, and gilded

⁶² Most of the following were granted after Munda in the year 45.

⁶³ But probably not as a praenomen as Dio and Suetonius assert.

⁶⁴ The authenticity of this alleged decree is doubtful.

⁶⁵ Possibly after Caesar's death.

⁶⁶ But his enlargement of the senate to 900 and inclusion of provincials and men of low birth probably had for its aim to pack it with his friends and to make it more representative of the Empire.

chariot,⁶⁷ his placing of his head on the coins, and his acceptance of the title *imperator* as a permanent honor in time of peace all point toward an aim of permanent monarchy. He was in no sense the heir of the Gracchi as an upholder of the democratic right of the tribunate, nor did he aim primarily to base his autocracy on the will of the masses over against the senate, but on military force.

Whether Caesar really coveted the title *rex* (king), we shall never know. Perhaps he considered *imperator* enough, and *rex* a dangerous name, in view of ancient Roman tradition. When he was actually hailed as *rex* by the plebs, he answered surlily, "I am not *rex* but Caesar," but when a royal fillet was placed on his statue, he angrily deposed the tribunes for removing it. At the feast of the Lupercalia about a month before his assassination, he repeatedly rejected Antony's proffer of the crown, but had the crowd greeted the offer with joyous acclamation instead of with ominous silence, he might well have accepted. There is no definite evidence in his will, however, that he purposed to establish a hereditary dynasty, or to name his successor, whether his adopted son, Octavian, or his son, Caesarion, by Cleopatra. He may have intended to marry her and legitimize his son, as he would thereby have incorporated Egypt in the Roman Empire and have allied himself with an ancient royal house at one stroke. She had followed him to Rome in 46 with her son and child husband, probably at his invitation, and was established in a house in his gardens across the Tiber. Her image also was placed in his new temple of Venus Genetrix. But a legitimate marriage would have first involved divorce for both and would have outraged Roman sentiment. He probably did not contemplate it, therefore, at least until after his Parthian campaign.

Caesar's acceptance of practically divine honors is also strong evidence of his monarchical aims. The god-king of Syria and Egypt⁶⁸ was the natural model for a monarch to contemporary Romans, and Roman generals had received divine honors from some of the cities of the Hellenistic East. The evidence, however, hardly warrants the belief that Caesar was formally admitted to a place among the gods during his lifetime or that it was his deliberate policy to be so recognized. Dio, who especially stresses his divine honors, wrote nearly three centuries later when the divine autocracy of the Roman emperor was taken for granted, and may well have read it back into Caesar's day.⁶⁹ But the dictator may have been willing to encourage deification, at least outside of Rome, as a step toward Hellenistic monarchy. In any case, the emotional reaction from his martyrdom and the propaganda of Antony and Octavian to bolster their own cause raised him to the gods soon after his death.

Caesar's autocratic attitude and his relations with Cleopatra gave rise to the rumor that he intended, after his Parthian campaign, to transfer his seat of government from Rome to Alexandria or Ilium. This fear may well have been an impelling motive in the hurried assassination of him before his departure. Such an idea of moving the capital would have accorded well with his comprehensive vision of a homogeneous world state, as also with his political abso-

⁶⁷ These were regularly permitted to the *triumphator*, but only during his triumph.

⁶⁸ For discussion of the theory of the Hellenistic kingship, cf. Vol. I, Chapters Twenty-nine and Thirty.

⁶⁹ Suetonius stresses the point much less than Dio.

lutism, which could be more readily realized in the East, unhampered by Roman Republican tradition. Yet he knew better than any living Roman that the real center of the Mediterranean world and the solid basis for building a world autocracy was the West rather than the politically degenerate Hellenistic East. Also, the conqueror of Gaul might well have hesitated to encourage Gallic revolt and German invasion by establishing his capital so far from the center. In any event, he probably intended to use the prestige of Parthian conquest to secure recognition as a Hellenistic monarch first in the East and later in the West.⁷⁰

2. CAESAR'S LEGISLATION AND REFORMS

By his forcible revolutionizing of the Roman constitution, Caesar brought order out of chaos throughout the Roman world. He stopped civil war against central authority and established a strong, efficient government in the interest of the whole Empire. But his constructive mind could not rest with this accomplishment. A multitude of acute internal problems demanded his attention, which he undertook to solve by an extensive program of actual and planned legislation that touched almost every phase of Roman society. Before his African campaign he had shown his wise statesmanship by his enfranchisement of the Transpadane Gauls, his restoration of political exiles, and his laws to relieve debtors and to check usury. On his return to Rome after Thapsus, however, he undertook a whole series of measures for the removal of abuses of long standing, as well as for large constructive projects.⁷¹

The chronic problem of the urban proletariat was courageously attacked. A rough census was taken, and the number of those who had real claim to the grain dole was drastically reduced from 320,000 to 150,000, thereby greatly relieving the burden on the treasury and halting the wholesale pauperization of the masses by political demagogues. The negative reform was supplemented by providing employment on public works and by large colonization projects; also by his law requiring that one-third of the shepherds and herdsmen on ranches, especially in southern Italy, should be freemen. Incidentally, this would also alleviate the danger of slave rebellions and would furnish a new source of hardy herdsmen for the Roman legions. Caesar also struck at the root of the political violence and lawlessness in Rome by dissolving all plebeian *collegia*, or guilds, which had previously been used by Clodius and other demagogues as political clubs of ruffians to terrorize Rome. Only the older associations of actual craftsmen and the Jewish organizations were exempted from the law. Public order in the city was improved by the use of a small armed force to assist the lictors, who, strange to say, were the only civil police in the Roman state. These measures were supplemented by more drastic criminal laws. Parricide was punished by confiscation of all property, and lesser crimes

⁷⁰ For a balanced, though perhaps overconservative, discussion of Caesar's position in the state, and his political and religious aims, cf. F. E. Adcock in *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. IX, pp. 718-40.

⁷¹ For convenience, the reforms will all be discussed at this point regardless of their date before or after his Spanish campaign. For Caesar's increase in the magistracies and his enlargement of the senate to 900, cf. the above section. The senate was also restored to one-half voting strength on the juries.

by the loss of one-half. For political violence and crimes against the state, the penalty was outlawry.

Perhaps Caesar's most permanently useful measure was his reform of the calendar. In time past the old lunar calendar, having only 355 days, had been roughly adjusted to the solar year by the intercalation of two extra months of twenty-two and twenty-three days in each four-year cycle, one at the close of the second and the other at the close of the fourth year. But for political or other reasons, the pontiffs had neglected the intercalation for eight years, so that by the year 46 the calendar was eighty days in advance of the actual seasons. For example, the Battle of Thapsus, which was fought on April 6th by the Roman calendar, actually occurred on February 6th. With the aid of Sosigenes, an Alexandrian astronomer, he introduced the Egyptian solar year of approximately $365\frac{1}{4}$ days, with the addition of an extra day in February every fourth year to provide for the fraction.⁷² The Julian calendar went into effect on January 1, 45 B.C., and to make the adjustment the year 46 consisted of 445 days. The Kalends of January, 709 A.U.C. corresponded, therefore, to January 1, 45 B.C.⁷³ The fifth month (*Quintilis*), reckoning from March, was renamed Julius (July) in honor of Caesar, just as the sixth month (*Sextilis*) was later named Augustus (August) in honor of his successor. The Julian calendar, including the various lengths of the months, is, with slight corrections made by Pope Gregory XIII in the sixteenth century, still our own.⁷⁴

Less wise were the sumptuary laws, which were absurdly inconsistent with the dictator's whole past life and the reckless prodigality of his recent triumph. High duties were imposed on costly Oriental products. Luxuries such as the wearing of pearls and riding in litters were strictly forbidden, and others such as expensive sepulchral monuments and costly foods were carefully regulated. Until his departure for Spain, he made a serious effort at enforcement by having his lictors and armed police guard the markets and even snoop into private dining rooms.

Caesar sought to revive Italian agriculture and increase available acreage by forcing capitalists to invest one-half their money in land, by requiring the employment of one-third free labor on the *latifundia*, and by extensive drainage projects. Unlike Sulla, in distributing land to his veterans, he was careful to disturb the previous allotments as little as possible. He also had large plans for stimulating trade and better transportation of agricultural products by the construction of a great central highway across Italy through the central Apennines.

Caesar's most significant measures for both agriculture and trade, however, as also for the solution of the unemployment problem, were his great coloniza-

⁷² His reckoning was slightly over eleven minutes in excess. A more accurate calculation of the great third-century Greek astronomer, Hipparchus, was at hand in the Alexandrian library, but was overlooked or ignored.

⁷³ According to the Roman calendar, the Kalends were the first of each month; the Nones, the seventh of March, May, July, and October, and the fifth of the other months; the Ides, the fifteenth of the above-named months, and the thirteenth of the rest. The Romans reckoned their time from the traditional date of the founding of Rome (*ab urbe condita*, or A.U.C. 753 B.C.).

⁷⁴ The papal changes were not accepted by Protestant England (including America) until 1752, which fact accounts for the fact that George Washington is recorded as born on February eleventh instead of the twenty-second.

tion projects in Italy and the provinces. The 20,000 surviving veterans of the Gallic wars, besides others who had seen long service elsewhere, were settled in Campania and other parts of Italy, and in Africa, Corinth, and Transalpine Gaul. His great colonial projects overseas were commercial and industrial as well as agricultural, and in these he was the true successor of Gaius Gracchus. Carthage and Corinth were now rebuilt and became once more flourishing commercial centers. Other important settlements were Sinope and Heraclea on the Black Sea, and a considerable number in Africa and Spain. In the industrial and commercial colonies, Caesar found an extensive outlet for the urban unemployed who made poor agricultural material. According to Suetonius,⁷⁵ he colonized 80,000 citizens overseas, mostly proletariat. Many freedmen were included, especially in Corinth, to whom he probably intended to grant equal rights with the other poor freemen.

One of Caesar's most constructive pieces of legislation, which was at least in process before his death, was his Julian municipal law, placing municipal administration and organization of all Italian communities (possibly including Rome) on a uniform basis. It seems to have provided for a model town charter, establishing a municipal council of ex-magistrates for legislation and a board of four elected annually by the whole citizenship to exercise executive and judicial power. Such a law was truly expressive of Caesar's interest in the unification and welfare of Italy and the revival of civic spirit in the municipalities. It did not necessarily imply, however, a purpose to deprive the communities of local self-government or to reduce Rome to a level of the other Italian towns.⁷⁶

Caesar's broad statesmanship and imperial-mindedness are best revealed in his constructive interest in the welfare of the provinces. This appeared even in his first consulship, but with his dictatorship began a new era in Roman provincial administration. He freed Asia, Transalpine Gaul, and possibly Sicily from the evil tithe system, instituting in its place a definite annual tax, and legislated against the extortion of the *publicani*. The provinces were henceforth freed from the arbitrary actions of the governors and their suite, since they were no longer independent rulers, but mere officials strictly responsible to a supreme master. From Caesar's standpoint each province was an integral part of the Roman state, for whose general welfare the central government was duly responsible. His widespread colonial projects, his plan for the extension of Roman civil law throughout the provinces, the enfranchisement of the Transpadane Gauls and of whole towns or tribes recently subdued, his plans

⁷⁵ *Divine Julius*, 42, 1.

⁷⁶ Cicero's reference (*Ad Familiares*, VI, 18, 1) to a *lex Julia municipalis* and an inscription at Padua (Patavium) are usually accepted as fair evidence that such a general law by Caesar existed. On the vexed problem of the possible relation of the three fragments of legislation, especially part three, on a bronze tablet found at Heraclea in 1732, cf. *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. IX, pp. 698 ff.; T. Rice Holmes, *Roman Republic*, Vol. III, pp. 323, 553-64; E. G. Hardy, *Six Roman Laws*, pp. 149 ff.; *Some Problems in Roman History*, Oxford, 1924, pp. 239-326; J. S. Reid, "The So-called 'Lex Julia Municipalis,'" *Journal of Roman Studies*, V, 1915, Pt. 2; E. G. Hardy, *Roman Laws and Charters*, Oxford, 1912. For years the universal interpretation, following Mommsen, was that all the laws on the tablet were parts of a general municipal law, the *lex Julia municipalis* by which Caesar regulated all municipalities including Rome. It is now generally admitted that the tablet is a composite of several measures, but part three, dealing with Italian towns outside of Rome, may still well be a part of a general municipal law by Caesar.

for the rapid Romanization of Spain and Gaul, his admission of provincials to the Roman senate, his imposition of the five per cent import tax on Italian as well as provincial ports, his vast project for a complete survey and census of citizens and noncitizens alike throughout the whole Empire, all point to an imperial, as distinguished from a predominantly Roman or Italian, policy.⁷⁷ He was perhaps the first Roman to dream of a day when Rome and Italy would have no special privilege over Gaul or Greek, Asiatic or African, but when the whole Empire should be one homogeneous commonwealth.

Many other great projects of Caesar were either interrupted or remained entirely unfulfilled through his sudden death. He had undertaken an extensive public-building program for the beautification of the imperial capital. From his Gallic booty, he spent 60,000,000 sesterces (\$3,000,000) to purchase land to the north of the Forum for a new Julian Forum which was begun in 51 B.C. and was to cost 100,000,000 sesterces (\$5,000,000). Some of his important structures, built or projected, were the Basilica Julia, begun in 54 B.C., a new theatre, a great temple of Mars, new Rostra, a new Senate House, and public libraries over which the antiquarian scholar, Varro, was to preside. During his dictatorship he also paved the Forum. Had he lived, he, rather than Augustus, might have transformed Rome from a city of brick to a city of marble. Caesar also had vast plans for public works to encourage agriculture and commerce, such as draining the Pomptine Marshes⁷⁸ and Lucrine Lake, deepening the harbor of Ostia, cutting a canal through the Isthmus of Corinth, and connecting the port of Puteoli with the lower Tiber by means of a canal along the west coast of Italy. Other significant unfulfilled projects were for a comprehensive census of all the inhabitants of the entire Empire and for a complete codification of Roman law.

At the time of his assassination, he was soon to leave for Parthia by way of Dacia and Lesser Armenia to avenge the disaster of Carrhae.⁷⁹ Such an expedition was naturally popular in Rome and, if successful, would probably have made him emperor. But he had other reasons for his campaign. Since the defeat of Crassus, Syria had been exposed to Parthian invasion and was dominated by his Pompeian enemies supported by Parthia. Caesar had already made extensive military preparations at Rome and in the East for the expedition, and transports were beginning to carry troops across the Adriatic when his vast plans were ended by his sudden death.

X. THE IDES OF MARCH

(44 B.C.)

From the time of his Spanish campaign, the opposition to Caesar's absolutism had rapidly increased. The conservatives bitterly resented the loss of

⁷⁷ There are exceptions, however. Such acts as his limitation of the governorship in consular provinces to two years and in praetorian provinces to one, and his permitting the Pompeian law providing for a five-year interlude between the consulship and a proconsulship to lapse, seem hardly in the interest of good provincial government. But now that he dominated the choice of officials, the Pompeian law was useless.

⁷⁸ This accomplishment was reserved for a modern dictator.

⁷⁹ Cf. Plutarch, *Caesar*, LVIII, on his broad plans for his return journey.

their special privilege of government, and his assumption of practically divine and royal honors and acceptance of the dictatorship for life was the last straw. It now seemed evident that he had no thought of restoring the Republic, and that monarchy was his ultimate aim. Despite his clemency, he resented the least trespass on his authority or slight to his honor. Even the populace received Antony's offer of the crown with ominous silence, for they too were steeped in the Republican hatred of either kings or tyrants. Clearly, Caesar had moved too fast in his scorn of old forms and tactless disregard of Roman tradition.

The plot for his assassination had probably been in process since his return from Munda, and by March, 44, the conspirators numbered over sixty. C. Cassius, an ex-Pompeian whom Caesar had forgiven and made praetor for the year but who was jealous at his preference for Decimus Junius Brutus, was their animating spirit. He had finally won over to the plot Marcus Junius Brutus, who traced his ancestry back to the overthrower of the last Tarquin king. Caesar, partly through his long-standing liaison with Servilia, the mother of Brutus, held him in special regard. Though Brutus was a Pompeian, Caesar had saved him at Pharsalus and had honored him with a place on his staff. But the appeals of the plotters to remember his ancestry finally shamed him into joining the conspiracy. Other factors were his marriage to the daughter of Cato, his Greek ideal of political liberty, and his Stoic conception of duty. Trebonius and Decimus Brutus were Caesarians, but opponents of monarchy. Many senators were outraged by Caesar's assumption of supreme honors and rumors that he planned to move his capital to the East. Others were moved by envy, thwarted ambition, and disappointment at their limited gains. Cicero probably knew of the plot and welcomed it. His letters reflect his growing bitterness at Caesar's autocracy. When Caesar's image was placed in the temple of Quirinus, he wrote to his friend: "I would rather see him sharing the temple with Quirinus than with Safety."⁸⁰ He was not directly involved in the conspiracy, however. Plutarch's guess sounds plausible that the conspirators may have thought him "too timid or too old," though they knew they had his hearty approval. He later gloated over the deed in which he had lacked the hardihood to share.

With the usual folly of revolutionaries, the plotters had formed no positive program as to what next. They fondly supposed that the old machinery would again begin to function as soon as the dictator was removed, and that the death of Caesar would be the death of monarchy. They even fatally neglected to make a clean sweep by including Antony and other Caesarians in their net.

Caesar had no illusions as to the situation. He knew too well that he was surrounded by foes and, like all tyrants and dictators, inwardly despised them for their hypocritical and servile flattery. He knew also that Cicero, despite his outward deference, "hated him like poison." But the senate had decreed the permanent inviolability of his person and had taken an oath to protect it. Moreover, he was always a good deal of a fatalist about his fortune. He had dismissed his Spanish mounted bodyguard and went boldly about the city practically unprotected. Probably the unhealthy atmosphere in Rome, how-

⁸⁰ *Ad. Atticum*, XII, 46 (May 17, 45), *Loeb Classical Library* translation, by permission of the Harvard University Press. Quirinus (Romulus), according to tradition, had died by violence.

ever, made him anxious to leave on his expedition to Parthia. His impending departure also hastened the consummation of the plot, for to the conspirators it was now or never. They had placed him in a dilemma by presenting an alleged prophecy from the Sibylline Books that Rome would never overcome Parthia, except when led by a king. Faced with the necessity of either giving up his campaign or flouting the prophecy, his compromise suggestion that he would be king in the provinces, but not in Rome, only gave a new impetus to the conspirators.

On the eve before the Ides of March, Caesar dined with Lepidus and Decimus Brutus, and to the question as to what death was best, he replied "a sudden one." The next morning, his wife, Calpurnia, apprehensive of the sinister meaning of a dream which she had, prevailed on him to remain at home, on the plea of ill health, and he summoned Antony to dismiss the senate as the auspices were unfavorable. But the conspirators sent his friend, Decimus Brutus, to persuade him to come. Toward noon, as he was being borne to the Senate House of Pompey, someone placed a scroll in his hands, warning him of the plot, but, pressed by the throng, he went to his doom holding it in his hands unread. As he was seated in the Senate House, the conspirators crowded about him to urge their pretended petitions, while one of them remained outside to engage Antony's attention. On Caesar's refusal of the petitions, Tillius Cimber made as if to plead with him, pulling his toga down from his neck as a signal to the plotters. Casca then struck the first blow and others quickly followed, until the final stab of Brutus made him give up his struggle. He fell at the foot of Pompey's statue, struck down in his fifty-sixth year⁸¹ by the men whom he had pardoned and befriended, a martyr, not only to his own superambition and genius, but also to his undue trust in his friends. Thus was consummated one of the greatest pieces of folly in political history. For with no constructive program or insight into the actual political needs, the conspirators destroyed the only man who stood between them and another long period of civil war.

XI. CAESAR: AN EVALUATION

No portrait of Julius Caesar from life has survived, but several, notably the Naples bust, were probably based on portraits made during his lifetime. According to the hearsay description of Suetonius,⁸² he was tall and well formed, with fair complexion, a somewhat full face, and dark piercing eyes. In later life he covered his baldness by combing his scanty locks forward from the crown, and was therefore fond of wearing the laurel wreath, which privilege was voted him by the senate. He was fastidious about the care of his person and somewhat fantastic in his dress. He had a strong physique and great endurance, except that in later life he was occasionally subject to epileptic fits, the so-called "falling sickness" (*morbus comitialis*).⁸³

⁸¹ Mommsen and T. Rice Holmes argue for his age as fifty-eight, despite the testimony of Suetonius, Appian, and Plutarch.

⁸² XLV. Cf. Pl. VII.

⁸³ Named from the fact that it was considered a sufficient reason for dismissing the assembly or senate, and was therefore sometimes feigned for this purpose.

As to his personal qualities, Caesar had the practical common sense and hardheaded realism of the Roman raised to the *nth* power, gigantic energy, supreme self-confidence, and a courage that verged on foolhardiness. He was of a passionate nature, and lived intensely, a hater of sham and inefficiency, swift and direct in action, rugged and simple⁸⁴ in his life, yet fond of elegance. He had an imperious will to dominate others, and supreme ability to do it. His superambition for himself and Rome, based on an implicit faith in his own genius, birth, and fortune, was utterly ruthless and unhampered by any moral principle in the face of opposition. Yet he was no holder of grudges and was notable for his clemency and magnanimity to his enemies. Cicero, his lifelong opponent, marveled at his "unsurpassable moderation," fairness, and equitable dealings with all, and once eloquently declared: "You are accustomed to forget nothing but injuries."⁸⁵ Though a magnetic personality and a born leader, who won the loyalty and devotion of his troops, he had a cold, aristocratic exclusiveness that failed to win the love of his fellow citizens and made few intimate friends. Yet to have won the abiding friendship of such a noble and refined character as Gaius Matius, who unlike most was "not caught by the sweets of either office or money," is sufficient evidence of finer elements in Caesar that could attract him.⁸⁶

Intellectually, Caesar was a man of marvelous versatility, a polished gentleman in society, but also an orator, a man of letters, a writer of chaste, clear, direct, forceful Latin, an antiquarian, general, politician, statesman, and in each a supreme master as occasion demanded. His clear vision and penetrating insight struck straight at the issue. He had a comprehensive mind for vast plans and an exceptional organizing ability for their practical execution. He was the greatest genius Rome produced, and in the combined fields of war and politics, few have been his equal in world history.⁸⁷

A man of his dominating personality and ambitions was sure to arouse intense prejudices for or against himself, which are reflected in both ancient and modern literature. He has been eulogized as a superman and a god or belittled as a mere sensualist, a selfish egotist, a political opportunist, a stupid fumbler, a self-seeking demagogue, and a victim of diseased greatness, depending upon the political color of the interpreter. Brutus, Cassius, and their associates were idealized by later Roman Republican writers as noble patriots who struck down tyranny in the name of liberty and the salvation of the Republic. But this was a superficial view, with little insight into political realities. In actual fact, the alternative of real liberty or tyranny was not involved. The Republic that Caesar overthrew and that the tyrannicides thought they were restoring was no popular government, as we have seen, but an exclusive oligarchy of a privileged few who exploited millions of provincials to satisfy their own greed and the hungry stomachs of the shiftless Roman mob. Whether the senate was capable of being reformed and the institutions of the Republic could

⁸⁴ But cf. Suetonius, *Divus Julius*, XLVI-XLVIII.

⁸⁵ *Pro Ligario*, 12, 35.

⁸⁶ Cf. Cicero's letter, *Ad Familiares*, XI, 27, and Matius's answer, XI, 28, which has well been called the noblest letter from antiquity. It deserves careful reading as a welcome evidence that amid the self-seeking and hypocrisy of Caesar's Rome, there was at least one rare spirit who rose entirely above it.

⁸⁷ For a detailed estimate of his generalship, cf. above, under the Gallic wars.

be adapted to the needs of a great empire can never be answered dogmatically. Perhaps Caesar had the genius, if he had possessed the patience, to have successfully revamped the system instead of destroying it. But such a radical reform could have been accomplished in the face of Bourbon-like opposition only by force. Political systems cannot be judged abstractly, but in relation to the concrete conditions which they subserve. Probably the only efficient government that would comprehend the needs and provide for the welfare of a vast empire in that day was one in which the authority and responsibility were centered in the hands of one man.⁸⁸

It is a tribute to the political insight and world vision of Julius Caesar that he alone of his contemporaries understood this clearly. This in no way condones his selfish egotism or the corruption and violence by which he realized his superambition. Least of all does it justify his tactless antagonizing of his fellow citizens and debasing them to servile flatterers by the assumption of extreme honors. The nemesis of all dictatorships, despotisms, and tyrannies also hounded Caesar to his death. With all his genius, he was no god, but pre-eminently a child of his chaotic age, and his methods must be judged by the political conditions, ideals, and practices of that age. When the senate and Pompey sought to destroy him, his only alternative was to defend himself by arms against what he rightly considered to be a corrupt and outworn system. Like a great Colossus, his powerful figure stands astride his own age, the later history of the Roman Empire, and after, shaping its destinies for good or ill. He was the founder of the Roman Empire, and though Augustus did not follow his model of autocracy, it gradually became the dominant imperial form. Many of the great political policies and accomplishments of the later emperors from Augustus to Justinian were first envisaged by him. By his conquest of Gaul, he determined the general political and cultural framework of Western Europe. Caesar became the proud title of all succeeding Roman emperors, and later of many European potentates, and is still the name to conjure with in contemporary Italian Fascism.

In view of his vast plans for social and economic improvement in the Roman world, and his efficiency in realizing them, one is tempted to wish that autocracy in the capable hands of such a ruler might have been given at least another decade of life. But Caesar was already old for his years, and there were signs that his unlimited powers and honors had gone to his head. Moreover, had he lived to conquer Parthia, he might have made himself a Hellenistic ruler over the Roman world with capital at Alexandria. Thus would Rome have been dominated by Oriental despotism three centuries earlier than it was, and the Western Empire might have been overrun by Germans centuries before its civilization was fully formed to become the torchbearer to the West.

⁸⁸ Such a conclusion in no sense implies preference for monarchy or dictatorship or a despair of democracy today. The two situations are so utterly different as to make attempted analogy largely irrelevant. The oligarchic Roman Republic with its antiquated machinery had proven utterly inadequate to rule a world empire. One may consistently criticize the decadent Republic and admit the seeming necessity of monarchy, under the circumstances, without in any way condoning Caesarism then or now.

Chapter Twelve

THE DEATH AGONY OF THE REPUBLIC

(44-27 B.C.)¹

I. ANTONY IN CONTROL

The Ides of March had struck down the dictator, but had settled nothing, for his assassins had no plans, and his sudden death, with no arrangement for a successor, had left the shell of the Republic still intact. Consternation and panic reigned in Rome. The helpless senators deserted the Senate House in fear; Antony, the surviving consul, barricaded himself in his home, awaiting attack; M. Aemilius Lepidus, Caesar's master of horse, withdrew across the Tiber; the "tyrannicides," whose joyous shout of "liberty" was received with sullen silence by the hostile populace, sought refuge on the Capitol. Fatally for their own cause, they had killed Caesar but not his party, potentially strong in his veterans and the urban plebs and led by the resourceful consul Antony and by Lepidus with his legion. Immediate decisive action backed by the senate might have won control. In this hope, Cicero, who heartily approved the murder, sought Brutus on the Capitol, but the only plan of Brutus was to do nothing.

The initiative, therefore, passed to the hands of Antony, who had already taken over Caesar's papers and funds from Calpurnia. On the morning of March 17th, as consul, he summoned the senate to the temple of Tellus near his home. The majority heartily favored the assassins, but feared, in the face of Caesar's veterans and the legion of Lepidus, to pass the proposal of the radical Republicans for honoring the assassins, denial of burial to Caesar, and repudiation of his acts. As Antony shrewdly warned them also, to cancel Caesar's acts would not only bring chaos in both Rome and the provinces, but would mean the loss of present or prospective office for many senators. This dilemma and Cicero's influence for mutual conciliation enabled Antony to put through his motion for full amnesty to the conspirators as an act of clemency, confirmation of all Caesar's acts, including even his future plans to be revealed in his papers, full approval of his will, and the honor of a public funeral. The illogical compromise was sealed by a dinner given to the assassins

¹ Aside from coins and brief references in the *Res Gestae* of Augustus, the only contemporary sources are Cicero's *Philippics* against Antony and his relevant *Letters to Atticus* and *to His Friends*, but these end with his death in the summer of 43 B.C. Secondary sources are the *Epitomes* of Livy; Velleius Paterculus, who blackens Antony; Plutarch, *Antony* (valuable), and a little in his *Brutus* and *Cicero*; Suetonius, *Deified Augustus*; Appian, *Civil Wars*, II, 118-V, 145 (the chief connected narrative based largely on lost contemporary accounts); and Dio, *Roman History*, XLV, 20-LIII, 3 (rhetorical and propagandistic for monarchy, but useful).

by the Caesarian leaders, and Cicero regaled the assembly with a lengthy encomium of the decree of amnesty.

Antony now had the situation well in hand and knew how to use his advantage. He was in the prime of life (about thirty-eight) and a descendant of one of the proudest Roman families. Though a spendthrift debtor and rioter in his youth, and always a lover of luxury and sensual pleasure, he had distinguished himself by his service in the East and with Caesar for his courage, energy, resourcefulness, and popularity with the soldiers. He also had the gift of eloquence. Except for a short time, after Munda, he had been Caesar's most trusted and zealous supporter, and his associate in the consulship. He had hoped to be named in Caesar's will as son and heir, but was given only the second place.

According to Caesar's will, which was read in the consul's house on March 17th, he bequeathed his gardens across the Tiber to the Roman people for a public park, and a gift of 300 sesterces (\$15.00) to each citizen. The bulk of his fortune he left to his young grand-nephew, C. Octavius, whom he named as his adopted son and chief heir, with Decimus Brutus and Antony as alternates (*heredes secundi*). Though bitterly disappointed that Caesar had preferred this obscure youth to him, Antony determined to use all means to retain control. His immediate game was to conciliate the conspirators and shunt them from Rome on distant commands, to win and hold the leadership of the Caesarians and the city plebs, to secure the confidence of the senate by mildness and a pretense of constitutionalism, and to fortify his power in Italy by control of the legions in Cisalpine Gaul, and he played it with skill and considerable success. With the skill of a master, he inflamed the feelings of the mob against the murderers of their great champion by the dramatic recital of the royal and divine honors heaped upon Caesar by the senate, and its oath to protect him as inviolate. There was little time for further eloquence from him.² At the sight of the victim's rent and bloody toga and his wax funeral image with its gaping wounds, the pent-up fury of the mob against his treacherous friends whom he had saved and honored by his clemency burst all bounds. Like wild beasts, they surged over the city in search of the murderers and tore to pieces in the streets an innocent victim. Returning to the Forum, they made a funeral pile of the tables, benches, and costly funeral trappings, and burned the corpse of their hero, keeping vigil through the night. There they are said to have buried his ashes and raised an altar in the Forum, where later stood his temple.

The shrewd Antony had accomplished his purpose. So menacing was the attitude of the populace that the conspirators dared no longer remain in Rome. Decimus Brutus left for his province of Cisalpine Gaul. Marcus Brutus and Cassius remained for a time near the city. Antony, secure in his bodyguard of 6,000, controlled the situation and assumed an attitude of conciliation to

² Suetonius, 84, 2-3, says: "Instead of a eulogy," Antony had the herald recite the honors and the oath, "to which he added a very few words (*per pauca verba*) of his own." Appian, *Civil Wars*, II, 144-148, agrees with Suetonius, except that he adds details on an alleged funeral dirge of Antony. Dio, XLIV, 36-49, gives a much longer speech of Antony, evidently of his own composition. Cf. Shakespeare, *Julius Caesar*, for the dramatized version. Cf. also Plutarch, *Antony*, XIV; *Brutus*, XX, 3; *Cicero*, XVII, 2 ff.

Brutus and Cassius by checking Lepidus, while giving all the political plums to the Caesarians. Dolabella was accepted as his colleague in the consulship, and Lepidus was made Caesar's successor as chief pontiff and, as a possible rival, was persuaded to leave Rome for his province of Hither Spain to oppose the advance of Sextus Pompey. He conciliated the senate by a decree making illegal a dictatorship of the Sullan or Caesarian type and by proposing to invite Sextus Pompey to return to Rome and receive back in full his father's property. Even Cicero was deceived for a time by his friendly and flattering letters. Antony freely embezzled from Caesar's treasure and used his control of the dictator's papers to put through legislation advantageous to himself.³

According to Caesar's plans for the assignment of provinces, Antony was to have Macedon, but he, wishing to keep control of Italy, secured the passage of a law transferring to him Cisalpine and Transalpine Gaul, leaving Macedon for Decimus Brutus and Syria for Dolabella, who were to take over their provinces at once. The command of each was extended to six years in direct violation of Caesar's measure limiting the proconsular command to two years. Brutus and Cassius were disposed of by a temporary grain commission and by assigning to them the secondary provinces of Crete and Cyrene. They left with all haste for the East so as to seize control of Syria and the Eastern provinces in advance of Dolabella, and thereby fortify themselves against Antony, the self-appointed successor to Caesar's absolutism. Thus within a few weeks after the murder, Antony had gotten the senate under his thumb and rid Rome of his opponents and rivals, while the disillusioned Cicero now bewailed the fact that autocracy had not died with the autocrat.

II. THE RISE OF OCTAVIAN

With one possible rival, however, because of his youth and obscurity, Antony had not reckoned, the eighteen-year-old adopted son of Caesar, Gaius Octavian,⁴ who was to beat him at his own game, dominate the Roman world for over half a century, and shape its destinies for centuries to come. His advent on the scene about the last of May, 44, to claim his heritage caused his elder rival to return in haste to Rome from Campania, where he had been supervising land allotments to Caesar's veterans.

Octavian was born, as an ironical fortune would have it, in 63 B.C., the year of Cicero's consulship. He came of an old and respected, though somewhat obscure, family of Velitrae. His mother, Atia, was the daughter of Caesar's sister, Julia, and her deep reverence for the ancient Italian tradition and religion was later to find expression in his reforms. He was a youth of handsome presence and noble bearing, and remarkably well endowed with tact and shrewd intelligence, which was developed by the best education under famous Greek teachers from Pergamum and Alexandria. From his boyhood he was a special protégé of Caesar, who always had a keen eye for real ability. He had him pronounce the funeral eulogy over his grandmother, Julia, at the age

³ Cleopatra had left Rome with her son, Caesarion, for Egypt a month after the murder.

⁴ His adopted name was Gaius Julius Caesar Octavianus. Though "Caesar" to his contemporaries, moderns have preferred the name Octavian, to distinguish him from Julius.

of twelve, gave him a place in the college of pontiffs, and permitted him to ride in his triumphal procession. His delicate health, which handicapped him with frequent attacks of illness throughout his life, prevented him from accompanying Caesar to Africa or Spain, though he visited him at Munda after the victory. About six months before his death Caesar sent him to Apollonia, in company with the trusted Agrippa and other friends, to continue his studies and gain some knowledge of army life as preparation for the projected Parthian campaign. Thus, from his earliest boyhood, Caesar was doubtless his hero and must have exerted a tremendous influence in shaping his youthful ambitions and ideals.⁵

When Octavian received the dread news that Caesar had been treacherously slain by supposed friends and sworn supporters, his devotion to his great benefactor was changed to a desire for vengeance against the traitors. Wisely rejecting the offer of the legions to march on Rome under his leadership, he left with a few associates for the capital. On hearing for the first time at Brundisium that he was Caesar's adopted son and heir, his determination and ambition were tremendously strengthened to prove himself worthy of that great name. It was to take years of persistent struggle against ill health and other great odds, with enemies on every side, before he finally arrived at his goal. At Naples he met Cicero who wrote to Atticus with apparent satisfaction: "There will be a crow to pick with Antony."⁶

On arriving in Rome late in April, he publicly assumed the name of Caesar⁷ and claimed his inheritance, frankly denouncing the assassins. Scorned and rebuffed as a callow youth by the ambitious Antony, who had already embezzled the inheritance and hoped to take the place of the dictator, he raised money by loans and the sale of his own properties and began paying off the legacies of Caesar. Antony aroused the opposition of the masses by blocking him at every turn, failing to see that behind the sickly exterior of this young man was an iron will and exceptionally shrewd judgment. He now sent for four legions from Macedonia, with a view of taking up his command in Cisalpine Gaul and expelling Decimus Brutus. But young Octavian enlisted a force from Caesar's veterans in Campania, and on their way to Rome two of the Macedonian legions also deserted to him. Meanwhile, Cicero was in constant correspondence with Octavian, and the division of the Caesarians into two hostile camps encouraged him to return to Rome to resume the leadership of the senate in co-operation with Octavian against Antony. Toward the close of the year Antony left for his province, and Cicero denounced him in the first of a series of fourteen *Philippics*, by which he incurred his lasting enmity. The scurrilous reply of Antony called forth his famous Second *Philippic*, one of the most crushing examples of invective in ancient oratory.

⁵ Though Octavian was probably no saint, the accusations of base immorality, treachery, and cowardice against him are labels of his bitter enemies, Sextus Pompey and M. and L. Antony (Suetonius, *Deified Augustus*, 68; 69, 1-2; 10, 4). See *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. X, p. 5, n. 1; 91 f.

⁶ *Ad Atticum*, XIV, 10, 3, Loeb Classical Library translation, by permission of the Harvard University Press.

⁷ Though the legal form of adoption was delayed for nearly a year by the senate and Antony,

III. MUTINA

When Antony laid siege to Decimus Brutus in Mutina, Cicero delivered his Third and Fourth *Philippics*, urging the immediate prosecution of war against him and the active support of Brutus. Octavian, on the other hand, he openly addressed as Caesar and praised him for raising troops on his own initiative to free Rome from the domination of Antony, failing to realize that this adroit youth was probably more dangerous to Roman liberties than Antony. Early in the year 43 the senate finally ordered Antony to leave the province and prepared to send out the new consuls, Hirtius and Pansa, against him. The aid of Octavian was enlisted by conferring on him the *imperium* with propraetorian rank. Antony's defiance was met by the ultimate decree of the senate and a joint expedition against him. In two engagements near Mutina he was defeated by the combined armies of the consuls and Octavian, and fled to Transalpine Gaul with his shattered forces. Hirtius fell in battle, and Pansa later died of his wounds, leaving young Octavian master of the field.

Cicero and the senate now thought that they were again secure. Antony had been driven out of Italy. M. Brutus and Cassius had gained full mastery of the Eastern provinces, having defeated and slain Dolabella and collected a formidable military and naval force. At Cicero's suggestion, the senate voted them supreme military authority (*maius imperium*) over all the governors in the East, and also honored Sextus Pompey at Massilia with a military command. Antony was declared a public enemy, and Octavian was deliberately ignored after the victory, while Decimus Brutus was given the supreme command to pursue Antony. Cicero naïvely remarked: "The young man should be praised, honored and immortalized."⁸

He was soon to lament his folly. Antony, so far from being crushed, was soon more formidable than ever, for Lepidus, Asinius Pollio, Plancus, and other leaders in Spain and Gaul went over to him with their legions. The Republican cause now collapsed in Gaul, and Decimus Brutus, deserted even by his own legions, was captured as a fugitive and put to death by a Gallic chief, the second of the conspirators to meet his fate.⁹

Octavian also was not to be set aside or used as a mere tool of the senate. He naturally refused to surrender his legions to the assassins of his adoptive father or to aid Brutus against Antony, but, instead, sought reconciliation with Antony. As the victor at Mutina, he demanded of the senate a triumph, pay for his veterans, and the consulship. On the rejection of his demands, he marched on Rome with his eight legions and seized control. He had himself elected consul, with his uncle as colleague, who secured the condemnation and banishment of Caesar's murderers. A similar measure was passed against Sextus Pompey, while the senate's decree against Antony was revoked. Octavian's veterans were now rewarded from the public treasury, and his

⁸ *Ad Familiares*, XI, 20, Loeb Classical Library translation, by permission of the Harvard University Press. The translator suggests that a play was probably intended on the double meaning of the Latin word, *tollere*, "to praise" and "to remove by death."

⁹ The first was Trebonius, who was murdered at Dolabella's order in Smyrna.

adoption was formally legalized. Henceforth, as "Caesar,"¹⁰ he bore a name of magical power to the legions and the Roman people.

IV. THE TRIUMVIRATE AND PROSCRIPTIONS

(43 B.C.)

Early in November of the year 43 Octavian marched north to meet Antony and Lepidus in conference, since both sides now realized that they must sink their differences and join in the common cause against their mutual enemies, Brutus and Cassius. Near Bononia, a few miles south of Mutina, with their respective legions standing guard, was consummated the fateful reconciliation between the three Caesarian leaders, which was to determine the future destinies of the Roman world. The three agreed to have themselves appointed as triumvirs for the settlement of the affairs of the state (*tresviri rei publicae constituendae*) for five years, with supreme powers of legislation and nomination above either magistrates or senate. They also apportioned to themselves the Western provinces, Antony receiving Cisalpine and Transalpine Gaul; Lepidus, the two Spains; and Octavian, Africa, Sicily, and Sardinia. Lepidus was to govern Italy while Antony and Octavian proceeded against Brutus and Cassius in the East. Antony clearly had the best of the bargain, since his control of Cisalpine Gaul made him master of Italy, while the provinces of the other two were open to the naval attacks of Sextus Pompey, who had a fleet of a hundred ships. Unlike the previous informal and secret coalitions of Caesar, Pompey, and Crassus, the unholy alliance was publicly and formally signed and sealed by the three, who were established as a legal commission by a tribunician law.

The triumvirs took over the government on the first day of the year 42. To satisfy their veterans, they allotted lands from eighteen of the richest municipalities throughout Italy, ruthlessly evicting the previous owners entirely, regardless of property rights. With the triple purpose of filling their war chest for the Eastern campaign, sating their vengeance, and stamping out every vestige of opposition, they now instituted proscriptions that vied with Sulla's for their savagery. The excuse given in the long proclamation¹¹ was the avenging of Caesar's death. The tempting rewards offered for murders, 25,000 denarii (\$5,000) to a free man and 10,000 (\$2,000) and his freedom to a slave, and the assurance that the names of the murderers would not be published created a veritable reign of terror in Rome. No prominent citizen felt safe with his slaves or even with his wife or immediate relatives, lest he be informed against. Multitudes of victims, political and personal enemies and men of wealth, were hunted down and murdered for the promised bounty on their heads. It was dangerous to be rich or to possess an especially fine villa or city residence.¹² Even children were proscribed for their wealth, but the drive was especially against the old senatorial aristocracy. Three hundred senators, among them

¹⁰ The term "Octavian" was now used only by his enemies and detractors.

¹¹ Appian, IV, 8-11.

¹² The wealthy Atticus escaped through his kindness to Fulvia, the wife of Antony, and the scholar, Varro, through the efforts of his friends.

Cicero, and two thousand knights were slaughtered. Many made their escape to Sicily, aided by Sextus Pompey. The dark picture of brutality, treachery, and greed was relieved by many instances of loyalty and heroic sacrifice of relatives, friends, and slaves to save the victims at the risk of their own lives.¹³ To the honor of many citizens, also, they refused to bid on the confiscated property, so that it had to be sold very cheaply, failing to raise the amount needed for the Eastern war by 200,000,000 denarii.

Cicero was one of the first on the list of proscribed.¹⁴ He had left the capital in August of the previous year (43), utterly discouraged at the outlook for constitutional government, and soon afterward his invaluable letters forever ceased. When informed of his proscription, he prepared to flee in a small boat from Italy, but shrank from braving the wintry sea. His indecision resulted in his death. Rough soldiers, greedy for their promised gain, overtook him as he was being borne in his litter to the sea. His faithful slaves would have fought for him, but he forbade them. Though vacillating and sometimes lacking in courage, he met death with true Roman fortitude. The brutal centurion bore his severed head and hands to the delighted Antony, who crowned the murderer and gave him a handsome bonus in addition to the stipulated reward. The gory trophies were savagely suspended from the Rostra in the Forum, where for years he had championed the cause of his beloved Republic against its enemies.

No fine phrases can ever remove the blot on the name of Octavian for his full share in these proscriptions. Especially was the murder of the aged Cicero a crime against civilization, for which all the later humanity of Augustus and his generous patronage of culture can never atone. His youth and later humanitarianism suggest that he might not have been guilty of such horrors on his own initiative. Yet he had set out with a stern aim of avenging his uncle's murder, and he saw that Caesar's clemency had meant his death. If we are to believe Suetonius,¹⁵ he needed no Antony to stimulate his action.

V. CICERO AS MAN AND STATESMAN

Probably no outstanding historical personage, certainly no Roman, has been more unjustly maligned or extravagantly praised than Cicero.¹⁶ He is unfortunate in being the star witness against himself. In his voluminous correspondence he has laid bare, as no other man, his inmost nature, with all his peculiar weaknesses, faults, and foibles. Such a merciless test would doubtless considerably diminish the stature of even the greatest heroes, saints, and master minds of history. His defensive position as a "new man" in the senatorial nobility also intensified the unpleasant qualities in his personality, and his sensitive nature

¹³ Cf. Appian, *Civil Wars*, IV, 5-31, for a detailed account of the terror, with names of prominent victims.

¹⁴ The proscription included his son, who escaped to M. Brutus, his brother Quintus and his son, and "all his household, faction, and friends."

¹⁵ *Deified Augustus*, 27.

¹⁶ Extreme nineteenth-century examples of the former are Macaulay, Drumann, and Mommsen; of the latter, Middleton and Trollope. Two excellent examples of defense are G. Boissier, *Cicero and His Friends*, and J. C. Rolfe, *Cicero and His Influence*. The present trend is toward a more balanced appreciation of Cicero, while frankly recognizing his many weaknesses.

as a scholar, idealist, *littérateur*, and man of peace was ill adapted to his turbulent age.

Practically all the accusations against him can easily be sustained from his letters and orations. He reveals himself as vain, naïvely self-centered, always posing for effect, boastful, irresolute, childishly emotional in adversity, at times an opportunist and political trimmer, a toady to the great, superficial, short-sighted, and inconsistent. But his letters and life also reveal nobler qualities, which his detractors have not sufficiently recognized. Though he upheld the corrupt senatorial oligarchy, he did not share in the profits of its corruption or its crimes. As provincial governor, he was notable for his honesty, justice, and regard for the welfare of his subjects.¹⁷ He refused to sacrifice his personal freedom and what he conceived to be the liberties of the Republic for the sake of high office with Caesar. However hesitant, he could show real courage in a crisis. He defied Sulla in his defense of Roscius, opposed much of the power and wealth of Rome in his impeachment of Verres, and his execution of the conspirators of Catiline, his espousal of Pompey against Caesar, and his final defiance of Antony, whether mistaken or not, were not the acts of a trimmer. In an age of the most flagrant political corruption and contempt for the constitution, he was conspicuous for his political and private integrity. He was an indefatigable worker, a champion of justice, honorable and regular in his family life in a time notorious for the opposite,¹⁸ a humanitarian to provincials and to his slaves, who felt for him a rare devotion,¹⁹ a staunch friend, a champion of peace and order against brutality and violence, a humanistic lover of the intellectual life, a truly civilized man. Caesar regarded him highly. Livy, no friend, wrote in the next generation at the court of Augustus: "To sound his praises would require Cicero, himself, as eulogist," and Augustus, his co-murderer, later called him "a lover of his country."²⁰

Cicero cannot be classed with the leading Roman statesmen, however. He lacked the resolution, initiative, and political sagacity, and was too much of a traditionalist to succeed as a statesman in the critical days of the dying Republic. Yet of all his contemporaries, only Julius Caesar had the necessary political vision or readiness for drastic reform, and he at the sacrifice of all constitutional liberty, which Cicero, to his honor, refused to make. He was certainly far more than Mommsen's "valiant opposer of sham attacks and demolisher of many walls of pasteboard." The frequent criticism of him, also, as a mere opportunist, who repeatedly shifted his political allegiance, must be qualified by his consistent stand throughout his whole career for constitutionalism. His seeming vacillation was largely due to the swiftly shifting political scene which demanded changing attitudes.

¹⁷ It is a sinister commentary on Republican provincial government, however, that even Cicero, by apparently legitimate and legal means, could bank about \$100,000 as a result of one year as governor of Cilicia. It is due Cicero to say that he intended to turn it over to the treasury.

¹⁸ He lived with his first wife, Terentia, for over thirty years before divorce, despite her "disagreeable and dominating nature" (we do not have her side of the story). He was devoted to his daughter and son. His second marriage at sixty-three to Publilia, a young wealthy heiress, was apparently for financial reasons and soon resulted in divorce. He refused to marry a third time, since it was difficult "to attend at the same time to a wife and to philosophy."

¹⁹ Of Tiro, he made a confidant, and after freeing him, he kept up a regular correspondence with him.

²⁰ Plutarch, *Cicero*, 49, 3.

As a scholar in Greek political theory, he was dissatisfied with democracy, aristocracy, and monarchy alike. His seeming choice of kingship in his ideal Republic was for a patriarchal king of perfect virtues such as never existed, or for an elected first citizen like Pericles. He was consistently opposed to one-man rule in disregard of the rights of the citizens. His real yearning was for the balanced government of the pre-Gracchan days which Polybius had idealized. He wrote in the *Republic*: "I should wish that there be in the state a supreme and royal power, that another part be reserved for the authority of the chief citizens, and that certain things be left to the judgment and will of the people."²¹ In short, he sought a proper balance between order and liberty. It was this very idealism, liberalism, and rational moderation of the scholar that unfitted him for decisive action when it meant the sacrifice of justice, liberty, and humanity to the immediate need. This is always the tragedy, but also the honor, of such minds. The last phase of his public career was his greatest, and he finally yielded up his life for the cause of order and liberty, as he conceived them.²² But like many worthy men today, he fought for a dying order when, as now, the very meaning of liberty was sadly confused, and was being prostituted to uphold the special privileges of a class.

VI. AFTER THE PROSCRIPTIONS

Since the returns from the proscriptions fell far short of financing the projected Eastern campaign of the triumvirs, they imposed arbitrary requisitions on the property of 1,400 wealthy women in Rome. Forced by their determined opposition and the ominous growl of the urban mob to reduce the demands to the 400 most wealthy, they then imposed a forced loan of two per cent of all property of citizens, strangers, or freedmen possessing above 100,000 denarii, together with a flat contribution equal to one year's income. The oppressive tax, together with the proscriptions and the lawless outrages of the soldiers, aroused bitter opposition against the triumvirs in Rome and throughout Italy. Octavian was also seriously hampered in taking over his provinces. Africa finally submitted to one of his lieutenants, but Sicily and Sardinia were held by Sextus Pompey, who swept the seas and stopped the grain transport to Italy. Octavian was obliged to leave this dangerous enemy at his back when he left for the Eastern campaign. Before his departure he dedicated a temple to his adoptive father in the Forum, where his body had been burned. He was deified as *Divus Julius* by the senate, and the triumvirs swore to uphold his *Acta* and administered an oath to the senators and magistrates to this effect.

PHILIPPI (42 B.C.)

In the summer of 42 B.C., leaving Lepidus to guard Italy, Octavian and Antony succeeded in transporting their troops across the Adriatic, despite the attempts of Sextus Pompey and a fleet from Brutus and Cassius to check them.

²¹ I, 45.

²² For an evaluation of Cicero as an orator, littérateur, philosopher, and scholar, cf. Chapter Thirteen, Sec. II.

Meanwhile, the conspirators had been making great progress in the East. They had won over all the Eastern provinces either by force or diplomacy and had filled their war chest by the most outrageous exactions. Opposing cities were ruthlessly destroyed and looted. Tarsus was mulcted of 1,500 talents, Rhodes of 8,000, part of which was plunder from her temples, and Asia was forced to pay the equivalent of ten years' tribute in two. Thus the last acts of the dying Republic were among the most infamous and brutal in its history.

Brutus and Cassius, with all the resources of the East at their back and an army of about 80,000 Romans besides allies, had taken a strategic position near Philippi, between Macedonia and Thrace,²³ while their fleets, with a base at Neapolis, commanded the sea. They had the distinct advantage in position²⁴ and in their abundance of provisions, while the supplies of Octavian and Antony were dangerously limited. The numbers on each side were about equal, though the conspirators were superior in cavalry. Antony, however, was far superior to his enemies in experience, initiative, and tactical skill as a general. The plan of the conspirators was to delay action, so as to starve out the enemy by lack of supplies, but the drive and resourcefulness of Antony forced a battle. He defeated Cassius and took his camp, while Brutus completely routed the troops of Octavian. The defeated Cassius, unaware of the victory of Brutus and thinking that all was lost, committed suicide. His loss was fatal to Brutus, since he was the better general in both skill and experience. Soon after, Brutus was forced by his impatient soldiers to risk another engagement against his will and was utterly routed. He escaped to the mountains, where he took his own life in despair. Antony later wrapped his body in purple and burned it, sending the ashes to his mother, Servilia. His surviving army was pardoned and divided between the victors.

Thus fell the two leading conspirators, and with them passed all hope of the Republican cause.²⁵ Both of them had fought against Caesar at Pharsalus and had been forgiven and treated as his intimates. Brutus was a doctrinaire Republican who had been much influenced by Greek political theory and philosophy. His great name in antiquity for *virtus* was largely undeserved and based on externals, for beneath his Catonian mien, bluntness of speech, and assumed superiority, he was only an average Roman senator. He was admired by his contemporaries and successors for his intense purpose and unswerving adherence to his narrow creed. But the treacherous murder of his benefactor after accepting his own life and high position at his hands, and especially his outrageous looting of the provincials and greedy exaction of forty-eight per cent for his loans, hardly comport with the traditional title, "The noblest Roman of them all."

²³ They sent T. Labienus to seek aid of Parthia, a mission that was later to prove significant. Cleopatra had set out with a large, well-provisioned fleet to aid Antony and Octavian, but her fleet, badly damaged by a storm, was forced to return to Egypt.

²⁴ Appian, *Civil Wars*, IV, 107.

²⁵ M. Porcius Cato, the Younger, had also lost his life in the battle.

VII. THE DIVISION OF THE SPOIL

Antony and Octavian now planted a colony at Philippi, disbanded all but eleven legions of their army in the East, and made a redivision of the provinces. Cisalpine Gaul was made an integral part of Italy, whose boundaries now finally reached to the foot of the Alps. As the evident victor at Philippi²⁶ and still the real head of the coalition, Antony had the advantage. He received the whole of Gaul, Octavian the two Spains, while Lepidus, who was suspected of co-operation with Sextus Pompey, was shifted to Africa. It was agreed that Antony should take eight legions and 10,000 horse, to bring order in the East and raise necessary revenue there, with the ultimate plan of attacking Parthia. Octavian, with three legions and 4,000 horse,²⁷ was to return to Italy to supervise the assignment of lands to the veterans and to deal with Sextus Pompey, a decision of vast significance to the future. On his return journey to Italy, Octavian's illness almost proved fatal, but he reached Brundisium in safety.

Leaving six of his eight legions in Macedonia, Antony proceeded to Ephesus, where he demanded of the wretched province of Asia support for 170,000 soldiers, besides cavalry and auxiliaries. Since Octavian, he said, had gone to Italy to expropriate lands, it would not be necessary to take over theirs, so that he would be "lenient" with them and require only their money. In view of their previous contribution of ten years' taxes in two years to the conspirators, they deserved a worse penalty, and hence would be required to pay an equal amount in one year. Already stripped to the bone by the recent exactions of Brutus and Cassius, the Asians, in terrible distress, begged for mercy and were permitted to pay the taxes for nine years in two.²⁸ Antony then made a tour of the Eastern provinces, where he won over the towns that had suffered through resistance to Brutus and Cassius, and the cities in Greece, by special favors.

VIII. ANTONY AND CLEOPATRA

(41-40 B.C.)²⁹

In the summer of 41 B.C. Antony summoned Cleopatra to Tarsus to answer for not aiding against the conspirators and for her alleged financing of Cassius. She was now about twenty-eight, an age, according to Plutarch, when Greco-Macedonian women are at their prime. She had no Egyptian blood. The term was falsely applied to her by Romans as an abusive epithet. All the ancestral pride of her high-spirited race was regnant in her. She was not notably beautiful, but the intense vivacity of her face, the charm of her voice, her magnetism, impetuous energy, keen mind, and utter freedom from all fear, con-

²⁶ Octavian had withdrawn from the first battle because of illness, even before the defeat of his own troops by Brutus.

²⁷ He was also to take over the two legions of Antony in Italy. Antony still had eleven legions in the two Gauls.

²⁸ Appian, *Civil Wars*, V, 4-6.
²⁹ Contemporary sources are limited to a few papyri, inscriptions, coins, and poems (Horace, *Epode*, IX, and *Odes*, I, 37). The best secondary source, fair to Antony, is Appian, *Civil Wars*, V, which ends, however, at the year 35. Plutarch is very hostile to both. Dio Cassius, XLVIII-LI, 19, adds little. The usual picture of Cleopatra based on Roman tradition is apparently quite untrue to fact. For further detail, cf. *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. X, p. 31, n. 1.

ventions, or moral restraints were now to prove irresistible to Antony, as they had to Caesar. She is said to have come to Tarsus in a splendid gilded barge with oars of silver and sails of purple, reclining under a rich canopy amid wondrous perfumes, decked out as Venus attended by Cupids and lovely serving maids like Nereids and Graces.⁸⁰ She denied aiding Cassius and enumerated her alleged attempts to send out fleets in support of Antony, which were twice foiled by storms. But to a man as susceptible as he to women's charms, her vibrant personality and ready wit in such a brilliant setting needed no other argument. Then followed days and nights of banqueting and revelry on ship and on shore, each vying with the other in splendor and elegance. Such "booty"⁸¹ did she make of him that while Fulvia, his wife, was defending his interests in Rome against Octavian, and the Parthians were threatening Syria, he, forgetful of all public business, followed her to Alexandria, where he remained for some months. There in her fascinating company, associated with a luxurious club of "inimitable livers,"⁸² he wasted his time and energy in a constant round of gaming, drinking, prodigal feasting, and maddest follies, oblivious for the time of either ambition or responsibility.

Though apparently loyal to Antony, however, Cleopatra very probably had no love for him. As in her affair with Caesar, she was primarily an ambitious Macedonian princess playing for power, to be independent ruler of Egypt and possibly queen of the Roman Empire. The first ambition she realized through Antony for nearly a decade, but she was careful not to open to him the inherited treasure of the Ptolemies.

IX. OCTAVIAN IN ITALY

(42-40 B.C.)

When Octavian arrived in Italy in 42 B.C., he was confronted with a difficult situation. Sextus Pompey was daily increasing his forces from the proscribed and escaped slaves, and Murcus had reinforced his navy with eighty ships from the fleet of the conspirators. Lands must be provided for 170,000 veterans, who were already impatient at the delay. Finding the eighteen previously designated municipalities insufficient, Octavian began a ruthless expropriation of a multitude of small freeholders throughout Italy, who were left homeless and destitute. A few, like the poet Virgil of Mantua, were later recompensed through the intercession of a powerful patron such as Asinius Pollio.³³ In general, however, the resettlement was one of the most ruthless ever imposed and was disastrous in its effects on Italian agriculture. But the resulting unpopularity of Octavian was offset by winning the loyalty of the colonized veterans. His position was also strengthened by staunch friends of wealth and influence on whom he could absolutely depend, such as M. Agrippa, later his

⁸⁰ Plutarch, *Antony*, 25; Appian, *Civil Wars*, VII, 8 ff. Cf. also the famous Shakespearian description in *Antony and Cleopatra*.

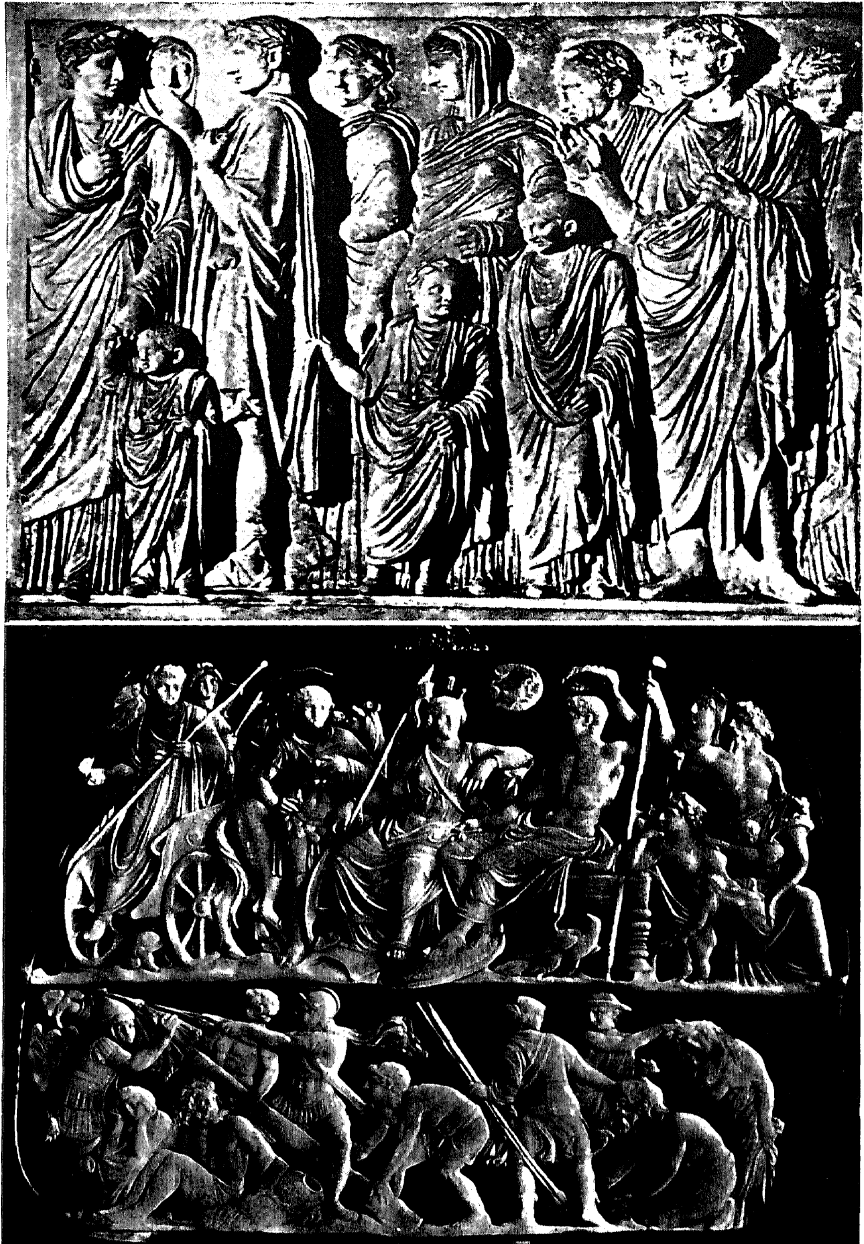
⁸¹ Plutarch, 28, says *hērpase*, meaning "she seized her prey."

⁸² *Animētobiōn*, cf. Plutarch, *Antony*, 28, who describes, on good authority, the luxurious elaborateness of the feasts.

³³ Cf. Virgil, *Eclogues*, I, on the gracious return of his little farm by Octavian.



Famous Statue of Augustus as Imperator, found near Rome at Prima Porta in the ruins of a villa of Livia, his wife. The statue was made either during his principate or soon after his death. The armor is adorned with bas-reliefs symbolizing his beneficent work for the Roman Empire. For description, *cf.* Chapter Seventeen, Sec. II, 1. (*Anderson*)



Upper: Part of a bas-relief from the *Ara Pacis Augustae* (Altar of Augustan Peace), representing a procession of some of the members of the Augustan family. About 13 A.D. Uffizi, Florence. *Lower:* The *Gemma Augustea* portraying the glory of Augustus as above mortal. He is seated beside the goddess Roma, while under their feet are the arms of the conquered people. One of the finest pieces of ancient carving. Early first century A.D. Museum, Vienna.

chief general and administrator, and C. Cilnius Maecenas, a wealthy noble of refined culture, who was to serve him well as an urbane diplomat and patron of art and letters.

As the resettlement of the veterans proceeded, Octavian was increasingly hampered by the friends of Antony, led by Fulvia, his wife, and his brother, Lucius, consul in the year 41, who feared that the colonized veterans would turn their loyalty chiefly to Octavian as their benefactor. Posing as a Republican and a champion of the unfortunate peasants, Lucius attacked the triumvirs, collected an army of his brother's veterans, and encouraged opposition in Spain and Africa. All attempts at conciliation failed, and Lucius was finally besieged in the impregnable old Etruscan town of Perugia and starved to surrender in 40 B.C. Fulvia escaped to Athens, hoping to rejoin her husband. Many of the defeated faction fled to Sextus Pompey in Sicily. L. Antony and his troops were necessarily forgiven, and later he was even made governor of Spain, since Octavian could not afford to oppose his fellow triumvir. Perugia did not fare so well. The leaders were ruthlessly put to death, and the city was given over to the soldiers for plunder and burned. Soon after, the attempt of Tiberius Claudius Nero, a strong supporter of the Republic, to arouse a slave rebellion in Campania was easily foiled. He escaped with his wife, Livia, and his son, Tiberius, to Sicily. It is the irony of history that Livia was later to become the wife of Octavian and her son his successor.

Through the death of Antony's lieutenant, Octavian was now greatly strengthened by the acquisition of all Gaul with its eleven legions. By transferring six of these legions to Lepidus in Africa, he also secured his own position there. The greatest danger was that Sextus Pompey and Lepidus might combine with M. Antony against him. Through the diplomacy of Maecenas, Octavian attempted to form some connection with Pompey by marrying Scribonia, his aunt, unaware that Pompey had already negotiated with M. Antony, offering his services to him. Antony was now about to return to Italy, and his prestige as the victor at Philippi was dangerous to the authority of Octavian.

X. THE TREATY OF BRUNDISIUM

(40 B.C.)

Antony apparently knew nothing of the Perusian War until he arrived in Asia Minor in the spring, 40 B.C., and was still loyal to his compact with Octavian. He was aroused from his indolent self-indulgence in Alexandria by the startling news that the Parthians had won most of Syria,³⁴ and that Q. Labienus, son of Caesar's lieutenant, had made a raid into Asia Minor even to the Aegean. Leaving Egypt at once for the north,³⁵ he collected a small fleet in Tyre and Asia Minor and prepared to sail for Italy to take over his Gallic

³⁴ The Parthian prince entered Jerusalem, struck coins in Syria, and overthrew Hyrcanus, substituting the son of the Hasmonaeans, Aristobulus. The Jews long looked on the Parthians as their saviors from the Idumaeans and Rome. Herod went to Egypt to seek Roman aid, then to Rome, and the senate made Herod king of Judaea.

³⁵ Cleopatra kept informed about him through an Egyptian astrologer. Meanwhile, twins, a son and a daughter, were born to her.

legions, unaware that they had now fallen to Octavian. At Athens he met his refugee wife, Fulvia, and envoys from Sextus Pompey seeking his alliance. Fulvia he brutally repulsed, leaving her to die in Athens, but made a provisional agreement with Pompey for alliance in case Octavian should not keep his compact. On reaching Corcyra, learning that Octavian had taken over his legions, he concluded that he had broken faith with him and prepared for war. Joined by the outlawed Domitius Ahenobarbus and his fleet, he sailed to Brundisium and, being refused admittance, prepared to invest the town. Meanwhile, he made an alliance with Sextus Pompey, who seized Sardinia and harried the southern Italian coasts.

Octavian hastily marched southward with his army and encamped opposite Antony, while his general, Agrippa, opposed Sextus. Another devastating civil war seemed imminent, but the veterans of either party had no desire to fight and began fraternizing. Asinius Pollio, for Antony, and Maecenas, for Octavian, allayed mutual misunderstandings and effected a reconciliation, which was cemented by the marriage of Antony and Octavia,⁸⁶ the sister of Octavian. By the treaty of Brundisium it was agreed that Antony should control all Roman territory east of the Ionian Sea; that Octavian should control all the West except Africa, which was still held by Lepidus, while Italy should be held in common. The two nominated consuls for some years in advance, Octavian yielded to Antony the five remaining Gallic legions,⁸⁷ and the ban against Domitius was removed. Antony was made priest of the deified Julius, and the two agreed as to the defense of their respective domains. The pact was celebrated with great rejoicing throughout Italy, and Octavian and Antony were hailed as "saviors." Virgil, in his fourth eclogue, joyfully foresaw the end of civil war in the union of the two houses, and predicted the birth of a son through whom the "Age of Gold" would be ushered in. During the Middle Ages the Messianic interpretation of the poem gave Virgil a high place as a prophet of the birth of Jesus.

XI. THE TREATY OF MISENUM

(39 B.C.)

The jubilation was short-lived, however, for Sextus Pompey, angry at Antony's apparent treachery, began attacking Italian ports and stopping the transport of grain. In view of the crisis and popular riots resulting from prohibitive food prices and necessary taxes for a naval expedition, Octavian and Antony were forced to make a treaty with Sextus in the spring of 39 B.C., off Misenum. Sextus agreed to cease his attacks on the Italian coasts, interference with the grain supply, and protection of refugees. In return he was granted a five-year command over Corsica and Achaia, in addition to Sicily and Sardinia, which he now held, a money compensation for his father's confiscated property, the office of augur and the promise of a future consulship. The additional agree-

⁸⁶ Octavia was one of the noblest women of the ancient world, unsullied by any evil rumor, beautiful, highly cultured, a friend of philosophers, and devoted to Antony, even to mothering the children of her predecessor, Fulvia.

⁸⁷ The other six had been sent to Lepidus in Africa.

ment that the anti-Caesarian exiles should be permitted to return to Italy restored a number of notables, including Tiberius Claudius Nero and the young Cicero. In the autumn of 39 Antony left Rome for Athens, which he made his base for the next two years. Meanwhile, Octavian and Italy enjoyed a few months of peace.

The terms of the pact, however, were not fulfilled to Pompey's satisfaction. In less than a twelvemonth he was therefore again engaged in his piratical attacks and succeeded in crippling the fleet of Octavian. To mark the end of the treaty, Octavian had divorced Scribonia on the very day of the birth of their daughter, Julia, and had soon after married Livia, the beautiful young wife of Tiberius Claudius Nero. Her two sons by Tiberius, Drusus and Tiberius, were reared in the household of Octavian. Thus was the anti-Caesarian, Republican stock united with the Caesarian. The marriage was one of genuine affection, and the discreet Livia exerted a strong influence over her husband for fifty years.

XII. TREATY OF TARENTUM AND DEFEAT OF S. POMPEY

(37-36 B.C.)

During the next two years after his arrival in Athens, Antony, by the aid of his efficient general, Ventidius, regained the Eastern provinces from Labienus and the Parthians and forced the latter to retire beyond the Euphrates.³⁸ He now took the title of *imperator* and assumed, for his Eastern subjects, the divinity of a Hellenistic king as son to Dionysus, conqueror of Asia. But to consummate the plan of Julius Caesar for the conquest of Parthia he must secure new legions from the West. On his arrival in Italy, Octavian, angry at his failure to aid him against Sextus Pompey, and suspicious of his relations with Lepidus, opposed his landing. Through Octavia's good offices, however, another understanding was reached at Tarentum by which Antony should supply Octavian with 120 ships for his expedition against Sextus, Lepidus should join in the attack on Sicily, and Octavian should furnish four legions to Antony for his proposed Parthian War. Included in the pact was their reappointment by a special law as triumvirs for another five years, extending through the year 33.

In accordance with this agreement, during the following year, Octavian and Lepidus concentrated their attack on Sicily, while M. Agrippa annihilated most of Pompey's fleet in a naval battle off Naulochus.³⁹ Pompey escaped to Asia, where he was later captured and executed by Antony's soldiers. Lepidus now disputed the control of Sicily with Octavian, but, deserted by his troops, he lost all his power and spent the rest of his life, until 12 B.C., as *Pontifex Maximus* under close surveillance in an Italian town. Octavian returned to Rome in triumph, and in celebration of the end of the long civil war with Sextus, he remitted some taxes and even hinted that the Republic would be restored after

³⁸ In July, 37 B.C., Jerusalem was taken, and Herod was placed on the throne and began his long reign as king of Judaea.

³⁹ Earlier in the year Octavian had met disaster by storm and defeat, barely escaping with his life.

Antony's Parthian campaign. The danger to the grain supply was ended, and Rome and Italy could return to normal life. It is no accident that Varro's treatise, *On Agriculture*, was published in the year 36 and that Virgil, at the suggestion of Maecenas, began his noble poem, the *Georgics*, a glorification of the Italian countryside.

XIII. THE WIDENING BREACH BETWEEN OCTAVIAN AND ANTONY

No final peace was possible, however, as long as the Roman world was divided between two ambitious leaders. The removal of the rivals, S. Pompey and Lepidus, made Octavian supreme in the West and inevitably intensified the rivalry between him and Antony. When Antony left Italy for Greece in the autumn of the year 37, he was already strongly dissatisfied with his treatment at the hands of Octavian. The promised legions were not given, and his projected campaign against Parthia had been repeatedly delayed by his failure to recruit troops in Italy in accord with the treaty. He was also tiring of the virtuous Octavia and began to yearn again for Cleopatra.

Antony did not at first intend to attack Octavian, but aimed only at keeping his supremacy in the East. By the projected conquest of Parthia, however, he hoped to prove himself Caesar's true heir and win prestige above his rival. His marriage to Cleopatra was not for ambition on his part, but for love. For her he burned his bridges behind him and recklessly outraged Roman opinion. Whatever Roman law might say, in the eyes of the whole Roman world east of Italy, his union was legitimate. He had dealt brutally with two loyal women who might have saved him from downfall, and now became the devoted slave of another who probably never loved him and was soon to work his ruin.

Cleopatra opposed the risky expedition against Parthia and wasted very little money from her treasury on it. She sought something far more substantial from her marriage than sentiment, a marriage gift that would re-establish her in the empire of her great predecessor, Ptolemy Philadelphus. Antony granted her wishes as far as possible, turning over to her all Coelesyria, most of the coast of Palestine and Phoenicia, Cyprus, and part of Nabataea. Judaea and Galilee were necessarily excepted, since they were held by Herod, though valuable monopolies on balsam and bitumen were granted her in Palestine. To commemorate this re-establishment of the Ptolemaic Empire, she named her infant son Ptolemy Philadelphus. New coins bore the heads of Antony and Cleopatra as divine monarchs, to the Egyptian natives, Osiris and Isis, and to the Greeks, Dionysus and Aphrodite. The twins born to them were recognized by Antony as his legitimate children and renamed Alexander Helios (Sun) and Cleopatra Selene (Moon), symbolic of his projected conquest of Parthia.⁴⁰

⁴⁰ On these names and their possible relation to Virgil's fourth eclogue, cf. W. W. Tarn in *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. X, pp. 68 ff.

XIV. ANTONY'S INVASION OF PARTHIA

(36 B.C.)

Antony spent the winter of 37-36 at Antioch in effecting his long-delayed reorganization of Asia Minor under loyal client kings and in hastening his preparation for the Parthian campaign. The following spring, having sent Cleopatra to Egypt, he left Syria to assume the leadership of his legions. Marching northward from Zeugma up the Euphrates, he passed through Armenia into Media with about 60,000 legionaries, 10,000 cavalry, 30,000 auxiliaries, and a great siege train. But he made two fatal errors of which Caesar would never have been guilty. He left in his rear a doubtful ally, Armenia, and failed to acquaint himself with the method of Parthian fighting so as to rely chiefly upon mounted archers instead of on heavy cavalry. As a result, he was twice repulsed with serious losses and forced to beat a retreat northward. After four weeks of terrible suffering with cold, disease, hunger, and thirst, while constantly harassed in the rear by the enemy, he finally reached the Armenian frontier, having lost thirty-seven per cent of his army, a large proportion of which was seasoned veterans. The Parthians had again proven themselves invincible in defense against the Roman legions and were not to be defeated until about 150 years later by the Emperor Trajan. The great project of Antony had ended ignominiously, and with it his hoped-for prestige.

Antony had lost his only opportunity of conquering Parthia, since Italy was henceforth closed against him as a source of new legions by Octavian, who aimed thereby to strike at the very root of his power. Instead of sending the four legions promised in the treaty, he ironically returned to him the remnant of his 120 ships. In the spring of 34, however, Antony invaded Armenia, subdued the kingdom, and captured the king. Part of the territory was given to Media, his ally. The rest became a Roman province, and many Roman subjects flocked to the new province for trade. But the conquest was not permanent, for in 30 B.C. Phraates, king of Parthia, conquered both Media and Armenia and massacred all Roman subjects who had migrated there.

Like Alexander, Antony still cherished grandiose dreams of the conquest of the whole East. But this was possible only if he first settled accounts with Octavian so as to open Italy and the West as his recruiting ground. He had not succeeded in concealing his Parthian defeat from Octavian and his sister, who still considered herself his only legal wife. In the early spring of 35 she sailed to the East, bringing to him large supplies and 2,000 choice troops. But Antony now outraged the feelings of Octavian and Rome anew by ordering her to forward the supplies and return home.⁴¹ Through Cleopatra's influence he now gave up the Parthian project and turned his preparation against Octavian, with whom eventual conflict seemed inevitable. Even now Antony had little heart for such a struggle, but his ambitious wife probably had hopes of becoming queen of the Roman Empire by turning the East against the West.

⁴¹ On her return she persisted in living in his house, and cared for his two sons by Fulvia, as well as her own.

XV. ANTONY'S DRAMATIC PARTITION OF THE ROMAN EAST

(34 B.C.)

On his return from the conquest late in 34, Antony staged a brilliant triumph, with Cleopatra dressed as Isis, seated on a golden throne. Then followed the so-called "Donations of Alexandria" proclaimed by Antony before the assembled multitude in the gymnasium as an intentional challenge to Octavian. Antony as Dionysus and Cleopatra as Isis sat on lofty golden thrones, and below them their three children and Ptolemy Caesar (Caesarion). Caesar's union with Cleopatra was decreed a legal marriage under Macedonian law, and their son, Caesarion, his legitimate heir.⁴² Then in the name of Caesar began the highhanded comedy. Cleopatra was declared "queen of kings" and Caesarion "king of kings," joint rulers of Egypt, Cyprus, Crete, and Coele Syria, and suzerains over the kingdoms of her children by Antony. Alexander, the older son, was proclaimed ruler of Armenia and overlord of Parthia and Media (still unconquered!); the infant, Ptolemy Philadelphus, was granted Phoenicia and Cilicia and the overlordship of the client kings of Asia Minor, while Cleopatra Selene received Cyrenaica and Libya. Antony struck new coins bearing his head and that of his queen, together with appropriate inscriptions in honor of the occasion. He seems to have had a weakness for such unrealities, and Cleopatra gave new impetus to this by refurbishing old prophecies and forging new ones of their conquest of Rome and the unification of the Roman world under their aegis.

In the dramatic pageant, Antony himself was represented to the Greeks and Orientals as a divine Hellenistic monarch, the consort of the divine Cleopatra, queen of Egypt. To his legions and Roman supporters, however, he was only a Roman magistrate with the authority over the Roman East granted by the senate. But, true to his tendency to wishful thinking, he was really playing the grandiose role of supreme ruler of the Roman world, both East and West, for he expected his elder son by Fulvia to succeed him and reckoned the new era from his marriage with Cleopatra three years previous, who was to be queen of Rome, as well as of Egypt.

When Antony's highhanded procedure became known to Octavian he was not slow to take advantage of it. He saw clearly the inevitability of the impending conflict, and angry letters with mutual recriminations and demands only aggravated the crisis. Octavian had an abundance of trained legions and money for their support. His boundaries were secured, and now, through Antony's insolence, he was sure of the support of Roman public opinion. He, therefore, met Antony's demand for troops and joint authority in Italy by a blunt refusal, and his rival, impelled by the ambitious queen, now prepared for the final trial of strength.

⁴² This was a direct stroke at Octavian, implying that he had usurped the place of Caesarion, the rightful heir of Caesar.

XVI. THE VICTORY OF OCTAVIAN OVER ANTONY
AND CLEOPATRA

(32-30 B.C.)

At the close of 33 B.C. the term of the triumvirate was legally ended, and this was the signal for the final break between the two opponents. Seeking to undermine Octavian's power and win the senate's support, Antony sent a dispatch offering to give up his powers as triumvir and restore the constitution of the Republic, while his faction in Rome proposed the immediate surrender of Octavian's *imperium*. The latter suggestion was vetoed by a tribune, and Octavian, backed by his legions and a bodyguard, defended his own acts in the senate and attacked Antony and his consuls. He then assumed full control, and both Antonian consuls and about four hundred senators fled from Italy to Antony. Octavian had Antony's authority invalidated by the assembly and sought to arouse public opinion against him by having his will, which had been recently deposited in the Temple of Vesta, read publicly to the senate. A part of the document, whether forged by Octavian or not, confirmed the division of the Eastern provinces made to Cleopatra and her house by the "Donations."

On the strength of this alleged appropriation of Roman territory, Octavian secured an oath of allegiance to himself from Roman senators, Italian municipalities, and all the Western provinces. This oath furnished the chief constitutional basis for his authority for the years immediately following.⁴³ Antony defied as invalid the laws abrogating his *imperium* and made the breach complete by formal divorce of Octavia. This only angered Octavian and outraged Roman opinion against Antony all the more, and many of his leading supporters now deserted his cause. His order that he be buried by the side of Cleopatra in Alexandria aroused the indignation of the Roman populace against him to the highest pitch, since they inferred that he aimed to move the capital to Alexandria. He was to them a traitor to Rome, the dupe of a scheming foreign woman. The most extreme and vile accusations were invented against her, which became an accepted part of the later uncritical accounts and have largely persisted until today. In the atmosphere of super-emotionalism, it was possible for Octavian to impose an emergency tax of one-fourth of the annual income of all citizens and a capital levy of one-eighth of the property of freedmen, and to secure the general acceptance throughout Italy of the oath of allegiance to him and a declaration of war. He took care, however, to have the war declared against Cleopatra only, since he sought a solid front against the enemy and had announced in the year 36 that the civil wars were ended.

I. ACTIUM (31 B.C.)

During the winter of 33-32 Antony had set up a counter-Roman government at Ephesus with the fugitive consuls and senators. He removed many master-

⁴³ He gave up the title of triumvir, but he had the tribunician right of inviolability and was to be consul the next year. His veterans and the public opinion against Antony resulting from his propaganda were his chief security.

pieces of art from Asia Minor to Egypt and presented to Cleopatra the library of Pergamum in return for the books burned during Caesar's occupation of Alexandria, though the gift was probably never transferred. The following year they mobilized a force of 75,000 foot, 12,000 horse, and over 500 warships⁴⁴ in Greece for an overwhelming offensive against Octavian. Vast supplies of grain were collected from Egypt, and food depots were established at strategic points in Greece. Awaiting favorable opportunity for landing in Italy, the force passed the winter in the Gulf of Ambracia on the west coast of Greece. The delay was fatal, for it saved Octavian from attack before he was prepared and placed Antony on the defensive. But his chief difficulty was the determined opposition of his Roman officers to Cleopatra's accompanying the fleet to Italy, which she persisted in doing. Even he finally ordered her to return to Egypt, but she refused.⁴⁵ During this winter the most extreme and vile propaganda by Octavian and Antony against each other was rife, which unfortunately vitiated later Greek and Roman historical and biographical writing and left its false stamp on the modern conventional picture of both.

The following spring Octavian crossed the Adriatic with a force of 80,000 foot, 12,000 horse, and a fleet of 400 warships, facing his enemy near the entrance to the Gulf at Actium, strange to say, without any attempt of Antony to prevent his crossing. The position of Antony was not strategically chosen, since he could easily be cut off from the best land communications to Macedonia and the East, and it was open to blockade by sea. Octavian's resourceful general, Agrippa, outmaneuvered his enemy and blockaded his fleet in the Bay of Actium, while avoiding a land battle and keeping secure his access to his supplies on the opposite shore. Meanwhile, his superior cavalry seized Corinth and Patrae, thereby cutting Antony's communications with the Peloponnesus and the interior. His troops, now the besieged instead of the invaders, cut off from their supplies, and ridden by disease, were growing disaffected, and his leading Roman officers, angry at Cleopatra's domination, began deserting to Octavian. Some wished to leave the ships to their fate and withdraw to Macedonia, awaiting the enemy's attack, but she refused, and Antony yielded. To escape his desperate situation, he was finally forced to stake all on a naval battle when it was too late, leaving the larger part of his force in fortified positions in Greece. There was no real battle. The troops, suspecting Cleopatra, were halfhearted. She, with her royal squadron and treasure successfully evading the enemy's lines, sailed off for Egypt. When out of danger, she waited for Antony, who had followed her with a small squadron and now boarded her flagship.⁴⁶ The bulk of his great armada was either captured or later surrendered to Octavian, who destroyed most of the ships and used their bronze beaks to adorn his monument of victory in Greece and the temple of Divine Julius in Rome. The troops stationed in Greece also soon

⁴⁴ The ships were heavier than Octavian's and the fleet was the greatest ever assembled by Greeks or Romans. Cleopatra supplied her share of the warships and transports and a fund of 20,000 talents.

⁴⁵ Naturally she did not care to trust him, since he might leave her in the lurch by arriving at a reconciliation with Octavian and Octavia.

⁴⁶ On the motive of their flight, cf. Tarn in *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. X, p. 104 f.

yielded to Octavian, and the Eastern legions of Antony now refused to recognize the authority of the defeated "emperor of the world," who was now confined to Alexandria to await his fate.

2. THE SEQUEL

Octavian, the victor, was hailed as *imperator* for the sixth time and sent a dispatch to Rome announcing Antony's defeat, which Cicero's son had the satisfaction of reading to the senate. The poet, Horace, celebrated the victory of his patron and the treachery of Antony in his ninth *Epode*. Only a few of the Antonian leaders were put to death. The legions of both armies were demobilized and distributed to Italy and different parts of the Empire to avoid mutiny. Agrippa was sent home to aid in the administration, but during the winter the insistent demands of the veterans made necessary a visit of Octavian to Italy to satisfy them with promises of early payment from the treasure of the Ptolemies.

By the summer of 30 B.C. Octavian had taken over control of Greece and the East and now invaded Egypt. On his appearance at Alexandria, the troops of Antony deserted to him, and their leader took his own life in despair. Despite all his glaring faults, the conventional portrait of him based on the vilification by Octavian and his faction is doubtless largely false. He was second only to Caesar among his contemporaries as a skilled strategist and tactician, beloved by his troops, and able to meet a crisis with splendid fortitude. He was also eloquent, a good organizer, and endowed with considerable political acumen. But his love of ease and self-indulgence culminated in his obsession for Cleopatra, and the resulting break with Octavian and alienation of the Romans worked his ruin.⁴⁷ After Actium, the Roman senate attempted to blot out his memory by destroying his statues, revoking all past decrees in his honor and erasing his name from the *Fasti*, though this was later restored by Augustus. Through Antonia, the daughter of the noble Octavia, however, his house lived on in the two degenerate emperors, Gaius Caligula and Nero.

Cleopatra, who had probably played a double game at Actium, and in any event had contributed to Antony's defeat, hoped to take Octavian captive, as she had Caesar and Antony, and thereby at least retain the independent rule of Egypt for herself and her dynasty. But, finding him immune to her blandishments, she ended her dazzling career at the age of thirty-nine by taking poison to escape adorning his triumph. He granted her last wish to be buried beside Antony. The devoted Octavia reared Cleopatra's three children by Antony with her own. The two younger ones graced Octavian's triumph. Of the two boys we have no further trace, but the daughter married Juba II of Mauretania. Her son Ptolemy, the last scion of the Ptolemaic line, was later murdered by the emperor Gaius Caligula. Caesarion, Cleopatra's alleged son by Caesar, was executed by Octavian.

Thus ended the brilliant Ptolemaic dynasty, which had ruled Egypt for three

⁴⁷ For a critical analysis of the prejudiced sources on the conflict of Octavian and Antony (37-30 B.C.) and a fair estimate of the latter, cf. *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. X, pp. 90 ff., and notes.

centuries. Octavian annexed the kingdom to Rome, treating it as his own personal domain and appointed a prefect over it. The vast treasure of the Ptolemies was appropriated to pay the expense of his campaign, to enrich his triumph, and to adorn Rome. Octavian spent some months establishing his authority over the Asiatic provinces and the client kings of Asia Minor and Syria. He restored to the cities of Asia most of the art treasures that had been carried off by Antony, but aside from canceling the "Donations" he permitted most of Antony's arrangements to stand. He retained Herod as king of Jerusalem, forgiving him for his loyalty to Antony. As for Armenia and Parthia, he made no attempt against either, but was content to leave the latter in possession of the captured Roman eagles.

In the early summer of 29 B.C. he finally returned to Rome and celebrated his splendid triumph. For three successive days it continued with its elaborate games, lavish donations to the populace, and parades of prisoners and spoils of war, won from the peoples of three continents whom he or his generals had subdued since the triumvirate.⁴⁸ The veterans previously disbanded were this time carefully settled in many scattered colonies throughout Italy and the provinces, Carthage, Spain, Syria, and Asia Minor, so as to disturb agriculture as little as possible, and fair payment for lands was made to the municipalities.

The century of civil war, with its devastation of the Italian countryside, proscriptions, oppressive taxation, and repeated exactions, which had brought the once rich provinces of Greece, Macedonia, and Asia to the verge of bankruptcy, was ended. For the first time in over two hundred years the gates of the Temple of Janus were closed, symbolic of the final advent of a grateful peace. Land values rose, money was plentiful, and interest dropped to one-third the usual rate. Octavian, at the age of thirty-three, had proved himself worthy of Caesar's name and heritage as the sole authority in the Roman world. Wearied of the prolonged civic strife, citizens and subjects alike now welcomed peace and security even at the cost of liberty. Universally he was hailed as deliverer and savior, who by his last great victory had ushered in a new Age of Gold, and all hastened to do him reverence as the almost divine successor of the deified Julius.

After his victory the senate had ordered that, in the future, prayers and libations should be offered for him by priests and people as the savior of the state. He was also granted the tribunician power without the office, with authority even a mile outside the limits of the city, and all his *acta* were confirmed. At the opening of the year 28, he entered upon his sixth consulship, with Agrippa as his colleague, and now assumed the title *imperator* officially, which he had used unofficially for some years. Without holding the censorship, he undertook a general census of the whole population, and dropped from the swollen roll of senators about two hundred of the less worthy, establishing himself as its head (*Princeps Senatus*). But, though "the bravest spirits were dead," as Tacitus later cynically wrote, the fate of Julius and Octavian's own natural tact made him averse to antagonizing the old Republican tradition by accepting too extreme honors. If permanent peace and his continued authority as the recog-

⁴⁸ Cf. Virgil's poetic description, *Aeneid*, VIII, 714-723.

nized head of the state and the legions were to be secured, it was time for the definite reorganization of the constitution to fit the new needs. As a worthy preparation for this, he repealed all the unconstitutional acts of the triumvirs and freed the proscribed of all disabilities. The function of the general was now to give place to the constructive work of reformer and statesman.

Chapter Thirteen

GOVERNMENT, ECONOMY, AND SOCIETY IN THE LAST CENTURY OF THE REPUBLIC

I. GOVERNMENT

In the four preceding chapters we have traced the checkered political history of the last century of the Republic. We have seen that it was an epoch of swift political transition, when senatorial government was increasingly on the defensive against either revolutionary mass movements led by demagogues or military dictatorship by victorious generals. At first, the crucial points of conflict were the restoration of government to the people, the solution of the problems of the urban poor and Italian agriculture by colonization and redistribution of the public lands, and the expansion of the Roman franchise. The first was never accomplished, or even honestly attempted after C. Gracchus. The second was realized only in a very limited sense until Caesar's dictatorship, and was constantly aggravated by the repeated ravages of civil war and the recurrent expropriations of small owners in Italy to furnish lands to returning veterans. The third was finally accomplished only through a devastating civil war, and then only in part until Julius Caesar. Even he failed to take the necessary next step toward giving the Italian burgesses some part in shaping Roman state policies.

After the Gracchan days Roman citizens were aligned in two parties, for and against the senate, while the knights cast their weight to whichever side offered the freest rein for their financial speculation. The foreign policy of the senatorial oligarchy gradually changed from a reluctance to annex new provinces and a responsible attempt to govern with a view to the welfare of the subject peoples to government in the interest of Roman landowners and capitalists. Provincial administration became a scandalous record of exactions and oppression. Finally, from Lucullus to Octavian, aggressive military expansion on a wholesale scale by practically irresponsible generals became the accepted order of the day.

Meanwhile, the government became increasingly the victim of professional armies, which were ever less amenable to discipline even of their generals, except as regular pay, booty, and land-lots were forthcoming. Discharged veterans were a growing menace to the state, relied on by opposing political leaders to impose their terms. Pompey's attempt to retain his supreme position in the state by a compromise between militarism and constitutionalism inevitably failed. Only legions talked. Henceforth military power became the frankly recognized basis of political control. The Roman Republic, by its in-

ordinate expansion, had raised up a military Frankenstein as its master, the usual nemesis of imperialism.

Yet military administration was badly disorganized. There was no regular training for recruits. Generals were usually politicians. Many of the legions were only half strength, and aside from a few supermen, only the centurions were skilled in military affairs. For cavalry, the army must depend on Gauls, Spanish, and other provincials, since the well-to-do youth of Rome had no longer any heart for it. As often in history, military and imperial success had undermined the very military virtues that had made it possible. Even the Roman legions were largely indifferent to either national or even factional interests, but fought or refused to fight only for the promised rewards. In view of such conditions and the constant dissension of civil wars, it is a remarkable tribute to Roman dogged persistence and practicality that the Republic in these years of political chaos continued its triumphant advance, was never permanently defeated in its imperial aims,¹ and never finally hauled down the flag from lands once occupied.

The enormous growth of the Republic made ever more patent the glaring anomaly between the primitive city-state organization and the vast empire. Public finance was hopelessly chaotic. The senate coined only silver, but generals assumed the privilege of minting gold coins to pay their soldiers and placed on them their own titles and image. The treasury was repeatedly exhausted by the requisitions of competing generals who were a law unto themselves and were held to no accounting for their booty or exactions in the provinces. During the entire period, little of the vast spoil of foreign war found its way into the public coffers, except the 50,000,000 denarii contributed by Pompey.² Caesar deliberately started wars, as governor in Spain, to wipe out his private debt of 25,000,000 sesterces. His campaigns in Gaul brought him enormous wealth, perhaps 400,000,000 sesterces (\$20,000,000) from the sale of captives alone. He is said to have cast so much gold on the market that its price fell by one-sixth. Yet the public treasury was apparently enriched not a whit by it all.³ He freely used state funds for his own purposes, and over the protest of the tribunes, he appropriated the entire contents of the treasury to finance his private venture against Pompey in 49 B.C. The previous generals of the period followed similar methods, only on a less gigantic scale. After his death, even worse chaos reigned in state finance. Antony seized the 175,000,000 denarii in the treasury to pay his private debts and establish his own power, and Octavian later treated the public funds as his own.

Public revenue was as utterly chaotic and subject to the whim of supermen as public expenditure. Repeated forced loans on individuals and cities, confiscations of the property of the proscribed, and wholesale exactions in the provinces were common. Pompey's confiscated estates brought 50,000,000 denarii, a low price. Marius, Sulla, Caesar, Antony, Brutus, Cassius, and Octavian were

¹ Except in Parthia, and the failure here was probably due to the untimely death of Julius Caesar.

² T. Frank, *Economic Survey of Rome*, Vol. I, pp. 324-326.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 325 f., 334. In 46 B.C. he enriched it by 600,000,000 sesterces from booty, but the public treasury was now practically identical with his own patrimony. For the Roman money units and their relative equivalents in American money, cf. Chapter Three, Sec. IX.

all guilty of some or all of the above practices. When other sources failed to finance his legions, Caesar even appropriated the 12,000,000 denarii of "sacred treasure" that had accumulated from the five per cent manumission tax. After his death, private exactions became still more extreme, as seen in the whole-sale confiscations, expropriations, forced loans, and capital tax of Antony and Octavian. In 44 B.C., since the generals had held up the provincial tribute, the senate tried to raise funds by a tax of four per cent on the property of all citizens, besides an imposition of ten *asses* (about \$.12½) per roof tile on all houses in the city. Octavian "borrowed" the temple treasures of Rome and the Latin municipalities, twice assessed high taxes for each slave owned, and imposed an inheritance tax besides. Finally, to finance his war against Antony, he mulcted the citizens of twenty-five per cent of their annual income and added a capital levy on all freedmen worth 50,000 denarii. Even more outrageous were the exactions on the provinces by the generals. The ruination of Greece and Asia by Sulla, the looting of their provinces and conquered lands by Lucullus, Pompey, and Caesar, and the highhanded expropriations of the cities of the East by Brutus, Cassius, and Antony need no further elaboration here. Only Julius Caesar showed any sane regard for the welfare of Greece and the East.⁴

Thus, not only was the traditional political machinery of the Republic utterly outdated, but the whole system of imperial misgovernment was rapidly proving fatal to both Rome and the provinces. Imperial expansion had turned Rome and Italy from self-sufficiency to economic parasitism. Their welfare had become increasingly bound up with the welfare of the provinces. But the systematic exploitation of the Eastern provinces by all classes in Rome, as also by competing generals, had reduced them to bankruptcy and had thereby gravely threatened the economic future of Rome and Italy as well. Caesar had correctly diagnosed the disease and had begun a revolutionary reform both in the home and provincial government, but his untimely death left the problem on the lap of his young successor, Octavian.

II. ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

An epoch of such revolutionary political transition and vast imperial expansion was sure to be marked by corresponding changes in every phase of Roman economic life.

I. AGRICULTURE

During the century Italian agriculture suffered severely from the ravages of civil war and the evictions of scores of thousands of previous owners to make place for the returned veterans of victorious generals from Marius to Octavian. Yet Varro, a contemporary, writing for the landlords of his own class, declares that no land is "better cultivated than Italy," where "every useful product grows to perfection," and the whole country appears as "one great orchard." Somewhat later, Virgil, in his *Georgics*, emphasizes the simple prosperity of

⁴ For detailed statistics and ancient sources during the period, 80 to 30 B.C., cf. T. Frank, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 322-342.

the more modest farmer. Other contemporary writers, on the other hand, emphasize the need of colonizing the waste districts in Italy, the dearth of free population in the Volscian area, and the ruin of Italian agriculture through the wholesale evictions of the triumvirs. On the whole, a fair agricultural prosperity seems to have continued despite the frequent disturbances. Probably the soil of Italy had deteriorated in some sections by erosion or overcropping. Yet wheat was still raised in most parts of Italy, and, aside from Rome, the peninsula was still self-sustaining.⁵

The trend toward large estates continued during this period, probably unchecked to any marked extent by the repeated shifts in ownership through veteran allotments. Doubtless, a considerable proportion of the veterans proved unfit for farming and later lost or sold their lots to capitalists. The senatorial nobility had a plethora of capital flowing in from the looted provinces, which they were eager to invest in lands, since the profits from specialized farming were good. This, rather than competition with imported grain, was probably a primary factor in the development of *latifundia* in this period. The civil wars also furnished frequent opportunities to buy up confiscated estates at bargain prices. In the last decades of the century, however, the Roman nobility made extensive landed investments in Gaul, Spain, and Asia, where the tenure seemed less precarious.

Another strong impetus to the growth of large estates was the prevalent fashion among the well-to-do classes of having several elaborate country villas. Though the estates described by Varro were of moderate size, from 100 to 200 acres, the evidence for *latifundia*, cultivated by slave gangs or free tenants, is far more abundant than for the previous period, both in Italy and in the provinces. Pompey had such vast estates that he could raise a whole army from his clients, freedmen, and tenants. If we are to believe Julius Caesar, Domitius Ahenobarbus owned 40,000 acres, but this was doubtless very exceptional. Lucullus owned vast estates with elaborate and luxurious villas. Such sumptuous country seats were considered necessary for the ruling classes. According to Varro, whereas in the previous century the barn was the building of chief importance, now it was the house. That a man of moderate means like Cicero should have several such villas in different parts of Italy speaks volumes for the trend among the noble rich. The largest estates, however, were near Rome, in rich Campania, in parts of Etruria, or in the hilly country where large-scale grazing was possible. Small- and moderate-sized farms were still fairly numerous in most sections of Italy. This was especially true of Cisalpine Gaul and those districts that won the citizenship as a result of the Social War.⁶

One may infer from Varro that cultivation on the moderate-sized or larger estates near Rome and the better Italian towns was intensive and increasingly specialized to supply the demands of the well-to-do consumer for a more diver-

⁵ *De Re Rustica (On Farming)*, I, 2, 3; 2, 6, published in 36 B.C., but the passages probably refer to the period before Philippi and the drastic redistribution of lands by Octavian. Varro gives us little data on the peasant farmers. For this and other citations from Cicero, Livy, and Appian, cf. T. Frank, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 363. Cf. his estimate, pp. 365 f.

⁶ Cf. T. Frank, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 368 f., who believes that the veteran colonizations did much to check the tendency to large estates. M. I. Rostovtzeff, *Ancient World*, Vol. I, pp. 161-167, takes the opposite view.

sified and luxurious diet. New types of fruits, animals, fowls, and fish were eagerly introduced from abroad, and scientific breeding became common. Large sums invested in aviaries for raising peacocks, pigeons, and ducks, and in artificial ponds for breeding fish and snails, catered profitably to the luxurious tastes of the well-to-do.

As is evident from Varro, on even moderate-sized estates the labor was still predominantly slave, though the trend on very large properties was already somewhat toward the use of free tenants. The word *colonus*, once signifying a free citizen cultivator, twice appears in Varro in the sense of renter.⁷ On the small farms and even on the *latifundia* in the rush seasons, Varro recognizes the continuance of a considerable amount of free labor. Caesar's law requiring that one-third of the plantation labor should be free, however, proves that labor was still largely slave.

On the whole, the failure of the Republic was due to no small extent to the stupidities of agrarian politics, both of the plantation owners who controlled the senate and the small proprietors who might have controlled the assembly, had there developed adequate representative machinery. The former ruined the provinces by exploitation and overwhelmed Italy with cheap slave labor, crowding out multitudes of peasant farmers. The small owners, also, followed dangerous leadership and played into the hands of ambitious generals and demagogues, thus preparing the way for dictatorship.

2. INDUSTRY AND LABOR

The ever-increasing golden stream of capital to Rome and Italy from the provinces and the resulting demand for new necessities and luxuries greatly stimulated industry and trade. Though land was still the preferred investment, it is easy to underestimate the extent of Italian industry in the last decades of the Republic. To supply the political and economic center of the whole Mediterranean basin with even the ordinary necessities, besides providing for the needs and equipment of large military forces, required a multitude of industries, great or small, employing a vast number of hands. Implements of every variety, outfits for farm and villa, clothing, furniture, foods, household utensils, tableware, objects of art and personal adornment, material for building and roads, and equipment for army and navy were produced for the home market, and, in the case of certain products also, for wide export.⁸ The multitude of archaeological examples in the museums tells the story.

Roman and Italian industry was still largely of the small-shop variety, however, in which the owner, aided by his family and two or three slaves or hired artisans, was both maker and seller for the local market. Many necessities were also still made for direct consumption in the home, and by skilled artisans on the plantations or behind the lines in the army.

Some idea of the character and ubiquity of small-shop industry in Rome and Italian towns during the late Republic and early Empire may be gained

⁷ I, 2, 17; II, 3, 7. Cf. also Caesar, *Gallie Wars*, I, 34.

⁸ Roman industry has been unduly belittled by one school of writers and exaggerated by another. On its extent in the late Republic, cf. T. Frank, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 369 ff.

from Pompeii. As the excavated remains show, the chief streets were lined with small shops, which were workrooms and salesrooms in one. Here were produced for local consumption tableware, iron tools, shoes, togas, jewelry, ornaments, lamps, smaller furniture, woodwork, kitchen utensils, and a multitude of other articles such as may now be seen in the National Museum at Naples. The wall decoration in the House of the Vettii at Pompeii, portraying cupids as miniature artisans busy in all manner of shop industries while the proprietor is engaged in making a sale, is doubtless truly representative.⁹ Some of the larger industries in Pompeii, though hardly of factory proportions, and chiefly to supply local needs, were those producing tiles and large wine jars of crude terra cotta and the tanning, milling, and baking industries. The fulling industry and the manufacture of fish sauces were on a large scale for export. The finer furniture, silver plate, and more elaborate iron and bronze ware seen in the Naples Museum were probably imported.

Slow and difficult transportation, the lack of patent laws, the constant addition of new lands, the slave system of cheap labor discouraging invention, and the attitude of the well-to-do classes all hampered the general development of large industry for export. Only in a few instances were the necessary conditions provided for mass production of factory proportions for distant markets, such as the existence of special raw materials centralized in a certain district, making possible a partial monopoly, a quasi-secret process, the use of skilled designs or molds, good recipes, and a not too bulky product. Some or all of these conditions were now met in the manufacture of pottery, glass, bronze and copper ware, furniture, silver plate, and certain table delicacies. The famous red-glazed Arretine tableware¹⁰ with low relief decoration, often stamped with the names both of the manufacturer and the individual craftsman who designed the particular mold, was exported over half the Mediterranean world. One plant at Arretium had forty designers of different molds, and a vat for mixing clay with a capacity of 10,000 gallons. Puteoli and the Po Valley were also becoming important centers for pottery works. Monopoly production of glassware was made possible by the invention of the blowpipe and by the necessary use of a not too common type of sand. The blowpipe created an industry of specialists and made it no longer necessary to make a new mold for each piece. The bronze and copper industry centered at Capua, with its fine harbor, abundant fuel, and rich hinterland. Before the end of the Republic, factories employing multitudes of workmen existed there, producing furniture, candelabra, statues, art products, braziers, and tripods which were widely exported.

Literally millions of common clay lamps were produced in northern Italy in a multitude of local potteries annually, but their utter lack of distinction either in mold or material made monopoly impossible, and their cheapness made shipping unprofitable. Thus production was largely for local use in small plants. The same was true of the production of common roof tiles. Brickmaking did not become a factory industry until the Empire, since the building materials of the Republic were mostly stone or concrete. Mining

⁹ Cf. Pl. XVI.

¹⁰ Cf. Pl. VIII (Roman Industry).

was chiefly in private hands and by small contracts. At Puteoli, the great center of the iron industry, excellent steel was produced, and a multitude of implements and arms in wrought iron. This industry was centralized, required large capital, and supplied a wide market, but since the art of casting iron from the molten metal was still unknown, each piece must be hammered out separately. Thus iron manufacture hardly became a factory industry, and the making of iron implements continued to thrive in every local smithy.

The production of lead waterpipes was not a factory industry, since lead, as a by-product of the silver mines, was a drug on the market and was easily worked by local plumbers. Wine and oil production, while on a large scale, was essentially agricultural. In Rome the market was in the hands of great middlemen, but in Italian towns, as Pompeii, wine and oil were sold direct from the vineyard and orchard to the consumer. Coarser spinning and weaving were still done largely in the household, as is evident from the multitude of whorls and weights found at Pompeii. Fulling, however, was an important industry and may have sometimes risen to factory proportions. Fullers constituted one of the most important Roman guilds. For finer fabrics Rome still depended on the East. Tanning was a large-scale industry, though probably not of factory proportions for extensive export from Italy.

The building industry was especially stimulated by the influx of wealth from world conquest. In Caesar's day marble was already beginning to be used for veneering concrete walls and for columns and architraves. It is estimated that as much money was spent on public buildings from the death of Sulla to the death of Caesar as was spent during the four preceding centuries.¹¹ Private homes and villas were now also far more magnificent and elaborate. The rapid development of such private building is revealed by Pliny's statement¹² that the house of Lepidus, which was reputed to be the most splendid mansion in Rome in 78 B.C., was excelled by a hundred others only a generation later.

The unskilled workers in industry, whether in household, shop, or factory, were slaves, and probably more than eighty per cent of the skilled workmen were either slaves or freedmen. All the professions except law, which was theoretically an unpaid public service, were also monopolized by slaves or freedmen. Architects, doctors, teachers, private secretaries, clerks, stewards, and even literary assistants, like Cicero's Tiro, were in this category. Actors in the Republic were regularly freedmen who had been trained while still slaves. They commanded very high pay, while elementary teachers received only a wretched pittance as low as eight cents per month for each pupil, though they might have large classes. Slave labor was extremely cheap, since it was a drug on the Roman market, despite the loss of 100,000 in the Spartacus revolt and the very frequent manumission.¹³ Caesar's Gallic conquest alone added 400,000 prisoners to the slave market in ten years, and these numbers were greatly enhanced by the Eastern wars and the active slave trade.¹⁴

¹¹ T. Frank, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 369 f., who gives a list of such buildings.

¹² *Natural History*, 36, 109. For further detail on mansions and villas, *cf.* below, p. 277.

¹³ On the basis of the revenue from the five per cent manumission tax, T. Frank, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 383 f., estimates that half a million slaves were freed between 81 and 49 B.C.

¹⁴ For prices, *cf.* Chapter Seven, Sec. II.

The extent of freedman and free citizen labor should not be underestimated, however. Multitudes of small shopkeepers, artisans and petty businessmen in Rome and the Italian towns were born Italian or Roman freemen or were one or two removes from slavery. Many freedmen had been set up in business by their former masters who probably shared in the profits. Factory managers were generally freedmen, as is also true of some of the owners. The election notices at Pompeii would seem to indicate a larger proportion of free artisans in the Italian towns than at Rome. The multitude of small wineshops, where the common workman might get a drink and a snack, points in the same direction. The numerous industrial guilds, or *collegia*, of skilled artisans in Republican Rome and Pompeii, though not excluding slaves, were very largely composed of freedmen or poor freemen. Their abolition because of their political activities, their revival by the demagogue, Clodius, as his political machine, and their later partial abolition by Julius Caesar as dangerous centers of political sedition are strong evidence that they included many poor citizens and freedmen. The *collegia* were primarily social in function, however, to pool the costs of religious offerings and provide for burial expenses, and present no analogy to medieval craft guilds or modern labor unions.¹⁵

Wages and the scale of living for the free laborer were pathetically low, as might be expected in an overwhelmingly slave economy. He might earn only a denarius or less a day and then only at seasonal work.¹⁶ The keep of a slave plus the interest on the investment did not amount to more than forty to fifty dollars a year. This tells the story for the poor freeman in Rome. He was in a far more precarious condition than the slave and eked out a wretched existence from hand to mouth.¹⁷

3. COMMERCE

Imperial expansion had made Rome the commercial center of the ancient world. Puteoli, on the Bay of Naples, Rome's chief seaport, was at the height of its prosperity. Even in the Gracchan days, it had been called a "lesser Delos,"¹⁸ but now the multitudes of foreign traders gave to the city an Oriental appearance. Large Greek and Syrian colonies had developed which rented their own docks and warehouses and had their own temples and cemeteries, some of which were very extensive. Especially after Pompey swept the pirates from the seas did commercial prosperity advance. In 49 B.C. 200 merchant ships were counted in the harbor of Utica alone. Literary and inscriptional evidence shows that large numbers of Italians and Greeks from southern Italy, now Roman citizens, were pursuing their financial interest in Gaul, Africa, and Asia in the wake of the Roman victorious armies. By forming distinct communities called *conventus*, even those who were not citizens

¹⁵ Some of the more important *collegia* were bronze workers, goldsmiths and jewelers of all sorts, other metalworkers, potters, bakers, butchers, carpenters, shoemakers, fullers, tanners, braziers, wagonmakers, and musicians. Some of them hark back to the early Republic, since they are mentioned in the Twelve Tables, and Roman tradition even traced them back to the half-legendary king Numa. For further detail, cf. Chapter Twenty-three, Sec. II, 6.

¹⁶ The wage scale in Egypt was much lower.

¹⁷ Cf. T. Frank, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 384-386, for estimates of wages and the cost of living.

¹⁸ Lucilius, III, 123.

of Rome gained the privilege of being tried by jurors chosen by their own body. In the late Republic, such organized colonies of Roman and Italian bankers, *negotiatores*, *publicani*, merchants, estate-holders, and retired veterans were established in most provincial cities of importance throughout the Empire.

The prevalence of such settlements, however, by no means indicates that commerce was largely carried on by Romans and in Roman ships. Truly Roman names of traders are remarkably rare in the literature and inscriptions. The wholesale merchant or shipper had usually arisen from the ranks of retailers, and hence held no high place in Roman society. Cicero's letters reflect the common Roman aversion to trade. Roman nobles were legally excluded from commerce, though they probably sometimes invested in a commercial venture or worked through a trusted freedman. The equestrian *negotiatores* also in this period were largely bankers and speculators in land and finance, not actual merchants. They were not usually of old Roman stock, but Campanians and Greeks of southern Italy, though now Roman citizens. The existence of extensive Syrian and Greek settlements in Puteoli is also strong evidence that Roman commerce was largely in foreign hands. Even when Roman money was invested, the venture was usually carried on by Greek-speaking agents or freedmen set up in business by their former masters. References to Roman merchant ships are also rare. Salesmanship still lacked organization, the producer was usually much closer to the consumer than now, and wholesale markets in every large port gave opportunity for buyers and sellers to get together.

In Cicero's day the merchant ships were commonly of 10,000 talents' (200 tons) burden, though some were considerably larger. They were very dependent on wind and weather and were extremely slow from the modern standpoint. In winter, partly because the stars were so often hidden by clouds, sea travel was quite irregular and much decreased. By good luck one might make the trip from Alexandria to Sicily in one week, or from Corfu to Italy in one night. On the other hand, it might take several days to cross from Athens to Delos, 100 miles, and Cicero tells of a hard trip across the Aegean, 250 miles, that required sixteen days. It usually took five or six weeks for letters from Rome to reach him in Cilicia. In view of the hazards and delays of travel, the freight and passenger rates seem remarkably low. It cost only fifteen or twenty drachmas¹⁰ for transporting two ton of bricks from Athens to Delos, only two drachmas for a passenger from Athens to Alexandria, and only three obols to cross the Aegean. The latter rates, of course, did not include board.

Roman commerce was badly out of balance, since imports greatly exceeded exports. Iron and bronze ware, Arretine pottery, and Capuan ointments were extensively exported, and some wine and olive oil, but these fell hopelessly short of paying for the imports of grain, raw materials, and luxuries. The balance was met from Roman investments and travel in the provinces, and especially by money payments out of the golden stream from tribute, ex-

¹⁰ A Greek drachma was about eighteen cents.

plotation, and war. The drain of this treasure from Rome was a cause of worry to statesmen, who sought to check it by legislation.

Grain and slaves were the chief imports, but luxuries of all sorts were a close second. Among the regular imports were salt fish, dried fruits, gems, wine, fine tapestries, and rugs from Pontus and Asia; glassware, Tyrian purple dyes, expensive cloths, linens, and cedar from Syria; through Syrian middlemen, Chinese silks, Indian cotton, pearls, ivory, and spices from the Far East; incense, spices, myrrh, and gems from Arabia; glass, papyrus, fine cloths, ivory, animals for the arena, and black slaves from Egypt; metals, hides, rough wool, salt meats, cheese, amber, tin, silver, and slaves from the provinces of the West and North; sculptures and paintings from the cities of Greece and Asia. Multitudes of works of art were secured by purchase or seizure and shipped to Rome to adorn the palaces and villas of the Roman nobles.

Land transportation was still slow and difficult, despite the network of excellent roads, and the cost for bulky articles was almost prohibitive. Fifty miles a day was the average for ordinary travel. A letter from Rome to Puteoli took two to four days, but bearers of messages of state might make 160 miles in twenty-four hours.

4. CAPITAL, BANKING, AND COINAGE

During the century of civil wars, investments of Roman capital were risky and their extent may be easily overestimated. The capitalists were in conflict with the senatorial nobility and repeatedly the victims of the military dictators. Twenty-six hundred were proscribed by Sulla, and two thousand by the triumvirs in 43 B.C., and their property confiscated. They were also deprived of their profits, as when Lucullus invalidated the interest on their loans in Asia. The largest-known Roman fortunes, like those of Pompey and Crassus (\$10,000,000), were not made by capitalistic activities, but through war or by buying up confiscated estates. The greatest were usually held by the senatorial nobility, but only six Romans in Cicero's day are known to have had an income of \$200,000 a year. A senator probably needed \$500,000 productive property, but a Roman businessman was wealthy enough to be a knight if he possessed a property of \$20,000.

Though by the last days of the Republic Rome had become the financial center of the Roman world, no outstanding Roman banking firm had arisen. There was no provision in the corporation law of the Republic for combinations of capital, except for farming revenues or for operating mines or public properties, and these partnerships must be renewed with every five-year census. Joint stock companies for such purposes were legally formed and shares sold to stockholders, but they were not of a permanent nature. Partnerships for the managing of some business project were common, but the capital involved was usually not large, and they were not protected by law. Roman banking was slow in developing. Most of the names of bankers at Rome and Puteoli in the days of Cicero are foreign or Campanian. The small town private banker, Lucius Caecilius Jucundus, over a hundred of whose receipts are found at Pompeii, sought profit in all kinds of business activities, even

auctioning slaves. The bankers received deposits on account for which they paid interest, made loans on notes and mortgages, discounted, dealt in real estate, acted as money-changers, served as agents for wealthy nobles, formed temporary partnerships, and might have branches or agents in the provinces so as to issue bills of exchange. But Greek and Italian bankers, who were already in the East before Roman expansion, largely met the needs for handling the transfer of money and credits.

Since the wealthy Romans preferred to entrust their funds to a proven freedman rather than to a bank, owing to the precariousness of property in the civil wars, the government organized state banks to meet public needs. Private bankers were not usually held in high esteem, partly because of an aristocratic feeling against business, but also because of their grasping activity as money-changers and moneylenders, and their origin as foreigners or freedmen. The known bankers at Delos were, with perhaps one exception, from southern Italy and Sicily. It is probable, however, that Romans furnished a considerable part of the capital. Loans to cities or client kings in the East were especially profitable, since interest in Rome was four to six per cent, but ten to twelve per cent in the provinces, and often much higher for special risks. Millions in loans of this character were placed by wealthy Romans like Pompey and Brutus, as well as by bankers and partnerships. Even before Pompey's Eastern campaigns, the cities of Asia alone owed \$40,000,000, chiefly to Roman capitalists.²⁰

Though the income from the silver mines probably decreased in this period, the influx of precious metals to Rome from the wars and exploitation of the provinces probably furnished sufficient currency for the expanding needs of the state. The loss to the provinces and conquered lands was also by no means uncompensated, since, as we have seen, the gold and silver flowed back through trade and Roman investment. The standard coins throughout the Empire were the Roman silver denarius and the gold aureus equaling forty to the pound, or twenty-five denarii.²¹

III. SOCIETY AND MANNERS

With the marked change in national economy and the vast influx of wealth and foreign slaves to Rome through imperial expansion came a corresponding transformation in Roman society, manners, ideals, and national character.²² The social conditions and tendencies in the age of the Gracchi, previously described, were now greatly intensified.

I. POPULATION AND CLASSES

Despite the constant wars, the citizen population had increased from 1,500,000 free adult males in the year 85 to 4,063,000 in the year 28. Of these probably 3,500,000 adult males, or a total free population of 10,500,000, were in

²⁰ Cf. T. Frank, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 350-352.

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 347-349.

²² Cicero's writings, especially his letters, covering the years from 68-43 B.C., make this period one of the most intimately known periods in all history. Other contemporary sources are Catullus, Sallust, Varro, and inscriptions. Secondary sources are Plutarch, Appian, and Dio.

Italy. The slaves by the end of the Republic may have numbered nearly 4,000,000.²³ To the above should be added a growing class of aliens, including those freedmen who had not yet been assimilated to the citizens. Rome was now a metropolis of nearly three-quarters of a million inhabitants.

Though depleted by civil war and proscription and deprived of much of their political power, the senatorial nobility were still the dominant class in Roman society. Their honorable tradition of patriotic public service was still by no means unknown, but the rule was public office for private gain, political corruption at home, and exploitation of Rome's subjects abroad. In private life, they were notorious for their extravagant luxury. Cicero, by no means one of the richer men of his day, lavished \$4,000 a year on his son's education in Athens.²⁴ The paltry \$50,000 minimum requisite for senatorial rank had now become a mere bagatelle, for, to live on the lavish scale demanded of their social status, with their large retinue of slaves and clients, elaborate town houses, and country villas, required a productive fortune of at least ten times that amount. The younger Cato lived simply on a capital of only \$180,000. Even the moderately well-to-do Cicero thought that one should have an annual income of at least \$30,000 to live like a gentleman, and for the really rich, Crassus would place it at \$200,000. Cicero had a mansion on the Palatine worth \$175,000 and a villa at Tusculum valued at \$25,000, besides five other suburban and country houses. The mansion of Clodius was worth \$740,000, that of Messalla, \$165,000. The palace of Lucullus was magnificent with stately halls, loggias, gardens, libraries, and beautified with the finest art. He paid \$500,000 for an estate at Baiae. Besides this, he had a splendid villa at Tusculum, with estates extending for several miles around, another on the Pincian Hill, famous for its elaborate gardens, and a fine estate at Naples, besides many others scattered over Italy. Greek architects built splendid mansions with luxurious banquet halls instead of farmhouses on each of his properties. The villa of Scaurus at Tusculum was valued at \$1,500,000. Pompey, Antony, Metellus, Hortensius, and many others of the senatorial class had similar costly properties. The wealthy Crassus was the exception in being satisfied with one mansion.

Prodigal expenditures were also made for masterpieces of art, fine furnishings, archaic vases and bronzes, and jewelry. Scaurus had 3,000 statues in his theatre. The \$50,000 paid by Lucullus for a masterpiece and the \$100,000 paid by Caesar for two paintings from Byzantium were probably not exceptional prices for the wealthiest classes. The brother of Lucullus squandered \$600,000 for a colossal statue of Apollo. One or two thousand was nothing to pay for smaller decorative pieces. Two ornamented golden cups were sold for \$60,000. Caesar paid \$300,000 for a pearl for Servilia, the mother of Brutus. Fancy prices were paid for fine imported furnishings. Even Cicero paid \$25,000 for a table-board of citrus wood, and later prices are double or more. The abstemious Cato was accused of having spent \$40,000 for Babylonian table

²³ For the above estimates, which are partly guesses, cf. T. Frank, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 315. The increase is partly due to the extension of citizenship, as to the Cispadane Gauls.

²⁴ He admits, however (*Philippics*, II, 16, 40), that he had received \$1,000,000 in legacies, probably in large part through his law practice.

spreads. Tyrian "double-dyed" purple wool was sought for in Rome at \$200 a pound.²⁵ Most extreme of all were the prodigal expenditures on costly dinners and table luxuries. The banquets of Lucullus, where throngs of his friends gourmandized, became a synonym for the most sumptuous and lavish entertainment, and doubtless others aped him, in so far as their means allowed.

Such mad waste of wealth on palaces, villas, and banquets was the natural outgrowth of the way in which the spenders gained their wealth by wholesale robbery of the treasures of the East and enslavement of its inhabitants. The whole plan and life of the villa centered about dining. For variation, each room might be used as a banquet hall, and careful attention was given to decoration to please the most fastidious taste. High prices were paid for slaves skilled in gastronomy. Native Italian wines and delicacies were now taboo on the tables of the rich. The cellar of Hortensius is said to have been stocked with 10,000 jars (each thirty-three quarts) of foreign wines. Land and sea were eagerly explored for costly imported wines, rare marine foods, and all kinds of exotic and novel dainties to tickle the jaded palate. Already the later disgusting Roman custom of taking an emetic after overindulgence at the banquet table was by no means unknown.²⁶

Such prodigal living, together with the vast amounts squandered in the political game, created a chronic condition of debt and bankruptcy in aristocratic circles and among the gilded young bloods of Rome. Debt often shaped political destinies, for the vote of many a senator was determined by his creditor, and bankrupt young debauchees sought relief by securing a governorship to exploit the provincials, by deliberately inciting foreign war, as did Caesar, or by political conspiracy and civil war like Catiline. In the year 62 Caesar owed \$1,250,000, largely to Crassus. As a mere youth, M. Antony owed \$300,000, and later increased his debt to \$2,000,000. Curio owed \$3,000,000, and Milo topped the list with \$3,500,000.

The high living of the nobility was imitated on a lesser scale by the bourgeois equestrian class and in coarser style by occasional new-rich freedmen. As the life of the Optimates centered in public office, the goal of the equestrians was public contracts and large financial speculation at home and in the provinces. They were large creditors of the senators, and much of the movable wealth and real estate in Rome was in their hands. Many doubtless possessed much more than the \$20,000 necessary for knight status. Crassus was once counted the richest man in Rome, and Cicero's friend, Atticus, inherited \$500,000, and doubtless added to it by shrewd investments. Before the middle of the century *negotiatores* were ubiquitous throughout the Roman world, especially in the East. Like the Optimates, they exploited the subjects

²⁵ For the above figures, cf. T. Frank, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 353 f., 371, 384-386, 393.

²⁶ For a list of such exotic foods and the disgusting multiplication of meats, cf. Macrobius, *Saturnalia*, III, 13, 12, and Varro, *Satires*, cited by Mommsen, *History of Rome*, Vol. IV, pp. 613 ff. The dinner given in 63 B.C. by M. Lentulus Niger on entering his pontificate, attended by Caesar, the pontiffs, and even the Vestals, offered twelve kinds of rare sea foods, roe ribs, boar ribs, and two kinds of fowl as an appetizer before the banquet. The dinner then followed with pork served in three forms, three kinds of fowl, fish, and game, and pastry delicacies. In Varro's satire he lists six kinds of fish and three of fowl, besides a number of imported foreign products for dessert.

of Rome in every province. Though the practice was frowned on by public opinion, many made their pile also, like Crassus, by the purchase of cheap confiscated properties.²⁷ He shrewdly supplemented this method by keeping his own fire brigade and buying at bargain prices property adjoining burning buildings. Even the urbane Hellenist, Atticus, was not above a variety of rather bourgeois means of adding to his inheritance, such as keeping slave copyists, employing slave women in a sort of weaving factory, breeding horses and sheep, training young slaves in skilled vocations to sell at a high figure, and even training gladiators. He also loaned money at home and in the provinces, and invested in real estate abroad.

In appalling contrast to the great fortunes and lavish expenditure of the upper classes was the wretched poverty of the urban plebs. World imperialism had wrought a radical transformation both in their character and racial origins. By Cicero's day, the old Roman or Italian stock no longer predominated. The majority was a mixture of Mediterranean races, chiefly Greeks and Orientals, manumitted slaves or their descendants who as freedmen (*liberti*) had become assimilated with the Roman citizen body. Sulla's Corneli had added 10,000 new citizens, up from slavery, at one stroke. The wars of the century cast hundreds of thousands of captives on the Roman market, and the plethora of slaves and lack of race prejudice in Rome meant easy manumission²⁸ and rapid assimilation into the Roman plebs. They brought with them their foreign cults and ideals. Thus in cosmopolitan Rome, as a great melting pot, proceeded the assimilation of Italian with Greco-Oriental and Western barbarian, which gradually revolutionized the character of the urban masses.²⁹

Perhaps in no other great society has the antithesis between "millionaires and beggars" been so glaring without the mediation of a prosperous middle class, as in the parasitic society of the last days of the Roman Republic. We know little of the "short and ugly annals" of these poor, for they had no historians. Drawn to the world capital by the prospect of free bread and circuses, these throngs whom a slave society had robbed of the right to honest work, dispossessed peasants, petty tradesmen who eked out only a partial

²⁷ For a list, cf. T. Frank, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 398.

²⁸ The average time needed to save enough to purchase freedom was seven years.

²⁹ On the basis of over 20,000 sepulchral inscriptions for the first three centuries of the Empire in Volume 6 of the *Corpus of Latin Inscriptions*, T. Frank, *Economic History of Rome*, 2d ed., p. 211, estimates that ninety per cent of the permanent residents in the early Roman Empire had some foreign blood. The estimate seems inordinately high, and in any event, since it includes data from the second and third centuries A.D., when Oriental and other foreign influences were very much greater, it can be used only with great caution for Cicero's day. Any factual material presented either here or elsewhere in this volume on the decline of the old Roman stock and the influx of foreign peoples into Rome and Italy should in no way be interpreted as implying any essential inferiority of the foreign stocks racially, or the superiority of the Roman or Italian, for such a theory is utterly without foundation in the facts of Roman history. Racialism, whether in eminent scholars on Roman history or in the puerile vagaries of contemporary Nazism, is repudiated by all genuine scientific data from anthropology, biology, sociology, and psychology. Cf. below, Chapter Twenty-nine, Sec. IV, for a specific rejection of this theory of the decline. Undoubted facts, however, are the gradual decadence of the old Roman stock and growing preponderance of Greek, Oriental, and Western barbarian elements in Italy. It should be noted also that these, while in no way inferior to the Romans racially, were from the less-cultivated classes in the East, and later from the less-developed peoples in the West, thereby temporarily lowering the general cultural level.

living, the rapidly growing class of freedmen and their descendants, as well as all the flotsam and jetsam of criminals, drones, and ne'er-do-wells who always gravitate to great cosmopolitan centers, had now reached the menacing total of 320,000 citizens. This multitude, living from hand to mouth on state largess, plus the occasional crumbs that they might earn, beg, steal, or glean as clients from their wealthy patrons, led a drab existence, save for the glamour of the public shows. Their dingy, ramshackle tenements of several stories,³⁰ situated in the sultry depressions of the city between the hills or in the stuffy business districts as the Argiletum, were in hideous contrast to the splendid mansions and spacious gardens on the Palatine. They were despised by the upper classes, even by the more humanitarian Cicero, as "the dregs of humanity" and "that bloodsucker of the treasury, the wretched and starveling mob."³¹ Yet this crowd was courted and flattered, fed and feared, by the politicians as a dangerous beast. Caesar curbed its power in *contio*³² and assembly, and reduced the number on the dole by over one-half, but he could only decrease, not end, the burden on the public treasury. The contenders for power after his death were still forced to cater to the crowd and recognize its ominous growl or roar of approval.³³

In the Italian municipalities and throughout the countryside were, of course, still thousands of artisans, traders, small farmers, and persons of substance. Reinforced by Caesar and Augustus, they would still form a fairly solid basis for two centuries of Roman prosperity. Yet the same tendencies were evident here as in the capital, only to a lesser degree. Sulla had largely blotted out the rebellious peasantry of Etruria and Samnium. The civil wars had exacted a constant toll, and the wholesale confiscations to make way for veteran settlements had worked havoc on the older Italian stock. Many had failed and gravitated to Rome to swell the unemployed. Many had colonized outside of Italy. Multitudes in the legions were killed or disabled in foreign wars, or remained in the provinces and were forever lost to the homeland.³⁴ Varro says that "The once populous cities of Italy stood desolate." The old stock was partially replaced, but by the more unstable veterans and by a multitude of emancipated slaves. For in much of Italy, the proportion of slaves and freedmen in the population was probably almost as preponderant during the last days of the Republic as it was in Rome.³⁵

2. WOMAN AND THE FAMILY

The old solidarity of the family had largely broken down. Race suicide in the upper classes through late or childless marriage was already well advanced by Cicero's day. The old Roman religion, which had encouraged large

³⁰ The restorations at Ostia give some idea of these *insulae*.

³¹ *Ad Atticum*, II, 1, 8; I, 16, 11. Loeb Classical Library translation, by permission of the Harvard University Press.

³² For the term, *cf.* above, p. 134.

³³ It should be evident to the careful reader that the above paragraph is not a general indictment of the poor urban masses, many of whom were victims of circumstances. Such terms as "criminals," "drones," and "ne'er-do-wells" clearly apply to a certain element among them.

³⁴ In Asia alone 80,000, mostly Italians, were massacred as a result of the plot of Mithradates.

³⁵ Again the above data merely reveal the social change in Italy for better or worse, without any implication of racial degeneration. *Cf.* p. 279, n. 29.

families for ancestral reasons, was no longer taken seriously by cultivated Romans. The pressure of economic conditions also, the desire for a life of pampered ease, the sophistication that came with the new Hellenic education, and the economic and social emancipation of women all did their work in disintegrating the family.³⁶

In aristocratic circles in Cicero's day divorce was extremely common and a matter of no social concern. Marriages *de convenance* for political or economic reasons were the rule and a large factor in the frequency of divorce.³⁷ Remarriage was as frequent as divorce. Even the moral Cato divorced his wife to accommodate his friend and remarried her on his friend's death. To live with one woman for thirty years as Cicero did was probably quite unusual among the upper classes, and even he finally divorced his Terentia to marry his young ward, whom he soon divorced. His daughter, Tullia, had been thrice married, though she died when comparatively young. Antony was Fulvia's third husband. Repeated divorces and remarriage went on without causing the least ripple in Roman society, except perhaps politically. Sulla and Pompey each had five wives, Caesar and Antony, four. Q. Lucretius Vespillo (consul, 19 B.C.) said in his funeral panegyric over his wife: "So long a married life as ours, ended by death and not by divorce, is rare."³⁸ That the older Roman ideal persisted to a large degree among the common citizenry, however, is indicated by the inscriptions on their tombstones.

Formal marriage contracts might still be made, but were neither necessary nor enforceable by law. Only a verbal agreement was required. The state was concerned only with legitimacy and inheritance. Women of substance were in no sense under the *manus*³⁹ of their husbands and, indeed, the old *manus* ceremony was now rare. Wives yielded no legal rights by a marriage agreement and generally managed their own property personally or through agents. Both marriage and divorce were now purely individual, or at least only family affairs.

Sex morality was treated as antiquated among the more sophisticated aristocrats. Though the utter moral looseness of Julius Caesar and the disgraceful escapade of Clodius were subjects for satire, they in no way militated against them either socially or politically. Liaisons among the ladies of fashion in Rome or at such watering places as Baiae were so common that only the most extreme scandal would cause discussion. A notorious example was the beautiful, witty and accomplished Clodia, the beloved "Lesbia" of the poet Catullus and later the mistress of the young rake Caelius. Recklessly extravagant and free from all conventions, she was called by Cicero a "lady friend to everybody," to whom all the young aristocrats paid court.⁴⁰ Yet, just because of

³⁶ The conservative picture of woman and the family in Roman law must be supplemented by Cicero's letters.

³⁷ Such marriages are common in Latin countries today, however, though divorce is not.

³⁸ *Laudatio Turiae*, C. I. L., VI, 1527, cited by J. E. Sandys, *Companion to Latin Studies*, Cambridge, 1910, p. 186. The picture of morals in this entire section (2) applies particularly to aristocratic society in the capital, and should not be unduly generalized, even for this class.

³⁹ Cf. above, p. 71, n. 26.

⁴⁰ Perhaps he was hardly a reliable witness in a trial against an opponent. In any event, Clodia was not a fair sample of Roman matrons in the age of Cicero. Witness Terentia, the wife

such freedom of Roman women of the citizen class as compared with those in Greece, courtesans had no such honored place in Roman society as did the educated foreign *hetaerae* in the Greek world. They had to take out a license, and, once registered, the record could never be erased. They also had civil disabilities and were required to wear a distinct dress. But they appeared freely everywhere with their perfumes and finery and succeeded in persuading many a Roman young blood to squander fortunes upon them.

In the last century of the Roman Republic, urbane society among the wealthy and leisure classes in the modern sense first became common. Elaborate dinner parties, attended by the wives, and brilliant salons were the order of the day. Even the grave Cornelia, mother of the Gracchi, kept open house for literary men and Greek philosophers with whom she discussed literary, political, and philosophical subjects. Her granddaughter, Sempronia, daughter of G. Gracchus, opened her home to secret nocturnal meetings of disreputable young nobles like Catiline. She was accomplished as a poetess and musician, at home in Greek and Latin literature, famous for her personal charm, vivacity, and witty, unconventional conversation.⁴¹ Servilia, mother of M. Brutus, and beloved of Caesar, was also famous for her brilliant salon, as was also Clodia.

Behind the scenes, many leading women were now active in politics and influential in shaping policies. Cato, the Younger, protested against their influence in military and provincial appointments. Such were Porcia, Aurelia, Clodia, Calpurnia, Mucia, Servilia, Julia, Cornelia, Sempronia, Tertia, Junia, Terentia, Hortensia, Sulpicia, Fulvia, Octavia, Postumia, and the accomplished and wealthy widow of the younger Crassus, the second wife of Pompey. The number of such Roman women of influence is larger than for any nation previous to the nineteenth century.

IV. RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY

In no phase of life were the Romans more profoundly affected by expansion than in their religious and ethical ideals. Among many of the upper classes, faith in the state and official cults had rapidly declined and had given place to cynical skepticism and indifference to public religion. The growth of individualism, the decline of civic patriotism, an intellectual sophistication that came with world contacts, and a more intimate knowledge of Greek philosophy and Oriental cults had made the religion of the city-state a purely formal affair for the educated. Members of the priestly colleges were now often ignorant and neglectful of their duties, and augury, though still perfunctorily performed as having some political value, had little religious significance to the officials.

Family religion and the old hereditary rites decayed with public religion among the aristocracy, and for the same reasons. The decline was also a natural accompaniment of the rapid breakdown of the old solidarity of the family. In so far as the cultivated classes felt any religious need, they sought

of Cicero, Caesar's daughter, Julia, the noble Octavia, and many others. Yet Clodia could retain a high place in Roman society.

⁴¹ Sallust, *Catiline*, 24 f. Her son was Decimus Brutus, one of the conspirators against Caesar.

satisfaction in philosophy or in the more personal foreign cults. This indifference to the old religion naturally filtered down to the city masses to some degree. For the sophisticated, the passing of the old religious sanctions left little as a substitute. Thus public morals, at least for the governing classes, decayed with the decay of their religious root. Imperial expansion brought with it pampered luxury and beggary, oversophistication, the worship of wealth, parasitism, inhumanity, extreme individualism, the lust for power and pleasure, and a moral looseness resulting from the prolonged life in camp far from home restraints. Likewise, civil war broke down old codes of honor and legal, moral, or social standards.⁴²

Some partial substitutes for the old public and family religion, however, were sure to emerge. Their decline was associated with a rapid increase of Oriental cults in Rome and Italy, the loss of faith in reason, and the resort to mysticism, emotionalism, supernaturalism, romantic humbug, and even gross superstition. Until the first century the cult of Cybele had been kept within the Palatine, and Romans had no participation in it. But that it was now popular is evident from the opposition of Varro and Lucretius and the poetical recognition of it by Catullus. The Oriental divinities, including the Jewish Yahweh, migrated to Rome in flocks with the hordes of slaves and fortune hunters from every quarter of the East.

Among the most popular were the Egyptian deities, above all, Isis, who had many devotees among the women of the masses. Her worship was accompanied by elaborate secret initiatory rites of purification as an insurance for future happiness. In 58 B.C. it was even attempted to ensconce her in the very citadel of Jove on the Capitol, but the cult was banished to the suburbs of Rome. Eight years later the senate ordered her temples destroyed within the walls, but none could be found to raise a hand against her, save the consul himself. On the arrival of Cleopatra with her bevy of attendants and servants, Caesar, at her request, had the senate order the erection of a temple to Isis. When the Egyptian queen later forsook Rome, only the less reputable of her train remained, and Augustus ordered the shrines of Isis removed outside the walls, but no state opposition succeeded in checking the rapid growth of her cult.

Previous to the Empire, however, probably the influence of Oriental religions upon the older Roman stock was not extensive. Their popularity among so-called Romans was largely due to the fact that an increasing percentage of the citizenship was now composed of Greeks and Orientals only one or two removes from slavery. Mysticism, the decline of confidence in reason, and the readiness to accept authoritarianism in government had been characteristic of the East for generations. A significant factor in their rapid development in the West was the decline of the old Roman and Italian stock and its replacement by alien races. But such tendencies may also reach back to primitive Italy and Pythagoreanism in Magna Graecia with its Orphic and Egyptian doctrines.

⁴² Of course one may easily exaggerate the extent to which the decay of religion and morals in the upper classes permeated society.

In the first century B.C. mystical doctrines were introduced to more serious-minded Romans through Stoic teachers. Panaetius had colored Stoicism with Platonic dualism, and Posidonius, in the first half of the century in Rome, developed such tendencies further. A reflection of this influence of Posidonius is seen in the *Dream of Scipio*, which closes Cicero's *Republic*, published in 54 B.C., as also in his *Tusculan Disputations* produced a decade later.⁴³ The soul was exalted at the expense of the body. By its very nature it must rise to the ethereal regions, and thus the immortal hope robbed death of its sting. Though usually agnostic, true to his principles of Academic skepticism, Cicero, in his later years, was considerably affected by this trend, especially after the death of his beloved "Tulliola." He persuaded himself that she survived somehow as divine rather than human, and somewhat apologetically wrote to Atticus at Rome, requesting him to establish for her a *fanum*, a precinct sacred to a deity. The more usual attitude of his educated contemporaries, however, is seen in the cynicism of Caesar and the skepticism of Lucretius. Even Cicero sometimes seems to imply in his letters that death ends all for him. Judging by the arguments of Lucretius and Cicero against the fear of death, however, the city masses still had their worries about the future.⁴⁴

With the cults of the East came also Chaldaean astrology to Rome. *Fortuna* as a deity and natural force grew popular. Those pseudo-scientists, the *matematici*, and professors of Babylonian and Egyptian wisdom, claiming a mystical relation between the stars and individual human fates, profitably plied their trade in Rome and won adherents to the faith, not only among the foreign born, but even among respectable and educated Romans. By this art, Cicero's friend, Nigidius, is alleged to have predicted the future greatness of Octavian at his birth in 63 B.C., and from that time the casting of horoscopes became a popular pastime at Rome.

To the educated classes, a more general substitute for religion than Oriental cults was Hellenistic philosophy. The goal of each school was a way of life by which one might strengthen himself within against the pressure from outside. The philosophies therefore became religions to relieve their spiritual destitution and furnish a needed spring to moral action. Epicureanism was the first to appear at Rome early in the second century, but it did not become popular until nearly a century later. In its grosser form, emphasizing self-indulgence rather than the noble intellectual pleasure of Epicurus, it especially fitted the degenerate days of the late Republic. It became the popular philosophy of the cynical, less serious-minded, luxury-loving Romans, and especially of the young bloods of Rome. But the higher doctrine of withdrawal from the vexations of political life to seek happiness in intellectual pursuits also appealed to some more serious Romans, such as the poet Lucretius. The Epicurean scientific interest, with its mechanical, atomic, and evolutionary theory of the universe, its materialistic emphasis, and its denial of any deter-

⁴³ Though Neo-Pythagoreanism did not become important until the next century, such tendencies had long been developing. Cicero's friend, P. Nigidius Figulus, attempted to revive Pythagorean doctrines. Posidonius wrote a commentary on Plato's *Timaeus*, and Cicero translated part of the same work.

⁴⁴ Cf. *The Nature of Things*, VI, 764 ff.; III, 31-93; 966 ff.; 1053-1094; *Tusculan Disputations*, I, 46, III.

mining relation between the gods and human destiny were all in accord with the spirit of the age of Caesar and attracted the more rational and skeptical spirits. But even at its best, Epicureanism had little to offer as a remedy for the religious poverty of the age, for, as Cicero complained, it left no place for "*pietas, sanctitas, or religio*," without which honor, faith, and justice vanish.⁴⁵

Stoicism was, on the whole, far better adapted to the Roman character as a practical guide for life. As taught by Panaetius of Rhodes in Rome soon after the middle of the second century, and by the Syrian Posidonius a generation later, it became the religion of the more serious of educated Romans. It substituted for the crude conceptions of deity in the old Roman *numina* and the Greek polytheisms a universal Reason which embraced all these. The universe, as the work of this animating Reason, or World Soul, is itself rational and divine. Man also, as having within him a spark of the Divine Reason, is a rational being and must conform his life to its guidance. Such a conception of the World Soul appears in the thought of both Cicero and Varro. This divine, all-pervading life manifests itself in the traditional Roman divinities as befits the situation. Thus the new Stoicism breathed new life into the old civic gods and, at the same time, furnished a highly spiritual, rational, and ethical ideal of God to meet the needs of the educated classes. In the words of the sublime *Hymn of Cleanthes*, men, indeed all living creatures, are his "offspring" and partake of his nature. Men are not helpless and isolated individuals. They are intimately associated with the Divine Reason and hence with each other, united by the bond of natural law and right reason. Thus arose the Stoic idea that human law and duties, *officia*, had their roots in the Divine Reason or the universal law of nature, a conception which exerted a salient influence upon the contemporary interpreters of Roman law like Q. Mucius Scaevola, Servius Sulpicius Rufus, and Cicero, as well as on later legal theory.

But even the noble ethical and humanitarian ideal of Stoicism was too abstract and negative to serve as an effective mainspring for moral and social action. Its eclectic mixture with other philosophies and religions to adapt it to the general need also made it a conglomerate of hopeless illogicalities which the skeptical Academics successfully attacked with their incisive criticism.⁴⁶ The more independent spirits either ignored its professors or scornfully opposed them for their dogmatism, inconsistencies, and moral Pharisaism. Yet Stoicism came nearer than any other ethical or religious system to meeting the deeper spiritual needs of educated Romans in Cicero's day. He himself was an eclectic thinker especially attracted to the critical skepticism of the New Academy, but his whole moral and spiritual outlook was essentially Stoic.

⁴⁵ *The Nature of the Gods*, I, 2, 3.

⁴⁶ It was at the same time a system of materialism and idealism, monotheism and polytheism, fatalism and freedom.

Chapter Fourteen

ROMAN CULTURE IN THE LAST CENTURY OF THE REPUBLIC

I. EDUCATION

Roman education was now thoroughly Hellenized both in form and content. The cultivated Roman must be bilingual, and training in Greek language and literature was fundamental. The curriculum of Varro is in striking contrast to that of the elder Cato's day. Aside from some training in Greek oratory, Cato's was still largely Roman and vocational, including agriculture, law, war, and medicine, with nothing of literary culture. Varro's, on the other hand, represents Hellenic cultural education in all its fullness—grammar (literature), logic, or dialectic, rhetoric, geometry, arithmetic, astronomy, some music, medicine, and architecture. War, law, and agriculture have been relegated to the vocational. To a considerable degree, however, education continued to retain a national Roman character. Roman as well as Greek literature was studied, and despite the training in the Greek language, Latin translations of the Greek poets, as well as the originals, were considered necessary for Roman culture.

Education beyond the elementary school was now far more general. Private schools rapidly multiplied. The circle of cultivated classes expanded, and a general interest in Greek and Latin literature developed. Cicero says with some exaggeration: "Every place is crowded with rhetoricians." The art of polite conversation in salons and social circles became far more common, and the contemporary letters reflect a much more refined society. Literary interests and an urbane culture were also penetrating to the more well-to-do equestrian class, an outstanding example of which is Cicero's friend, Atticus. Cultivated slaves, such as Cicero's Tiro, were highly prized as giving a house standing.

Roman education of the late Republic was also much improved in methods, thoroughness, and stricter scholastic standards. Latin diction, however, though greatly enriched, was already less pure through the influx of foreign elements and the emphasis upon Alexandrian poetry, with its archaisms, affectation, and erudition.¹ The same was also true of prose. Varro's *Satires*, Caesar's *Commentaries*, and Cicero's *Letters* reflect more of the earlier ideal. The flowery Asianic style represented by Hortensius and M. Antonius² competed with the stern Attic as used by Julius Caesar and M. Brutus. Cicero developed

¹ Of course Alexandrian poetry contributed much of value to Catullus and, later, to Virgil.

² The grandfather of Mark Antony, the triumvir.

a happy medium through his training at Rhodes.³ Caesar sought to improve conditions by granting Roman citizenship to all teachers of literature.

Whether boys and girls were taught together is not clear, but very probably they were usually separated. The ancient data are almost entirely limited to the education of boys and youths of the richer class. Probably girls received their earlier education at home through tutors. But young women were well able, as we have seen, to hold their own with men in polite conversation on literature and philosophy.

In the best families the Roman child was early brought under Hellenic influence through his Greek nurse. From seven to adolescence, also, he was constantly attended by a Greek *paedagogus*, who had general supervision over his morals and manners and taught him Greek conversation. In some of the wealthier families a *litterator* (writing master) taught the child the elements at home, but usually he began the elementary school (*ludus*)⁴ at the age of seven, where the *ludi magister* taught him the three R's. The work was very largely of a memory type, and great emphasis was placed on clear and correct pronunciation. The abacus and pebbles (*calculi*) were used as aids in reckoning. Until the end of the Republic the school writing materials were still usually a stylus and a wax tablet. The pupils rose to recite and wrote with the tablet on their knees. The boys trudged to school at dawn or earlier, buying a bit of bread from the baker on the way to stay their hunger until the noon *prandium* at home, after which they returned for the afternoon session. The discipline was very harsh, and the use of a ferule on the hand or whipping on the bare back was frequent. Vacation brought relief during the hottest summer months, however, and there were numerous holidays on state festivals.

From the age of twelve until he assumed the *toga virilis* at sixteen, the boy who could afford it attended the private school of the *grammaticus*, who taught him the liberal arts of Greek education, literature, dialectic, arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and some elements of music. The chief instructional material was Greek and Latin literature, especially Greek poetry, much of which was learned verbatim. Thus the Romans were the first to base their education on a study of literature in a foreign language, a practice that has played a very significant part in modern education. Formal grammar was not strongly emphasized, but rather the poetical form and meaning, with exercises in verse-making and in simple prose writing. Elementary rhetoric was also sometimes taught by the *grammaticus* for the benefit of those who were not to have more advanced schooling. Mathematics was merely for practical purposes, and music was largely for professionals, never holding the same place in Roman education that it did in Greece, as an essential part of a broad education. Neither music nor dancing was in good standing for citizens, especially for women, yet the very protests against these arts prove that they were now becoming common accomplishments in high society. Physical training of the Greek type, in the *palaestra* and gymnasium, was now more common, but it was

³ In his *Julius Caesar*, in the speeches of Brutus and Antony, Shakespeare has presented both styles with remarkable success.

⁴ "Play." The Latin term *schola*, corresponding to the Greek *scholê*, was not used during the Republic, at least for the elementary school.

still opposed by conservative Romans and formed no regular part of the Roman curriculum, though *palaestrae* were found in some of the villas. Even in the early Empire, Seneca wrote: "I would exclude from these liberal studies the wrestlers and the entire science that depends on oil and mud."⁵ Greek athletic festivals were not undertaken at Rome until Nero's day.

As a rule, the teachers, except some of the most skilled professors of rhetoric or philosophy, were not highly regarded in Roman society, since they were usually foreigners or freedmen. Their pay, received monthly by contract with the parents, varied with skill and status, but since the state required no license and set no standard, the competition kept it at a mere pittance, except for the skilled lecturers in rhetoric and philosophy. The advanced education of the noble Roman boy in rhetoric was begun at about the age of sixteen under a Greek *rhetor* in Rome. Latin teachers of rhetoric also plied their trade to a limited extent, but a persistent prejudice existed against them as less efficient. As a preparation for entering public life, the boys were given much training in declamation, in the study of models of oratorical prose, oral and written, in brief-making for and against a thesis, and in composing narrative and eulogies. The primary emphasis was upon *declamatio*, practice in writing orations and in delivering them from memory, which later came to exert a very bad effect on literary style. The ambitious youth attached himself to some prominent public orator as a protégé, listened to his speeches and private discussions, and attended him to and from the Forum. Cicero, for example, learned much from M. Antonius, and especially Q. Mucius Scaevola, and later served as a model to other young men.

Since it was considered that not only technical training but also a broad general culture and wide knowledge in diverse fields were necessary for success in public life and for a cultured gentleman, philosophy was also studied under Greek philosophers at Rome. It was not unusual in Cicero's day for a Roman noble to retain a Greek philosopher in his home. As a boy, Cicero was greatly impressed by Phaedrus, the Epicurean, but at eighteen he was thoroughly won over by Philo, the Academic. Among Romans, Cicero has given expression to the noblest ideal of what education should be. He emphasized a broadly cultural and liberal training, supplementing literature and rhetoric with history, jurisprudence, and philosophy to develop *humanitas*, the culture necessary for a true gentleman.

In his day it was the fashion for young men of the cultivated classes to crown their education with travel abroad and advanced study under the famous teachers of rhetoric and philosophy in Greece and Asia Minor. Only at Athens could one study philosophy to best advantage. Other centers of learning were Rhodes, Ephesus, Pergamum, Tarsus, Smyrna, Mitylene, Alexandria, Apollonia, and Massilia. Cicero went to Greece for further study at twenty-seven and spent two years in perfecting himself in rhetoric and philosophy at Athens and Rhodes. Caesar studied at Rhodes at the age of twenty-five, but Cicero's son and nephew gained such advantages at a considerably

⁵ *Luctatores et totam oleo ac luto constantem scientiam expello ex his studiis liberalibus. Epistles*, 88, 18.

earlier age. Both disappointed him, however. His son wasted his time and much of his father's money in high living without much to show for it.

A brief account of young Cicero's halcyon student days will serve to cast some light on the less serious side of so-called university life of young Romans in the East. Cicero had taken a great interest in the proper education of his son. He had tried to shape his young mind by the philosophical discussions at Tusculum, but with little success. Young Marcus was not born for philosophy and preferred a good show to his father's library. Despite the learning and devotion of his tutor, Dionysius, whose high character and ability Cicero emphasized in his letters, the youth made little progress, and Dionysius finally refused to continue longer in the household. Young Marcus could shine as a "jolly good fellow" and could even drink Mark Antony under the table. He also won an excellent reputation as a soldier with Pompey. But with the defeat at Pharsalus, he returned home, and later, in 46 B.C., in accord with the fashion for young well-to-do Romans, he went to Athens for his "university" education.

According to ancient accounts, about as many "students" at Athens as in modern universities were engrossed with everything except the curriculum. They spent their nights in revelry; the chief theme of their conversation was "wine, women, and song," dancers, races, and fights; they refused to keep order or listen to the lectures, and the professors complained that their protégés were innocent of any knowledge as a result. Young Cicero wasted much money and time on such extracurricular activities, but little on his studies. His vain father had arranged for him a lavish allowance fully equal to those of the wealthiest young Roman nobles, so that he might gain access into the most exclusive Athenian social circles, but to no purpose. The easy money was his moral and intellectual undoing, he won no recognition from the haughty young Roman aristocrats, and was chronically in desperate need of new allowances from home. He drank hard, neglected his lectures, and made his boon companion an irresponsible *rhetor*.

As a result, in 44 B.C., the disappointed father angrily ordered his tutor dismissed and established a more rigid regimen. Like many of his delinquent successors in modern universities, the young man then wrote home (to Cicero's faithful slave, Tiro, as mediator) a glowing account of his intellectual and moral conversion. He is now spending whole days and nights in study of philosophy under serious professors like the younger Cratippus, he is perfecting himself assiduously in Greek and Latin declamation, and his chief intimates are the Phi Beta Kappa students. So suddenly is his thirst now changed from wine to knowledge that he asks for a Greek slave secretary to be sent that he may be saved "a lot of labor in copying lecture-notes."⁶ To make the parallel with the modern complete, he closed with a hint of the need of another enclosure from the old man, and had Trebonius write his father a letter expressing confidence in the genuineness of his intellectual rebirth. But the sudden assassination of Caesar soon afterward ended the farce and sent the young man to join the army of Brutus.

⁶ *Ad Familiares*, XVI, 21, 8.

II. LITERATURE

In the days of Cicero the assimilation of Greek and Roman culture reached its climax. The older nationalistic emphasis upon Roman elements was rapidly being overwhelmed by the tendency to imitate the polished style of Terence and the Greek Alexandrians.⁷ Thus the literature, especially poetry, while versatile and urbane, became increasingly artificial. The poetry of Catullus and Lucretius, however, is still by no means divorced from Roman values and interests. It was the fashion for noble Romans to surround themselves with Greek philosophers, poets, and memoir writers. Their villas were seats of Hellenistic culture. Intellectual and literary activity was intense, resulting in a veritable flood of books, pamphlets, and poems, most of which are now mercifully lost.⁸ The nobles and their ladies were adepts in witty and polite conversation on Greek and Latin literature and philosophy, and at turning off presentable verse. They were at home in the elaborate and diverse Greek meters, both classical, Hellenistic, and the more recent. Reading was a mania in cultured circles, and selected libraries, according to taste, were taken on journeys and into military camps. Books were now comparatively cheap and were in great demand, and the shop of the bookseller was a favorite place of resort for cultured gentlemen.

I. POETRY

Dramatic production had declined, and tragedy was practically dead, as foreign to Roman taste, though some of the plays of Ennius, Pacuvius, and Accius were still presented. Even Hellenistic comedy was superseded by popular caricature (*fabula Atellana*) and the mime, which portrayed realistic scenes from lower life. Such coarse theatrical shows given during the public games were extremely popular. Though both types were Greek in origin, they had now become fully Romanized, discarding the Greek masks and old stock characters and adding women for female parts. The decline in dramatic literature was accompanied by a great increase in scenic spectacles. Fortunes were spent on music, costumes, and decoration, and the actor's trade was in some instances very lucrative. All this is in striking contrast to the spirit and genius of classical Athens, with its immortal dramatic masterpieces in tragedy and comedy, or even to the Hellenistic comedy of Menander and his contemporaries.

Catullus

By far the greatest lyric poet of the age was C. Valerius Catullus (c. 84-54 B.C.), a native of Transalpine Gaul, which did not receive the general grant of citizenship until some years after his death. Scion of a wealthy father, who was a friend of Julius Caesar,⁹ he migrated to Rome and became a leader among the literary and gilded youth of the brilliant but corrupt capital. His

⁷ For details as to the Hellenistic literature, cf. Vol. I, Chapter Thirty-one, Sec. I.

⁸ This poetical activity is historically important, however, as preparing the way for the great poets of the Augustan age.

⁹ Though some of his most scathing epigrams are against Caesar and his friends, he later was reconciled to him.

love for the beautiful but dissolute Clodia, wife of Q. Metellus Celer, made him a poet, and he immortalized her in his poetry. Later, jilted by her for his friend, Caelius, and others, he turned to other themes. But while largely bereft of his old personal passion, some of his later poems were among his best. Though his poetry includes a wide range of meter and theme, reflecting both the earlier Greek lyric and the Hellenistic, his dominant note is love, with its corresponding hates.

His seven more formal and longer poems are masterly imitations of the fashionable Alexandrian poetry. Though imitations, they have many beautiful and melodious passages, some of which are a distinct improvement on their models. The *Marriage of Peleus and Thetis* (LXIV), a short epic in hexameter verse, is notable for its extensive digressions, describing with rich poetical detail the tapestry coverlet of the royal couch portraying the tragic story of Theseus and Ariadne. The *Attis* (LXIII), in itself a beautiful poem, is of interest as a glorification of the ecstatic mystic rites of the goddess Cybele of Asia Minor, then popular at Rome.¹⁰ Of the two *Epithalamia* (LXI), in lyric meter, is Sapphic as well as Alexandrian and deserves the name "the loveliest of marriage songs." The *Lock of Berenice* (LXVI) is a free translation of the poem of the Alexandrian, Callimachus, with a beautiful preface on the death of his own beloved brother, addressed by Catullus to the orator Hortensius. Poem LXVIII, an elegy on his brother's death, with its many digressions, is especially illustrative of the Alexandrian style.

The true genius of Catullus is revealed, however, in his shorter lyrics which breathe the free spirit of Sappho and Alcaeus of Lesbos rather than the artificialities of the Alexandrians. Though also imitations, they are intensely original and imbued with the flaming passion of his own inmost heart. He was a master in adapting the varied Greek lyric meters to his terse, vigorous Latin. Especially well fitted to express his swift flashes of thought and feeling was his favorite hendecasyllabic, or eleven syllable, meter. His intense passion is relieved by a liquid flow of verse, lightness, and playful grace. Some famous examples of diverse types are his passionate declaration in Sapphic verse of his love for Lesbia (LI), the graceful lament of the death of milady's pet sparrow (III), his expression of delight at returning to his country seat at Sirmio (XXXI), and XLV, in which he sings with the same grace and intensity, not his own love but that of another. The greatest of Roman love poets, and a constant inspiration and model to his Augustan successors, such as Ovid, he also exerted much influence on such early French poets as Ronsard and Joachim du Bellay, and on the English Jonson, Herrick, Landor, and Tennyson. Despite his early death and his modest estimate of his poems as only "pleasantries and trifles," he was one of the greatest of all lyric poets, as judged both by his own countrymen and most modern critics.

Lucretius

Titus Lucretius Carus (c. 95-55 B.C.), the greatest of philosophic poets in any language, continued the tradition of Ennius, despising the Alexandrian

¹⁰ The only poem in the complex galliambic meter.

mythological lore. In his poem *On the Nature of Things* (*De Rerum Natura*) in hexameter verse, he enthusiastically explains the doctrines of Epicurus as based on the Atomism of Democritus.¹¹ He considers that he has a mission to free men from superstition and the fear of death, and he undertakes it with all the fervor of an evangelist. His high purpose, the greatness of his theme, and the charm and lucidity of his verse will, he confidently hopes, win for him the poet's crown.¹² Though he fails to grasp the finer points of the Greek thinkers, and though many long passages are repetitious and prosy, he frequently writes like an inspired prophet, rising to sublime heights not reached by any other Latin author. The poem as a whole is notable for its intense feeling, sincere moral earnestness, austere dignity, poetic eloquence, vivid descriptions, force, rapidity, creative genius, and keen appreciation of nature, whether as a whole (*flammantia moenia mundi*, "the flaming walls of the world") or in the beauteous detail of the countryside, with its grass and flowers, trees, and growing crops, and bird and animal life.¹³

Book I opens with an invocation to Venus, a noble example of great poetry. Before Epicurus, man was "foully grovelling upon the ground, crushed with the weight of religion." But through his revelation of the laws of nature "religion is now in her turn cast down and trampled underfoot, whilst we by the victory are raised to heaven" through being freed from the haunting fear of death.¹⁴ According to the Atomic theory, as presented, "nothing can be created from nothing or return to nothing." The whole infinite universe, material and mental, is composed of an infinite number of material seeds or atoms of diverse shapes and the "boundless void" in which they move. The atoms are indestructible. Their union or separation is what causes birth or death, growth or decay.¹⁵

In Book II, which opens with a noble passage on the "serene, well fortified temples" of philosophy, the poet explains how all inanimate and animate things in the world were formed without the aid of gods, by the chance concourse of atoms. Like Epicurus, Lucretius does not deny the gods' existence, but insists that they dwell apart in eternal peace totally unrelated to man. Color, feeling, and other sensations are not in the atoms, but result only from their combination, as the loss of all sensation, or death, comes with their separation. The universe of the poet is no finished and compact affair like that of Dante, but infinite in extent, containing multitudes of worlds, and all, like ours, are wasting away.¹⁶

Book III is remarkable for its high poetic eloquence against the fear of death. Each man has his day, and at the end should be satisfied to leave the scene as a sated banqueter. There is no immortality, but only a dreamless sleep. Thus vanishes the fear of death, and with it the bondage of religion.

¹¹ For Epicurus and Democritus, cf. Vol. I, Chapters Thirty-two, Sec. II, and Twenty-four, Sec. I. Lucretius is the first to give the philosophy a systematic presentation in Rome.

¹² I, 927-947, a fine passage; cf. also IV, 1-25.

¹³ I, 73, 250 ff., and numerous others.

¹⁴ 62-79, Loeb Classical Library translation (W. H. D. Rouse), by permission of the Harvard University Press.

¹⁵ The theories of Heraclitus, Empedocles, and Anaxagoras are repudiated, but Empedocles, who had a work with the same title, was treated with high regard, and his poetry imitated.

¹⁶ Cf. 600 ff. also for his vivid description of the mystic worship of the Oriental goddess, Cybele.

The poet proceeds in Book IV to explain how sense perception and mental life are possible on his theory. The sole criterion of truth is the senses.

Book V is famous as presenting the poet's whole mechanical and naturalistic cosmogony, the nature of the gods, the origins of the earth, the heavenly bodies, life, and man, and his progress from savagery to civilization. It is an interesting ancient anticipation of the concept of physical, biological, and social evolution, including hints of the doctrines of the development of species, the survival of the fittest, and continuous progress.¹⁷ The development of society, human institutions, language, religion, and culture is traced with remarkable insight, and all to prove that there is no need of any divine agency.

Book VI is unfinished and somewhat anticlimactic after the preceding. It presents the naturalistic explanation of various phenomena, such as thunderbolts, earthquakes, storms, volcanoes, and pestilence, which once struck men with fear as supernatural acts. The ethical theory of Lucretius is the Epicurean doctrine that pleasure is the supreme good, the "guide of life" (*dux vitae*).¹⁸ But unlike many of his contemporary Epicureans, he followed his master in interpreting "pleasure," not as sensuous, but as the calm contemplation of the philosopher.

2. PROSE

Cicero

Despite the poetical genius of Catullus and Lucretius, Latin poetry was not to reach its climax until the next generation in Virgil and Horace. The period of Cicero was pre-eminently the Golden Age of Latin prose, of which he was the supreme representative. His public career has already been fully traced and evaluated, and his personality analyzed in the previous chapter. It remains to consider his significant work as a scholar and master of prose style. Cicero was probably the best example in the Roman Republic of a thoroughly cultivated and Hellenized man. In all his more theoretical works he frankly recognizes his debt to Greece and considers himself to be only the medium for the presentation of Hellenic thought to his contemporaries in artistic Latin dress. His enthusiasm for Greek studies is everywhere reflected in his works, but is best expressed directly in his graceful oration, *Pro Archia Poeta* (*For Archias, the Poet*), which is adorned with quotations from the Greek poets and praise of literary pursuits. "This [pursuit] gives stimulus to our youth and diversion to our old age; this adds a charm to success, and offers a haven of consolation to failure. In the home, it delights, in the world, it hampers not. Through the night-watches, on all our journeying, and in our hours of country ease, it is our unfailing companion."¹⁹ His ideal of *humanitas* in the truly educated or cultivated gentleman has exerted a vital influence from his day to our own. He epitomizes the civilization of his age as perhaps no other man.

Oratory was the dominant type of literature in his day, and he was its

¹⁷ Cf. especially 416 ff., 771 ff., 925 ff., but the entire book deserves careful reading.

¹⁸ II, 172.

¹⁹ *Pro Archia Poeta*, 7, 16, Loeb Classical Library translation (N. H. Watts), by permission of the Harvard University Press.

supreme master. Fifty-seven complete orations besides fragments of twenty more from him have survived. His chief political orations, already discussed as the basis of his public career, are the six against Verres, five of which were not delivered, the four against Catiline, the speech for the Manilian Law, one of the best, and the fourteen *Philippics*. The latter were hardly up to his earlier efforts, though the Second *Philippic*, which was not delivered, is a masterpiece of eloquence. Since both prose and verse were then intended to be read aloud, the difference between spoken and written eloquence was by no means so marked as it is now. Two of the best private orations of Cicero are his clever and witty speech for Murena and his graceful plea for the poet Archias.

Cicero's training in Rhodes and Athens, as well as in Asia Minor, enabled him to strike a happy balance between the flowery Asian style and the severe Attic. His chief conscious models were Isocrates, from whom he gained his periodic structure and his conception of the true function of the orator, and Demosthenes, whose rugged directness and spontaneity were a corrective for the tendency toward undue ornateness in Isocrates. Though he is often verbose, and his orations are marred by a too exuberant invective or eulogy and by endless self-praise, he is a master in the art of persuasion. His power, however, is not in irresistible argument, for he is often sophistical, but in the sweep of his eloquence, his wizardry of words, and his play on the emotions by his mastery of wit, irony, and invective. Even his most severe critics, like Mommsen, recognized him as the creator and sure master of Latin prose style. As models of Roman eloquence, his orations are notable for their clear analysis, fine choice of words both for sense and sound, prose rhythm, vigorous, vivacious style, ready wit, mastery of the periodic structure, smooth finish without monotony, variation of style to fit the occasion, and patriotic feeling for the dignity of Rome and her great past expressed in many sublime and eloquent passages. His *De Oratore* (55 B.C.), expressed in polished Latin, includes, as he states, the whole theory of oratory as taught by Isocrates and Aristotle.

Like Isocrates, he held a lofty conception of the function of the true orator, his necessary high qualities in mind and character, and the broad training requisite to prepare him for his profession. These are discussed in his *De Oratore* and *Orator* (*Ad M. Brutum*). The *Brutus* is mainly historical, a critical appreciation of Greek and Roman eloquence. Out of nearly two hundred Roman orators named, only three, aside from the author, were then living, Caesar, Sulpicius Rufus, and M. Marcellus. Philosophy is the necessary basis of oratory, and the perfect orator must also be a perfect character.²⁰ Such a man is the best statesman, and his profession is so honorable that it reflects dignity also on him who teaches it.

In his *Brutus* and *Orator* Cicero also appeared as a pioneer of rare ability in Latin literary criticism. The Romans had the advantage over the Greeks in possessing a high-grade foreign literature as a critical standard for their own. Cicero was also able to appropriate much from the technical vocabulary created

²⁰ The *De Inventione*, a handbook for oratory written in his youth, is inferior to his later works both in thought and style.

by late Greek critics. On the whole, he defended his own style against the new severe Atticist, modeled after Lysias and Thucydides.

During the period between his return from exile and his governorship of Cilicia (57-51 B.C.) Cicero wrote his *Republic* (*De Re Publica*) and his *Laws* (*De Legibus*), which exerted a marked influence on later Roman political theory. Only one-third of the *Republic*, aside from the famous *Dream of Scipio* in the sixth book, has survived. Ideally, Cicero would prefer a return to the old balance between assembly, senate and magistrates, praised by Polybius. In the actual situation, the best government would be one administered by an idealized Pompey as first citizen, a sort of Platonic philosopher-king, in association with the senate, for the welfare of the whole commonwealth. This ideal, expressed in the fifth book, is slightly suggestive of the later theory of the Augustan principate. The *Laws* of Cicero reflects the Stoic conception of law then current among Roman lawyers. Though both works are clearly in imitation of Plato in their general conception and dialogue form, Cicero is far more original here than in his philosophical works, and his ideal state is distinctly Roman.²¹

Cicero was an enthusiastic student and versatile scholar. "Night and day," he writes, "I plunge into all kinds of study." He had a wide, if somewhat superficial, acquaintance with Greek speculative thought. During his retirement from active politics (50-44 B.C.) he produced in rapid succession a series of philosophical works, mostly in dialogue form in imitation of Plato. His dialogue, however, is nothing but a framework, and his characters are largely figureheads, lacking the dramatic realism of Plato's. The works are eclectic paraphrases or translations of the Greek thinkers. The author himself made no claim to originality, but only to independence of judgment in selection. He sought to present Greek thought to the Romans in Latin dress. As he wrote to Atticus: "They are copies (*apógrapha*) and do not give me much trouble. I supply only the words, and of them I have plenty."²² Occasionally, he copied from his Greek original word for word including its errors. He was not merely a paraphraser and translator, however, but an adapter and elucidator of the Greek thought to the Roman mind. Though he had a profound respect for Plato and Aristotle, his selections are largely from the Hellenistic thinkers, and true to the philosophical limitations of the Roman mind, they deal, not with abstruse problems of metaphysics, but with questions of practical ethics and religion. In general, he was a disciple of the Middle and New Academy, with their Probabilism and critical skepticism toward the dogmas of the schools. In his ethical ideas and belief in divine Providence, however, he leaned strongly to Stoicism, though disliking its doctrine of "apathy" and its uncritical dogmatism.²³

The most carefully written of Cicero's philosophical works is his *De Finibus Bonorum et Malorum*, which discusses the question of the supreme good in life with criticisms of different Greek theories. His *De Officiis* on duties is based

²¹ Bk. III of the *Republic* is on justice. Bk. VI contains the *Dream of Scipio*, a distinct imitation of Er's dream of the last judgment in Plato's tenth book. The *Laws* is unfinished.

²² XII, 52, 3, *Loeb Classical Library* translation, by permission of Harvard University Press.

²³ On these Greek philosophies, cf. Vol. I, Chapter Thirty-two, Sec. II.

on the Stoic teaching of Panaetius and Posidonius. The *Academica* furnishes valuable information as to the skepticism of the Middle and New Academy. One of the most readable and human of his works is the *Tusculan Disputations*, based on Dicaearchus, a leisurely discussion of the essentials for a happy life. Virtue is the prerequisite for happiness, and even death is no absolute evil for the wise. The *De Natura Deorum*, on the nature of the gods, seeks to prove the truth of the Stoic doctrine of divine providence. Since the speakers are representatives of several Hellenistic philosophies, the work is valuable as reflecting the dominant philosophical ideas of about 50 B.C. Its lofty Stoic ideals strongly impressed the early Christian fathers. Most popular are the two essays, *De Senectute*, on old age, and *De Amicitia*, on friendship, of which the latter is the most beautiful of all his writings.

The judgment of Cicero's philosophical works varies all the way from treating them as inspired texts to despising them as third-rate copies. But though too hastily written and lacking in creativeness, they are remarkable even as translations and paraphrases for their facile language and the good judgment in their selection. They should be judged by their purpose, to present in graceful and stately Latin the ideas of representative Greek thinkers, so selected and arranged as to express the view of the author. In realizing this aim Cicero has succeeded most admirably. It was no small feat to create a Latin philosophical terminology, and avoiding the technical jargon and barren hairsplittings of the schools, to present philosophy in a popular form and in a style clear, simple, dignified, and notable for its literary charm. His renderings of Epicurus and some of the other later Greek thinkers are a distinct improvement on the originals. He is also to be commended for his sensible combination of a healthy, balanced skepticism with the noble ethical idealism and universalism of the Stoics.

The outstanding significance of Cicero's *Letters* as an intimate revelation of himself, his friends, and his times has already received due emphasis,²⁴ but they must also be considered in evaluating his ability and influence as a writer. Though varying greatly in length and interest, the unfailing charm of most of them is their utter spontaneity, unchecked by any thought of publication. Notable for their infinite variety in scope and style, chatty, colloquial, terse, allusive, witty, yet seldom careless, they reveal Cicero as a stylist even in colloquial conversation. Though enjoying no such popularity as his other works, they became from the time of Petrarch in the fourteenth century the inspiration and model for letter writing in elegant Latin as a literary art both to Italian and Northern humanists and later to English prose writers.

Cicero's writings, as those of few men of history, are a key to the understanding of his age in all its interests and tendencies, literary and intellectual, as well as political and social. Despite their evident shortcomings, they are among the supreme products of the Roman genius and are of immense significance to the

²⁴ In Chapters Eleven and Twelve, they cover the period from 68 to 43 B.C., and number 774 by him and 90 by his correspondents. As edited by his freedman, Tiro, and published by Atticus after his death, they include sixteen books of letters to his friends (*Ad Familiares*), sixteen to Atticus (*Ad Atticum*), three to his brother (*Ad Quintum Fratrem*), and two, originally nine, to Brutus (*Ad Brutum*).

future history of European culture. Second only to Demosthenes in ancient eloquence, Cicero was the supreme master of Latin prose and the greatest thinker, except Lucretius, that Rome produced. His chief claim to originality is his prose style. He gave to the Latin language a universal character, formed it into an elegant, plastic, beautiful, forceful instrument rivaling the best Greek prose and fitted to serve as the vehicle of a great literature and culture. Though his style was criticized by some contemporaries and later Roman writers, Augustus called him an "eloquent and learned man" and a "master of words" (*logios*), and Livy advised his son to take him as a model. Quintilian, the great Roman literary critic of the late first century A.D., considered his name as the synonym for eloquence, and with this verdict, Juvenal, Pliny the Younger, and Tacitus agree.

From Roman times on his style has exerted a vast influence as a standard for the best prose writing in all western European literature. The early Christian Latin fathers learned their Latin style from his works in the Greco-Roman schools. Lactantius was called the "Christian Cicero," and Augustine and Jerome drew freely from his rhetorical works. His orations were the models for future generations of orators, and his rhetorical treatises were the source of most of the later Roman and medieval theory. From the twelfth-century classical Renaissance on his influence became still more active, reaching its zenith in the Italian and Northern humanists from Petrarch to Erasmus, who made him their model for an elegant prose style. This emphasis upon a finished, Ciceronian Latin, however, had the unfortunate effect of making Latin a dead language. Also, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, classical humanism degenerated to a slavish imitation of Cicero. Thus "Ciceronianism" became a synonym for all that is most barren and artificial in prose style. For this unfortunate result, however, he can only in small part be held responsible, if at all.

Even in thought the influence of Cicero was most significant. He has preserved much information about the later Greek thinkers that would otherwise have been totally lost to us. By his popularization of Greek philosophy and political theory in the Latin tongue, he created a Roman philosophy adapted to Roman needs. He was an important medium for the transmission of Stoic ethics to Roman law, political thought, and Christianity, and as the mentor of Jerome and Augustine, therefore shaped the ethical, religious, and political thought of the Middle Ages. His works also did much to insure for the Latin language its accepted place until late modern times as the chief vehicle for philosophical and scientific thought.

Historians and Other Prose Writers: Sallust, Caesar, Nepos, Varro

The literature of the last century of the Republic was weakest in the field of history. Some contemporary history was attempted in the first half of the century, but with little success, since artistic prose was slow to develop. The first real historian of the Age of Cicero was Sallust (C. Sallustius Crispus, 86-35 B.C.). A partisan of Caesar and the Populares, he held the usual Roman magistracies, and though expelled for a time from the senate, was reinstated by Caesar. After making the usual fortune from his propraetorship in Africa, he

retired to his luxurious villa near Rome for his later years and gave his time to writing. His chief work, of which only fragments have survived, was a history of the turbulent years 78-67 B.C., after Sulla's death. He is therefore known to us primarily by his two famous pamphlets, the *Jugurthine War* and the *Conspiracy of Catiline*, both anti-senatorial and favoring Marius and Caesar, as we have seen. His claim to impartiality is somewhat borne out by his appreciation of Cato, but Cicero is given little recognition. In style he was somewhat influenced by Cato, but especially by the Greek, Thucydides, whose antitheses, descriptive epithets, and speeches to fit the occasion he imitated. He was also fond of philosophical introductions and sought the motive behind the act. Because of his *History*, now lost, he was ranked by Romans as the greatest Roman historian before Livy. Though somewhat overelaborated, his interesting prose style and his power of vivid description are his chief merits and were later to influence the historian, Tacitus.

An outstanding master of finished Latin prose, both in oratory and military narrative, was C. Julius Caesar. Had he devoted his great genius to literature instead of to war and politics, he might perhaps have won for himself the first place in the prose literature of the Republic. In oratory he was second only to Cicero, who praises him highly in his *Brutus*. This was the verdict of his other contemporaries, which was accepted by such later masters of prose as Tacitus and Quintilian. His *Gallic War*, published in 51 B.C., and his *Civil War* (49-48 B.C.) are not strictly historical works, but were written purely as military accounts by the chief actor for political effect.²⁵ The clear, terse, direct, vivid prose of his *Gallic War*, free from the archaisms and the artificialities of rhetoric, constitute perhaps the supreme example of finished narrative and descriptive writing in Roman literature. Though less accurate, less admirable in style, and showing some evidence of hasty writing, the *Civil War* reveals similar high qualities.

Cornelius Nepos from Cisalpine Gaul was a friend of Catullus and a member of the inner circle of Cicero and Atticus. Aside from some historical writings which are now lost, he wrote a series of parallel biographies of distinguished Romans and foreigners (*De Viris Illustribus*), dedicated to Atticus, and including writers and scholars, as well as political and military leaders. Of these, only the lives of Cato the Censor and Atticus and the book on foreign generals, besides some fragments of the letters of Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi, have survived. Though Nepos depended upon good sources, the chief Greek historians and the writings of Hannibal, his work is inaccurate, uncritical, and lacking in discrimination. But his simple style and interesting material have made his *Lives* popular as elementary texts in Latin.

A writer of vast industry and erudition, but lacking in literary quality, was the Sabine, M. Terentius Varro (116-27 B.C.). He served in the civil war under Pompey, but was later reconciled to Caesar and was made head of the public libraries of Rome. During the proscriptions of Antony he was saved only by the intercession of his friends. He was reputed to be the author of over six

²⁵ For further analysis and evaluation of these two works cf. the two preceding chapters. For Aulus Hirtius, author of Bk. VIII of the *Commentaries* and probably of the *Alexandrian War*, cf. Chapter Eleven, Sec. 1.

hundred books, and seventy-four titles are known to us, including practically every field of Roman literature and scholarship. Of all these, only his work on *Agriculture* (*De Re Rustica*), about one-fourth of his voluminous work on the *Latin Language* (*De Lingua Latina*), and numerous brief fragments of his *Menippean Satires* have survived. The first two, while highly valuable historically, cannot be classed as literature. The dialogue of the *Agriculture* is formal and the language plain.²⁶ The surviving books of the *Lingua Latina*, dealing largely with the derivations of words and their influence, are valuable, but often inaccurate and unscientific. The dry, dull style of these works enables one to appreciate more fully the finished prose of Cicero and Caesar. His *Menippean Satires*, on the other hand, a mixture of prose and verse in the vein of the Cynic, Menippus (c. 300 B.C.),²⁷ but without his philosophical tendency, reveal considerable ability in caustic humor and metrical technique, and much insight into Roman manners and character. Though they follow Greek rather than Latin models, such as Lucilius, they are no slavish copies and breathe a genuine Roman spirit and the old Roman indignation at the evils of the times. In one interesting fragment Varro represents himself as a sort of Roman Epimenides, or Rip van Winkle, who had fallen asleep as a boy of ten and awakened at sixty to marvel at the vast changes that fifty years had wrought in Rome. Perhaps the most valuable of his lost works were his *Antiquities of Things Human and Divine* and his *Portraits*, accounts in prose and verse of seven hundred famous Greeks and Romans, with their portraits. The former included much material for a history of Roman manners and, though uncritical and lacking organization, was highly valued by contemporary and later Romans.²⁸

3. JURISPRUDENCE

One of the most significant intellectual advances during the century after the Gracchi was in law and legal theory. Up to the beginning of the second century, Roman law was distinctly national and developed chiefly by interpretation of jurists rather than by new statutory legislation or praetorian edicts. But after about 150 B.C. the radically changed conditions resulting from world imperialism necessitated the gradual broadening of law from the exclusively national to the cosmopolitan by an assimilation of ideas from the Hellenistic East. The praetors' edicts also now became a primary factor in the development of Roman civil law, since the *jus praetorium* not only applied but also amended and supplemented the existing law. The edicts of the *praetor peregrinus* dealing with foreigners also developed early the idea of a "law of the world" (*jus gentium*) in contrast to national law.

In Cicero's day, through the increasing assimilation of Hellenic culture, this term, *jus gentium*, lost its older Roman meaning and became identified with the Greek Stoic doctrine of natural law (*jus naturae* or *naturale*), a universal

²⁶ For an analysis of the work, cf. above under Agriculture, pp. 269-270. It is vastly more learned than Cato's work and gives an extensive list of Greek and Carthaginian authorities which he has consulted.

²⁷ Cf. Vol. I, Chapter Thirty-one, Sec. I.

²⁸ Some of the minor prose writers of the period were Cicero's friend, Atticus, who wrote historical and biographical works; Q. Hortensius Hortalus, who represented the "Asian" style of oratory; M. Junius Brutus, Cicero's brother, Quintus, and Cicero's learned freedman, Tiro, who edited his letters and speeches and wrote his biography and a work on grammar.

law common to all men, having its roots in the very constitution of things, the emanation of the Stoic divine Reason that governs the universe. This conception dominates such writings of Cicero as his *De Legibus*, and through him entered into the political thought of the Middle Ages. Thus the *jus naturale* was set over against the *jus civile*. This furnished a philosophical basis for universalizing, rationalizing, and humanizing Roman law.

The more direct channel through which this Hellenic influence came, however, was Greek rhetoric rather than philosophy. It caused the jurists to emphasize increasingly the logical and equitable interpretation rather than the rigid letter of the law, and to systematize and classify the law under universal, human principles and general types. But the Stoic emphasis upon the cosmopolitan, the rational, and the natural, directly as well as through Greek rhetoric, also exerted an ever-greater liberalizing and humanizing influence. This process was to reach its climax in the next three centuries of the Empire. In accord with the above tendencies was the unrealized plan of Julius Caesar for codification of Roman law.

The last century of the Roman Republic was marked by the names of three great jurists, who went far beyond the *Tripertita* of Sextus Aelius (c. 200 B.C.), which was called the "cradle of Roman law." Quintus Mucius Scaevola, the teacher of Cicero, stood for the conservative tradition, but in him we see the growing conflict between the old national legal conceptions and the new doctrines of Greek rhetoric and philosophy. In his eighteen books on civil law, he was the first to undertake its systematization. Aquilius Gallus, his pupil, who died about the middle of the century, was not a writer, but more directly practical in his influence. Servius Sulpicius Rufus (105-43 B.C.) was given the first place as a jurist by Cicero, his contemporary. He produced Commentaries on the Twelve Tables and on the Edict, and voluminous writings on other phases of Roman law. In him we see the humanizing and broadening effect of the application of Romanized Hellenic culture to Roman jurisprudence at its best. Aulus Opilius also wrote very extensively on legal subjects and was the first to arrange the praetorian edicts in systematic form.

III. ART

I. ARCHITECTURE AND BUILDING: THE CITY OF ROME

In art, as in all other phases of culture, world conquest had made it impossible for Rome to be herself. Though the older Etruscan and Italic motives and principles persisted,²⁹ they were largely overwhelmed by those of Pergamum, Antioch, Alexandria, and Athens. This was far less true, however, in architecture than in other forms of art. Though the architects in Rome were very largely Greek, Roman architects appear even by the close of the second century, and Roman architecture, while dominated by Hellenistic influence, retained a distinctively national character. But eclecticism became the rule in Rome as in the Hellenistic cities, where all types of architecture mingled with-

²⁹ Some of the distinctive features of Roman architecture, as the use of the arch and the form of the temple, were of Etruscan origin. Cf. above, p. 20.

out discrimination. Eastern size, elaborate ornamentation of large surfaces, pompous majesty, and luxury were imitated, and the decorative Corinthian capital was preferred. The erection of splendid public buildings and luxurious private palaces and villas as monuments to individual or state power and wealth, so characteristic of the Greek East, was now the fashion among Romans, who would create a city to vie with the great Hellenistic centers.

Travertine and other types of stronger stone had now entirely displaced tufa³⁰ in all important public buildings. The stones were no longer cut exactly to fit their place, however, but were produced as uniform blocks by industrial processes. Walls were now broken by arcades and by many doors and windows. Resistances were carefully calculated with a view to economy of materials. In accord with this aim, rubble and careless work were the rule, except for the essential parts. Thus the arch, which permitted the use of inferior materials, was preferred to the heavy architrave. By the end of the second century concrete from volcanic ash was used for foundation and interior construction, which was both stronger and less expensive. It was usually faced with slabs of travertine or marble. By the middle of the century the native Carrara marble was being used, and marbles for columns and architraves of public buildings were being imported on a large scale. The finer private mansions were built of concrete covered with stucco, but the ordinary houses were still largely of brick.

During the half century before Sulla public and private building in Rome and Italy had been very extensive. The fine temples of Jupiter and Juno, partly of marble, built in 146 B.C., are two examples of many. Among public works were the splendidly built Marcian aqueduct (144-140 B.C.) and the smaller Aqua Tepula (125 B.C.). Notable examples of private homes were the \$300,000 mansion of the orator, Crassus, on the Palatine (92 B.C.), those of Marius, Catulus, and Aquilius, still more costly, and the palace of Lepidus (78 B.C.), in which some Numidian marble first appears, reputed to be the finest home in the capital. Building was also surprisingly active at Pompeii during the same period. Witness the noble Ionic Basilica, the temples of Jupiter and Apollo, the earlier theatre, and Stabian baths which date before 90 B.C., as well as several of the finest and best-known private homes of the city. Both public and private building became much more elaborate and extensive, however, during the last half century of the Republic, stimulated by the enormous wealth that flowed into Rome from the spoils of war and exploitation. The great public builders in this period were the three conquerors, Sulla, Pompey, and Caesar.

Sulla built and restored many temples throughout Italy, such as the great sanctuary of Fortuna at Praeneste, and the round temple at Tibur, which is still almost intact. He also built many villas. In Rome Quintus Catulus finished rebuilding the new temple of Jupiter Capitolinus and built the Tabularium, or Hall of Archives, whose noble ruins still dominate the west end of the Forum. Pompey also dreamed of leaving as his monument a more splendid Rome. He built the first permanent stone theatre (55 B.C.), adorned with marble, and capable of accommodating at least 10,000 people. To his credit were also tem-

³⁰ For the explanation of these terms, cf. Chapter Seven, Sec. III, 5.

ples to Minerva and Hercules, the Curia where Caesar was slain, a portico with enclosed gardens adorned with many works of art, and the famous Hall of a Hundred Pillars leading to the Capitol. Probably inspired by him also, but not completed until about twenty years later, was the reconstruction of the old Basilica Aemilia in the Forum, one of the most beautiful buildings of the Republic. To the period just preceding Caesar's control also belongs the graceful Ionic temple near the Tiber, with its Italic podium, engaged Ionic columns, and delicate moldings.

All previous city planning and building of the Republic, however, was eclipsed by Julius Caesar, who aimed to make Pompey's work seem insignificant. In 51 B.C. he planned and financed with his Gallic booty the building of a new Julian Forum, north of the old, to relieve congestion, the first in a series of imperial fora. Excavations, still in process, have revealed a forum better arranged and more symmetrical than the first, completely surrounded by a wall lined with porticoes. In the center was the temple of Venus Genetrix, entirely of marble, in Corinthian style, adorned with statues by the Greek sculptor Arcesilas. Beside it was a golden figure of Cleopatra, and in front an equestrian statue of the conqueror himself. Caesar also paved the old Forum, began building the Basilica Julia in 54 B.C.,³¹ whose foundations may still be seen on the south side, and began constructing new Rostra, a senate house, a new theatre, and other public projects. With him, the Asiatic passion for vast size and novelty, and the Alexandrian decorative style with its garlands, elaborate ornament of flowers and fruits, and graceful Venuses and Loves dominated, to the exclusion of Italic or Roman tendencies. Soon after Caesar's death a temple to his cult was erected, and the old Temple of Saturn was rebuilt in the Forum. The ancient *Regia* was also restored, now built entirely of marble with the Roman *Fasti* on the walls. During these years after Caesar's death also, Octavian built the splendid temple of Apollo and the library on the Palatine, and Agrippa, at his own expense, erected the new Julian Aqueduct and splendid baths, and began the Pantheon in the Campus Martius. During the last decades of the Republic, private mansions and villas became vastly more elaborate and expensive, as we have seen, and extensive building projects were on in Pompeii, Ostia, Praeneste, Tibur, and other Italian cities.³² Archaeological excavations are daily revealing that the Rome of the late Republic, though still far behind the splendor of the Eastern capitals, was already well on the way to becoming a worthy ancestor of the Augustan "city of marble."

2. SCULPTURE, PAINTING, AND MINOR ARTS

In sculpture, painting, and the minor arts, Hellenistic influence was far more overwhelming. After the middle of the second century B.C., Greece and the East were looted of their masterpieces to stock the wealthy homes and public buildings of Rome. The plunder through imperial conquest and exploitation was enormously supplemented by the rapid growth of the collection mania among the new-rich. The foreign and antique became all the rage.

³¹ It was dedicated unfinished in 46 B.C. and completed by Augustus.

³² Cf. T. Frank, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 371 f., for lists with costs. Cf. Pls. V and VI.

Hellenistic cities were ransacked by commission agents, dealers in antiquities, and experts. They had their ateliers or *atria auctionaria* in Rome to cater to the brisk demand of wealthy Romans. Atticus procured reliefs in Greece for Cicero's Tusculan villa and also acted as Pompey's agent to purchase statues for his new theatre. Scaurus boasted of 3,000 statues, mostly from overseas, in his theatre. The colonists of Caesar at Corinth even looted the old graves of the city of their ancient vases or bronzes to sell to Roman dealers. Expert Greek copyists throughout the East rapidly reproduced older works for the Roman market, which were sent in shiploads to Italy. A typical example of many such is the cargo wrecked off the coast of Tunisia about 60 B.C. and recovered in 1907. The cargo was probably consigned to Rome for some villa by an Athenian art broker, and contained about sixty marble columns fresh from the quarry, bronzes, marble statues, statuettes, heads and torsos, reliefs, vases, much furniture inlaid with metal, candelabra, and Greek inscriptions. Included were many second-rate copies and repaired antiques, but also some veritable masterpieces.³³

The Hellenistic influence was greatly intensified by multitudes of Greek artists and copyists in all types of art who swarmed to Rome to help supply the active market. Thus the easy satisfaction of Rome's esthetic demands by proxy dulled her artistic initiative for the development of a truly national art. Roman sculpture and painting of the last century of the Republic was not by Romans and was hardly distinguishable from that of the contemporary Hellenistic world.³⁴ The chief Roman contribution was the development of art production on a wholesale scale, as terra-cotta reliefs with Hellenistic subjects that decorated the walls and ceilings of Roman houses and tombs. Some of these, as the specimens now in the Terme Museum at Rome, were truly artistic. An interesting example of the mingling of Roman realism with Greek allegorical idealism is a frieze from the altar of Domitius Ahenobarbus (35-32 B.C.).³⁵

In the field of portraiture the Roman national tradition was more persistent, having its roots far back in the early Roman custom of funeral images and the Etrusco-Italian sculpture. A fine example is the Etruscan, but distinctly Roman, bronze statue of the *Orator* (*Arringatore*) from the early second century B.C., now at Florence.³⁶ The Greek influence, already dominant by Sulla's day, did not usually succeed in overcoming the Roman realistic portrayal of the individual facial expression. The head of Cicero, indifferent copies of which are at Apsley House in London, and the fine specimen in the Vatican, were probably from life.³⁷ Realistic female portraiture was also well developed by the end of the Republic, as seen in the so-called Cleopatra head in the British Museum. Many admirable examples of Roman portraits on coins also date from the late Republic. No contemporary representations of Julius

³³ For this cargo and an extensive list of purchases of art with prices, cf. T. Frank, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 352-354.

³⁴ For a description of the typical tendencies in the art of the several Hellenistic capitals in the first century B.C., cf. Alfred Grenier, *The Roman Spirit*, Knopf, 1926, p. 235 ff.

³⁵ Cf. *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. IV of Plates, Pl. 138. The Roman part is in the Louvre, the Greek, in Munich.

³⁶ Cf. Pl. II.

³⁷ Greek portraiture had also now become far more realistic, so that the alleged contrast between "Greek idealism" and "Roman realism" may be easily overemphasized. Cf. Pl. VII.

Caesar have survived, other than those on coins, but the colossal head in the Naples Museum, probably of the Augustan period, portrays with stern realism the Caesarian features and character. The great period of Roman portraiture, however, was still to come.³⁸

For a knowledge of Roman painting during the last century of the Republic, we must turn to the earlier mural decorations at Pompeii, which may be accepted as fairly representative of the Rome before Augustus. Though owing something to their Etruscan and Samnite predecessors, these were thoroughly Hellenistic both in themes and technique. Until about 80 B.C., the prevalent mode of wall decoration by relief plaques and "incrustation" caused painting to be limited to panels of colored stucco in imitation of the marble slabs in Hellenistic mansions. For the finer homes, small pictures were copied from Greek paintings by Greek artists in their studios, or splendid mosaics were made, such as the *Battle of Issus* from the House of the Faun, now in the National Museum at Naples. During the last half century of the Republic, mural painting developed rapidly at Pompeii. The style was very similar to that of the stucco reliefs, intermediate between relief and painting, above described. Within an architectural framework showing deep perspective, the artist portrayed a landscape, or a mythological or rustic picture. The effect of depth was often heightened by creating the illusion of an opening in the wall in which was represented, as apparently in the distance, a picturesque scene. Surviving examples for Rome, still *in situ*, are from the House of Livia on the Palatine and from the villa of Livia at Prima Porta, several miles north of Rome, both dating from about 40 B.C.³⁹ The architectural setting was done by skilled artisans, and the picture was added later, composed by Greek artists in their studios.

The preceding survey of Roman education, literature, and art in the age of Cicero has revealed that the development of Roman culture was by no means hampered by the chaotic political conditions and civil war then dominant. While the decadent Republic was rapidly nearing its end, Roman culture was entering upon its most brilliant creative period which was to reach its climax in the next age.

³⁸ For Roman portrait sculpture, cf. A. Hekler, *Greek and Roman Portraits*, London, 1912, Pls. 129b, 159, 161b, and *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. IV of Plates, Pls. 42-54 and 166.

³⁹ Cf. *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. IV of Plates, Pls. 172a and b. Cf. Pl. VI.

Part Five

THE AUGUSTAN AGE

- 15. *The Principate of Augustus (27 B.C.-14 A.D.); Domestic Policies*
- 16. *The Principate of Augustus; the Army, the Provinces,
and Foreign Expansion*
- 17. *The Age of Augustus (27 B.C.-14 A.D.)*

Chapter Fifteen

THE PRINCIPATE¹ OF AUGUSTUS (27 B.C.-14 A.D.); DOMESTIC POLICIES

I. THE NEW POLITICAL ORDER, ITS ORGANIZATION AND MEANING

The strenuous years from 44 to 27 B.C. had matured the youthful Octavian from a self-seeking politician and merciless avenger of his adoptive father to a constructive statesman, a master of conciliation, and the architect of an imperial structure that was to persist, in theory at least, for three centuries. He had disposed of all rivals, settled the long civil war, and brought peace to a long-suffering world. It was now his responsibility to establish orderly government. To return to the old régime was patently impossible, for a world empire could no longer be ruled by the outworn machinery created for a primitive city-state. Centralized power in the hands of one man seemed the only possible solution under the circumstances. Two courses were therefore open to him, to break entirely with the Republican past and frankly establish a military autocracy of the Hellenistic type, or to retain the old constitutional forms and hold his supreme powers constitutionally as a voluntary grant of the senate and the Roman people. In view of the fate of his adoptive father, his shrewd understanding of the Roman mind, and his penchant for practical compromise, there was but one possible answer, constitutionalism. Though undisputed master of the Roman world, commander of 300,000 soldiers, successor to the Ptolemies in Egypt, and revered as a god in the Hellenistic East, he therefore chose the ideal of Cicero and Pompey rather than that of Caesar and avoided the hated terms "king" or "tyrant," preferring to be princeps, or first citizen. Accordingly, at the opening of his seventh consulship, on January 13, 27 B.C., he laid aside the extraordinary powers which he had held in the late civil war and "transferred the commonwealth from [his] own control

¹ The term is derived from the Roman word *princeps* to denote the office of the chief magistrate under the Augustan system. The principal historical source for the Augustan Principate is the *Deeds of Augustus* (*Res Gestae*) by himself. The original inscription, set up in Rome outside his family Mausoleum in 14 A.D., is now lost, but a copy in Latin and Greek, known as the *Monumentum Ancyranum*, is inscribed on the walls of his temple at Ancyra (*Angora*) in Asia Minor. In it Augustus states with cold reserve his own public acts as princeps, and the honors bestowed upon him by the senate. It is the most authentic example of ancient autobiography extant. The only continuous narrative is that of Dio Cassius (155-229 A.D.), who depended upon Livy's chapters and other primary sources no longer extant. Valuable additional points are contributed by Velleius Paterculus, who wrote in the next reign; Suetonius, *Lives of the Twelve Caesars* (second century); Tacitus, *Annals*; Strabo, *Geography* (6 B.C.), who gives the view of a Greek living in Rome; the Augustan poets, and contemporary inscriptions.

to the authority of the senate and the Roman people."² From this act dated the new political order.

The day was made a festival in the Roman calendar, and new coins heralded Octavian as the "champion of the liberties of the Roman people." But the same day signalized the permanent surrender of those liberties by the senate and the Roman people to their alleged restorer. Both he and the senate knew full well that an actual return to the Republican régime would have meant a repetition of the old anarchy. The civil wars of the past half century had aroused in citizens and subjects alike a universal demand for security, order, and peace, even at the expense of the old Republican liberty. The claim of Octavian to have reorganized the imperial government as the legally constituted representative of the senate and the Roman people was therefore well founded. Though commander-in-chief of the imperial armies, he held his power by constitutional grant, and the senate still retained a significant part of its old functions and powers.

The special powers and honors by which supreme authority was delegated to Octavian were not all conferred at once, but in the course of his principate as occasion seemed to demand. From 27 to 23 B.C. his authority was based on his annual senior consulship and his proconsular command. On his surrender of his extraordinary powers as triumvir, he was granted by vote of senate and assembly for a period of ten years full control of the less-pacified provinces of Hither Spain, Gaul, and Syria, where the Roman legions were especially centered. Egypt, which he had annexed after Actium, was also under his direct control. This general proconsular power without the specific magistracy made him commander-in-chief of the imperial armies, with supreme authority in foreign and provincial affairs. As first consul, elected annually until 23 B.C., also, his *imperium* was "senior" to that of the other governors whose provinces were controlled by the senate.

Three days after the founding of the new order the senate honored Octavian with the title of Augustus, which henceforth became his accepted name. The term (Greek, *Sebastos*), previously used chiefly of gods, connoting "one to be revered," conferred no added powers, but an exalted dignity. The title *imperator*, also, which had been conferred upon Octavian after Mutina, he had appropriated as a permanent title, and after 27 B.C. he held it as a regular *praenomen*. Because of its military emphasis, however, the title was naturally not insisted upon by Augustus in Italy during his principate, but only in the Eastern provinces, where his authority was recognized as purely military. It therefore became the accepted title of his successors, and from it was derived the modern term emperor. We shall trace the gradual encroachment of this military monarchy upon Rome and Italy from the East through three centuries, until the constitutional Principate was transformed to the military despotism of Diocletian and Constantine. The nemesis of militarism, born of

² *Res Gestae*, VI, 34. According to Dio, LII, 2-LIII, 10, he prepared his more intimate friends in the senate for the drama about to be enacted and sought the advice of Agrippa and Maecenas. The reported speeches of the two and of Octavian are, of course, imaginary. The speech of Agrippa advised a return to the old constitution, while that of Maecenas, counseling monarchy but not tyranny, presents an interesting picture of the Principate as it existed in Dio's own day over two centuries later. For statue of Augustus cf. Pl. IX.

imperial expansion, had destroyed the Republic, and would finally change the princes to an Oriental, military despot.

In 23 B.C. Augustus resigned the consulship and was granted by the senate and the people the tribunician authority for life. This freed him from the limitations of the consulship, lifted him above all magistrates, gave him the initiative in comitial and senatorial legislation, made him the traditional leader of the city plebs, and assured the inviolability of his person. About the same time he was granted the right to summon the senate, to introduce the first topic in it, and unlimited authority in matters of peace or war. His proconsular *imperium* was also extended to the senatorial provinces and Rome without the consulship, a prophecy of the encroachment of military domination in Rome and of the future leveling of Rome and Italy to the provinces. As *Pontifex Maximus*, after 12 B.C., also, he connected his new régime with its ancient prestige and moral authority, controlled all civic religion and, through it, political and judicial procedure. The constitutional authority of Augustus under the Principate therefore rested primarily upon these three essential and permanent bases, the proconsular *imperium*, the tribunician power, and the office of *Pontifex Maximus*.

In 22 B.C. Augustus wisely refused the dictatorship proffered by the city populace, and, three years later, also the general censorship of laws and morals (*cura legum et morum*), since through his other offices he had these powers without the odium of the names. He accepted, however, the consular insignia with twelve lictors, and the right to sit on a curule chair between the consuls, as taking official precedence among all magistrates. From 18 B.C. he had his proconsular *imperium* reconferred upon him for stated periods, twice for five years each and three times for ten years until his death. In 2 A.D., also, the senate, on motion of one who had fought against him at Philippi, honored him with the title "Father of His Country" (*pater patriae*). Julius Caesar had held all of the above powers, besides the censorship and dictatorship, but he had seized them, contrary to constitutional precedent, and had tactlessly angered the senate by attacking its traditional dignity.

From the above analysis it is clear that the princeps, though supreme master of the Roman state both as military commander and legally, was, in theory, not a *rex*, a Hellenistic monarch, a tyrant, or a dictator above the law. He was a general chief magistrate, holding his authority, not by the tenure of any specific office or magistracy, but through the constitutional delegation of practically supreme administrative, legislative, judicial, and military powers by the senate and the Roman people. The vastly wider scope of his authority, the length of his official term, practically for life, and his privilege of holding the essence of the magisterial powers without the offices gave him a unique position above all magistrates, who were only administrative officials. Yet his exalted position rested on the acknowledged sovereignty of the people and the laws. In theory, his position was elective, not hereditary, and the senate might grant or refuse honors to him after his death. He lived simply, in democratic relation to his people, as a chief magistrate in a Republic, and tactfully avoided everything that might savor of royalty.

Was the attitude of Augustus only a hypocritical pose as some have as-

served? Though he was clearly playing a shrewd and well-planned role, there seems to be slight basis for doubting his sincerity. The very demand of the times for continuous, centralized power under constitutional form, the vital need of keeping the connection of the new order with the old, his own conservative temperament, and his whole procedure indicate that he honestly preferred constitutional government under law to military monarchy. His repeated attempts to restore the dignity and personnel of the senate, his selection of the best men for the consulship, his repeated refusal of the dictatorship, and his policy of preserving the continuity with ancient Italian tradition all point in the same direction. He had deliberately chosen, if possible, to be a first citizen rather than a military despot, as most in accord with his own tastes and the traditions of his people.³ His compromise was justified by its fruits, for it brought with it peace, order, and responsible imperial government for the general welfare of citizens and subjects alike throughout the Roman world.

II. THE BEGINNINGS OF THE IMPERIAL CULT AND ITS MEANING

I. ORIGINS AND DEVELOPMENT

The cult of the ruler, in its developed form, was not indigenous to Rome or Italy, but was largely of Hellenistic origin, as was so much else in Roman culture. Greek king worship, also, did not begin with Alexander, but traces of it are found in Greece at least as early as the late fifth century, as we have seen.⁴ Unlike the early Romans who originally had neither native hero-cults nor personal gods, the Greeks had always conceived the line between human and divine to be indistinct. As Euhemerus taught, the gods were only deified men. Such ideas were early assimilated by Romans with the Greek religion and culture, and prepared the way for their later acceptance of the veneration of rulers. The Hellenistic cult was an expression of gratitude or a recognition of power. Acts of devotion to deified rulers were no real expression of piety, for they were never associated with votive offerings such as were offered to gods. They were essentially an expression of loyalty to the régime. This, and not adulation, was the chief concern of the ruler. When the Romans conquered Greece and the East, they continued the Hellenistic tradition, quite naturally, since from Flamininus to Octavian the victorious Roman generals were spontaneously accorded the same veneration by their new subjects as these had offered to their previous rulers. Especially did Caesar, Antony, and Octavian find this to be true in Egypt, where for hoary ages the divinity of the Pharaoh had been a necessary corollary of his political absolutism.⁵

The Roman idea of *Genius* is practically identical with the conception of *Numen*, or spirit, and the worship of the *Genius* of Augustus has been

³ This question, like a multitude of other problems connected with the Augustan principate, has been answered in diverse ways from Mommsen to today.

⁴ For the Greco-Oriental cult of the ruler, cf. Vol. I, pp. 458 f., 472, 521, and Index.

⁵ This, of course, was a different type of ruler worship from the Greek.

plausibly traced back to the good spirit or divinity (*agathos daimon*)⁶ of Alexander. The cult of *Roma* in the Roman East from the time of Flamininus on was also a natural outgrowth of the worship of Fortune of the Hellenistic cities. It was gladly accepted by Romans as a valuable means of inspiring loyalty and the idea of the unity and permanence of the Roman régime, in contrast to their annually changing officials. The cult spread rapidly, and soon *Roma* had her temples throughout the cities of Greece and Asia Minor. From the time of Flamininus also, temples were erected to generals and governors, and the senate even provided for financing shrines or monuments for proconsuls and for festivals in their honor. The Greco-Oriental cult of the ruler was also common in the Punic lands of the West, which fact likewise influenced its rise in Rome. From the time of Julius Caesar, the Hellenistic tradition took root in Rome and was enthusiastically adopted by the Roman government in the barbarian West for its distinctly political value. *Concilia*, composed of representatives from various cities, were organized in the provinces to nurture the imperial cult, which came to have great political importance.⁷

There was also considerable preparatory background in Roman tradition and experience for the final acceptance of the Hellenistic conception of the divine ruler. Whether of early origin or not, the Romulus cult is a case in point.⁸ The fabled founder of Rome was recognized as a son of a god, the impersonation of Jupiter, and was identified with the Sabine god, Quirinus, who was translated to heaven, where his spirit was venerated, and miracle stories were told of his birth and career. Though the state religion of Rome did not countenance a public cult at the tomb of a great man, there was no limitation as to private cults. Deceased ancestors were revered as gods, and the spirit of the ancestor, living and dead, was revered in the *Genius* and the *Lar*. Augustus took advantage of this by connecting it with the worship of his own *Genius*. It did not necessarily imply deification, and certainly involved no new principle in Rome.

The growth of skepticism and indifference to the state gods relieved the shock of inclusion of men among the gods. Hellenistic religious ideas became current in Rome, emphasizing immortality, especially for the great man, whose family might think of their deceased ancestor as deified. The growing orientalization of the Roman citizen body increased the tendency to think in such terms, and a sense of mystic union between man and gods, fostered by the Hellenistic mystery religions and later Greek philosophies, now popular in Rome and Italy, encouraged the idea that all men are potentially divine. The decay of Republican political institutions and the rise of the victorious generals to power with their magnificent triumphs, and their association of the name of a god with their own, also aided the development. Their experience of the principle of divine monarchy in the East opened the way for its introduction

⁶ L. R. Taylor, *The Divinity of the Roman Emperor*, American Philological Association Publications, Middletown, 1931, pp. 256-266. Her attempt to trace this Alexander cult to Persia has been hotly contested by Tarn. See *ibid.*, Appendix I, and *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1927, pp. 53-62, and 1928, pp. 206-219.

⁷ Cf. below, under Municipalities, Chapter Sixteen, Sec. II, 2.

⁸ It is usually believed to be of late third-century Hellenistic origin, but L. R. Taylor suggests a much earlier date in genuine Roman tradition.

to the West. The citizens of Rome were the more ready to accept it because of their yearning for peace and a "savior," to relieve them from the long period of civil war and anarchy. Divine homage to the deliverer was conceived as not too high a price to pay. Such tendencies began early in Rome, as seen in the attitude to Scipio Africanus and other Roman generals.⁹ Until the Roman aristocracy lost its morale and sense of freedom through the prolonged civil wars and the dictatorship of generals, and until Julius Caesar degraded the senate, however, true Romans, like Cicero, in accord with ancestral custom (*mos maiorum*), would have protested against the public ascription of divinity to a mortal.

Julius Caesar was the first divine ruler at Rome. He took great pride in his ancient lineage and his alleged divine ancestry. Like other victorious generals, he was venerated as a god in the East, and after his victory at Pharsalus he built a temple to his alleged ancestress, Venus Genetrix, at Rome, whose cult was celebrated with great magnificence. During his two years of dictatorship, especially after Munda, the senate and people voted him the most extreme divine honors, as we have seen,¹⁰ which, for the most part, he did not refuse.

Whether he was recognized as *Divus Julius* in life or not, his martyrdom finished the process, and the senate was forced by popular demand to deify him. Henceforth, Augustus was *Divi filius* (son of the Deified Julius).¹¹ From the time of his victory at Actium, he received the usual veneration accorded to the victor in the Hellenistic East, and was accepted in Egypt as the divine successor of the Pharaohs and Ptolemies. At this time and in 29 A.D., after his Parthian triumph, the senate decreed that "all should pour a libation to him," and that "his name should be included in their hymns on an equal basis with the gods."¹² The oath of the senate and Roman people in 29 B.C. to support all his *acta* aided the development of an Augustan cult, and the title, "Augustus," gave him a halfway status between man and god, as princeps was a compromise between citizen and king. As the heaven-sent restorer and second founder of Rome, he was associated with the divine Romulus, and similar miracle stories and astral signs were associated with his birth. On his return to Rome from the East in 19 B.C., an annual festival, the *Augustalia*, was established in his honor. His Genius was worshiped in connection with Rome in the provinces, throughout the Empire, and in Rome, after 12 B.C., by colleges of freedmen, the *seviri Augustales*, probably officially instituted by himself. His Genius was also included between Jupiter and the Penates in the official oaths and was associated in worship with the *Lares Publici*. He had a temple of Vesta in his own house and was inseparably connected with the worship of his divine ancestors, Venus Genetrix, Mars Ultor, and Divus Julius, as also with the veneration of the deified virtues expressive of his own career, *Victoria*, *Fortuna*, *Salus* (Safety), *Concordia*, and *Pax*. An altar to Fortune

⁹ The legend arose that Scipio was the special favorite or even the son of Jupiter, with whom he communed daily.

¹⁰ Chapter Eleven, Sec. 9.

¹¹ Because of his opposition to Octavian, Antony had opposed Caesar's deification, but at the beginning of the year 42, the deification was publicly decreed.

¹² According to Dio, LI, 19, 7; 20, 1.

was erected in his honor at which pontiffs and Vestals made yearly offerings, and annual prayers and sacrifices were made for his health. In the Roman calendar, once reserved only for gods, he had his festivals for his birthday and other anniversaries. A temple vowed by Tiberius to *Concordia Augusta* was finished by 13 A.D., and an altar to *Numen Augusti* was dedicated, at which four great priestly colleges were to offer periodic sacrifices. In the restored shrines at the crossroads Augustus placed new statues of the Lares, now known as the *Lares Augusti*, conceived of as ancestors of his own house, and between the statues was set up a new image of his own Genius.

On the noble sculptures of the *Ara Pacis*, an altar of peace vowed on the return of the ruler from the West in 13 B.C. and dedicated four years later, Augustus and his house are portrayed in simple majesty without the usual trappings of royalty. But in intimate association with Roma, Mars, and other divinities, he stands amid sculptured scenes symbolic of the founding of the city, and its divine destiny, which the *Divi filius* through his Augustan peace was bringing to its consummation. A relief in honor of the return of Tiberius as victor from Germany dedicated in 13-12 A.D. portrays Augustus as almost divine and ageless, and another monument erected soon after, the Altar to the *Numen Augusti*, was dedicated to the worship of his Genius. In such ways great art joined hands with the master Roman poets in portraying the golden age of peace and proclaiming the divine destiny of Rome and its second founder, the crowning glory of the Julian house. Thus, under the veil of his Genius, was Augustus being venerated in close association with family and civic gods by citizens as well as subjects, in Italy and Rome as in the provinces, from the most polished court poet and artist to the humblest artisan and peasant of the Empire.

In his funeral eulogy over the deceased Augustus, Tiberius compared him to Hercules, who was now with the eternal gods, and after recounting his great achievements and high character, he closed his address with these significant words: "It was for all this, therefore,—that you finally made him a demigod and declared him to be immortal. Hence it is fitting also that we should not mourn for him, but that, while we now at last give his body back to nature, we should glorify his spirit as that of a god, forever."¹³ The ceremony of the release of an eagle at the funeral pyre symbolized the bearing of his spirit to heaven. At a meeting of the senate on September 17th,¹⁴ after a Roman senator declared on oath that he had seen the spirit of the glorified ruler ascending to heaven, the *Divus* Augustus was formally enrolled in the state cult among the gods.¹⁵ A temple was authorized for his worship, to be built by Tiberius and Livia, and until its completion he was venerated in his temple of Mars Ultor, where was a gold image of him lying on a couch. Priests were assigned to his cult, additional sacrifices, festivals, and annual games were established in his honor, and a sacred college of senators, *Sodales*

¹³ Dio, LVI, 41, 9, *Loeb Classical Library* translation (E. Cary), by permission of the Harvard University Press. Cf. Pl. X.

¹⁴ Augustus died on August 14th. The change of the name of the month from *Sexilis* to Augustus, however, was made in 8 B.C., because he considered it his lucky month.

¹⁵ This formal apotheosis after death is a clear evidence that he was not strictly considered by Romans to be divine in life.

Augustales, consecrated themselves to his worship. His deification was received with general enthusiasm by citizens and subjects throughout the Empire, and a halo of legend about his divine descent from Apollo and the magic wonders of his career soon illuminated his person.

2. THE IMPERIAL CULT IN AUGUSTAN LITERATURE

Since genuine freedom of neither speech nor writing existed under the Augustan régime, it is difficult to be sure of the actual attitude of his poetic eulogists. To moderns their words may seem exaggerated as fulsome flattery, but they were probably to a large degree the spontaneous expression of a deep sense of gratitude and admiration. Even in the early years of the triumvirate, the youthful Virgil in his *Eclogues* had enthusiastically called Octavian *deus*. His later expressions, however, are less extreme. In his *Georgics*, read to Octavian in 29 B.C., he recognized him as a son of a god and descended from an ancient line of divine ancestors, whose noble life and beneficent achievements insured his apotheosis after death with the divine Julius. In the *Aeneid*, while the poet does not directly refer to the deity of Augustus or to his deification after death, he emphasizes his divine descent, and his apotheosis is clearly implied in the poet's repeated references to the divinity awaiting the members of the Julian house.¹⁶

The poet Horace, who once fought against Octavian at Philippi, frankly calls Augustus *deus* and addresses prayers to him as Caesar or Augustus and "a present god" directly without naming his Genius.¹⁷ But since, as an Epicurean, the old civic gods meant nothing to him,¹⁸ his words probably expressed little more than profound admiration for Augustus as a superman in achievement, who was destined to immortal life with the blessed gods after death. The elegiac poets wrote still more in the spirit of court flattery. Propertius calls Augustus *deus* and "Savior." Ovid also at times implies that Augustus is even now a god, and in his *Fasti* he celebrates the new cult.¹⁹

3. THE ATTITUDE OF AUGUSTUS

Profiting by the disastrous actions of his adoptive father and Antony, Augustus discouraged the direct ascription of divine honors to himself by citizens in Italy.²⁰ It seems unlikely that he thought of divinity as inherent in the princes, and he certainly did not aim to introduce the divine monarchy

¹⁶ *Eclogues*, I, 6-7, 42-44; *Georgics*, I, 24 ff.; 503-504; III, 16 ff., describes allegorically his proposed poem as a temple in which Augustus is to be the deity; IV, 561-563; *Aeneid*, I, 5-7; 234-236; 257-296, a prophetic history of Rome down to Augustus (286-294); VI, 756-892, the spirit of Anchises unveils to Aeneas in the lower world the future heroes of Rome from Romulus to Augustus, *Divi genus* (792-807), likened to Hercules, who will usher in the "Age of Gold."

¹⁷ *Odes*, I, 12, the representative of Jove on earth; also of Mercury, I, 2, who is urged to delay his "return to heaven"; III, 3, raised to heaven as a mortal as Pollux, Castor, Hercules, Romulus, and Liber, though (III, 5) these became gods at death, while Augustus is a "present god" (*praesens divus*), to whom we now "set up altars," *Epistles*, II, 1, 5 ff. *Odes*, IV, 5; 15. Cf. also III, 14; III, 25; *Secular Hymn*, 49-52.

¹⁸ *Satires*, I, 5, 100 ff.

¹⁹ Propertius, III, 4, 1; IV, 6, 37 f.; Ovid, *Fasti*, V, 14 ff.

²⁰ Dio, II, 20, 7; Suetonius, *Augustus*, 52. Worship was carried on by citizens in Greek Campania, or in towns that held a special relation to Augustus, but even then the cult was at first concealed or indirect.

of the Pharaohs into Rome. To inspire loyalty to the new order, he encouraged the worship of Julius and cherished the title *Divi filius* as one who was worthy of special honors now and likely to be deified after death. In both the Eastern and Western provinces, he encouraged the worship of his Genius by subjects as a natural expression of their loyalty, but even there, only in association with and secondary to Roma; which, like the Fortune of Hellenistic cities, symbolized the unity and welfare of the Empire.

Augustus did not deliberately create a new cult to further his personal political ambitions, however. He accepted the spontaneous devotion of his subjects and Roman citizens, organizing and curbing it so as to serve the largest purposes of the Empire. In the barbarian West the cult served as a means of Romanization and unification. Rome had broken down the old social and political groupings and must now furnish some unifying agency in their place, about which imperial patriotism could be focused. The imperial cult met this need, exerting a potent influence for unity and loyalty in the provinces and finally in Rome, not only with the freedmen and lower classes of citizens, but even with intellectual and skeptical rationalists like Horace.²¹

Though Augustus did not openly favor his cult in Rome and among Roman citizens, he officially encouraged the organization of honorary societies of freedmen, as the *seviri Augustales* (12 B.C.), for such worship. In the Italian *municipia* he united the ancient civic cults with a new veneration of himself in the veiled form of his Genius. He also revived the worship of the Lares of the crossroads (*compitales*) and permitted the worship of his Genius in connection with this cult.²² But, though inscriptions prove that private worship of him existed throughout Italy, the only official cult was under the form of his Genius organized by freedmen. He discouraged adulation in the theatre, and melted down the many silver statues to himself in the city to finance the making of images for Apollo. This may have been a subtle suggestion, for he strongly favored the Apollo cult and lived on the Palatine between his shrine and that of Vesta. In his *Res Gestae*, however, he makes only one reference to divine honors for himself, the inclusion of his name in the Salian hymns in 29 B.C., after winning the Roman eagles from Parthia.²³ Whatever his real purpose, he gave to the Roman institution of emperor worship the general form it was to retain for the next three centuries. Still more, the worship of Rome and its emperor gave to the universal Roman Empire a new and profounder religious meaning which aided the development, centuries later, of the universal rule of the deified Christ through the Roman See.

²¹ Compare the Epicurean rationalism of his earlier *Satires* with his later enthusiasm for Augustus as a "present god," *Satires*, I, 5, 100 ff.; *Odes*, I, 34; III, 5, 2 ff.

²² The later confusion between the *Lares Compitales*, *Lares Augusti*, and *Genius Augusti* may well have been intended by him as a means of fusing the new worship with the old.

²³ 10; cf. also Dio, LI, 20.

III. THE IMPERIAL CIVIL SERVICE AND THE THREE ORDERS UNDER THE AUGUSTAN PRINCIPATE

Under the new régime the senatorial, equestrian, and plebeian social orders were continued, but with opportunities and fields of public service much more sharply defined. They were also no longer so nearly closed castes, and were henceforth in closest dependence upon the princeps.

I. THE SENATORIAL ORDER

As under the Republic, the possession of 1,000,000 sesterces (\$50,000) was necessary for eligibility to the senate, but this did not assure admission. A seat in that body alone conferred nobility, and this must be received at the hands of the princeps, and was held at his pleasure. Even sons of senators might be demoted to the equestrian order by the princeps, if they failed to qualify for the senate. On the other hand, by a grant of a seat in the senate, he might raise a member of the equestrian class to the nobility. Augustus was conciliatory to the senate, however, and sought in every way to restore the dignity and high character of its personnel, which it had lost through the packing of its membership to over 1,000 by Julius. In 28 B.C., by virtue of his consular authority, he had the senatorial list drastically revised and decreased by 200 through forced resignation or exclusion. Henceforth, his name was placed at the head of the list as *princeps senatus*. Ten years later the list was reduced by a second revision to 600, but a third attempt at revision in 4 A.D. was not carried out.

The *cursus honorum* was adjusted to the new order. Election to the quaestorship made one eligible to a seat in the senate, but the candidate must be twenty-five years of age, and have served in a minor city magistracy and as a legionary tribune. After the quaestorship, the aedileship or tribunate, praetorship, and consulship followed in regular order. An ex-praetor or ex-consul might be appointed as promagistrate, governor of a senatorial province, a curator to head some government commission in Rome or Italy, or a legate to command a legion or administer an imperial province under the princeps. The senate was, therefore, recruited by the addition of twenty new quaestors each year, and through the appointment of prominent equestrians by the princeps. Since Augustus established a city prefecture, not a magistracy, directly beholden to him, which handled through his own civic or military appointees the problems of grain and water supply, public works, festivals, and fire and police protection, the consulship was shorn of some of its most important functions. Though praetors still sat as judges, the senate often took over important cases, and Augustus increasingly assumed judicial authority himself. The knights were now jurymen in the praetorian courts. The aediles later lost their importance, since their functions were largely absorbed by direct officials of Augustus. The quaestors no longer had charge of the treasury, but were increased in number and assigned to service as financial agents of the state in the provinces. The tribuneship now became an empty honor.

Though the magistrates were still elected, the princes exerted a determining influence in the choice.

Augustus aimed to have the senate continue, as under the Republic, to be the real center of home and imperial administration in so far as possible. It still held a practical monopoly of the magistracies and chief military posts. The government of Rome, Italy, and all the more settled provinces that did not require an extensive military force was left in its hands to be administered by its ordinary magistrates and senatorial governors. It also retained charge of the state treasury (*aerarium Saturni*), which received the revenues from Italy and the senatorial provinces. It voted honors to Augustus and had the right, in theory, to choose a new princeps, and to honor or condemn him after his death. Augustus made it his chief council, sent messages to it, and attended its sessions quite regularly. But despite the veil of constitutionalism, the authority of the princeps overshadowed all, and the senate failed to measure up to its responsibilities, even under the Augustan Principate. We shall therefore have occasion to trace its resulting degeneration in dignity, personnel, and administrative functions during the next three centuries of the Empire.

2. THE EQUESTRIAN ORDER

All Roman citizens of honorable birth and character who had a census rating of 400,000 sesterces (\$20,000) were still eligible to the equestrian class. But admission to it, with the right to wear its emblem, the narrow purple stripe on the tunic, was now entirely at the option of the princeps, and the order had no corporate existence apart from him. Thus did Augustus bind the upper middle class also to himself. He brought back the long-forgotten military function of the knights by the grant of a public horse, and the revival of the ancient annual cavalry parade and inspection. Between the senatorial and the lower clerical positions held by freedmen and slaves also, he provided for them a wide and honorable field of public administration in his direct service. Their business experience and knowledge of public finance especially fitted them to serve as his personal agents in the financial affairs of the imperial provinces, a type of service closed to the nobility both by tradition and senatorial prestige. The equestrian public civil and military career was now also governed by a *cursus honorum*. A series of secondary military appointments was followed by several procuratorships usually connected with financial administration in the imperial provinces, and finally by a great prefecture, such as the administration of the grain supply, commander of the imperial guards, or, the most coveted of all, the governorship of Egypt. As the climax of such an honorable career of public service, the most outstanding equestrians might hope to be finally enrolled by Augustus in the senatorial order. Thus began the middle-class imperial civil service which was to become a vast bureaucracy in the later autocratic Empire. Thus also was gradually developed under the Principate a new, bourgeois nobility, free from the traditional prejudices of the old senatorial nobility, and entirely loyal to the new order.

3. THE PLEBS AND THE POPULAR ASSEMBLIES

The city plebs were also made thoroughly dependent upon the princeps through his tribunician power. They looked to him, rather than to the magistrates or senate, as their representative and benefactor for free grain, shows, and public works. Since the reform of Julius Caesar, their numbers had again risen to over 200,000, but Augustus sought to alleviate the evil by laws limiting the manumission of slaves, by revision of the grain list to include only Roman resident citizens, and by colonization in Italy. Thus the proletariat practically rose to the dignity of a new order, the *plebs urbana*, a body of imperial clients, membership in which now became a privilege instead of a dishonor. It had its own organization by tribes and local divisions, officers, meetings, and group feeling. In this way the masses were bound to the princeps, and their interests were henceforth largely nonpolitical.

The popular assemblies were continued as part of the traditional government machinery, but their voice no longer represented the general Roman citizen body.²⁴ They still went through the forms of legislation and election of magistrates, though both were now largely nominal, since the results were practically predetermined by the tribunician authority and nominations of Augustus. Political clubs were forbidden, and decisions of the senate (*senatus consulta*) were now rarely brought before the people. The somber picture of the indolent city mob is relieved by the still sturdy citizenship of the Italian municipalities. Despite the decline of the yeoman farmer, Italy still furnished the backbone of the Roman legions and most of the centurions upon whom the military discipline and efficiency of the army largely depended.

4. THE FREEDMEN IN IMPERIAL CIVIL SERVICE

During the late Republic, freedmen had become an ever more important element in Roman society and public life. Since they had been the most trusted and intelligent slaves, many became wealthy in business and the learned professions and gradually forced their way into the most exclusive and cultured society. They were generally employed by the nobles as administrators of their estates and in other positions of responsibility.

Augustus shrewdly took advantage of this situation. Since he had many efficient freedmen employed on his own estates and in his household, he carried over the accepted private use of freedmen into public service. In this way he created an efficient imperial civil service of freedmen as well as knights, who had a vested interest in the new régime, and whom he could use to check any senatorial opposition. Thus, as we have noted, with Augustus began in germ the later development of a great imperial bureaucracy. The details of such a bureaucracy and its weaknesses will appear in our study of its later development. But like so many significant developments in the next three centuries of the Principate, it found its inception in the régime of Augustus.

²⁴ The *Centuriata* had already become entirely merged with the Tribal Assembly.

IV. ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, AND RELIGIOUS POLICIES OF AUGUSTUS IN ROME AND ITALY

I. AGRICULTURE AND THE ITALIAN COUNTRYSIDE

The domestic policies and ideals of Augustus were intimately related to his aims in the reorganization of the government and encouragement of the association of his Genius with the worship of Roma. Like these, they all centered in the attempt to unite the new order with the old, and both to himself. But he also sought to correct the crying evils of his day and usher in a new era of peace and prosperity for Italy. Unlike the imperial-minded Julius, the conservative Augustus, though emphasizing the welfare of the whole Empire, centered his interest primarily in Italy. He had no ambition to expand unduly the bounds of his empire, to become a Hellenistic despot, or to move his capital to the East. At home in Italy he sought to stimulate patriotism for the new order as a distinctly Roman and Italian revival of the oldest and most cherished institutions and traditions of the nation. He therefore undertook in every way to revive local civic interest in the Italian municipalities, rehabilitate agriculture, and arouse patriotic love of the beautiful Italian countryside and simple rural life.

In seeking to spread this gospel of Italian patriotism and connect it with his new rule, Augustus was effectively aided by his court poets, especially by Virgil, in his *Georgics*, written at the suggestion of his patron, Maecenas. Beginning with a noble appeal by name to "the gods and goddesses all, whose love guards our fields," and the many spirits of the countryside, including Faunus, "the rustics' ever-present gods," the poet brings his dedicatory prayer to a climax with "Caesar," whom he addresses as a god to be. The *Georgics* is no mere artificial court poem. With fine appreciation of the beauties of the Italian landscape and an intimate knowledge of rural life, the poet describes the various activities of the farmer in concrete detail. He constantly keeps in mind his central aim to glorify Italian agriculture, its ancient traditions, patriotic love of the soil, and simple life of piety and industry. In one of his finest passages, he contrasts the happy, peaceful life of the husbandman with the cares and the unhealthy complex life of the capital.

O happy husbandmen! too happy, should they come to know their blessings! for whom, far from the clash of arms, most righteous Earth, unbidden, pours forth from her soil an easy sustenance. What though no stately mansion with proud portals disgorges at dawn from all its halls a tide of visitors, though they never gaze at doors inlaid with lovely tortoise-shell or at raiment tricked with gold or at bronzes of Ephyra, though their white wool be not stained with Assyrian dye, or their clear oil's service spoiled by cassia? Yet theirs is repose without care, and a life that knows no fraud, but is rich in treasures manifold. Yea, the ease of broad domains, caverns, and living lakes, and cool vales, the lowing of the kine, and soft slumbers beneath the trees—all are theirs. They have woodland glades and the haunts of game; a youth hardened to toil and inured to scanty fare; worship of gods and reverence for age; among them, as she quitted the earth, Justice planted her latest steps.

The first choice of the poet is naturally to be the successful priest of the Muses, the revealer of the secrets and beauties of Nature. But if that honor be not granted him, then, he prays, "Let my delight be the country, and the running streams amid the dells—may I love the waters and the woods, though fame be lost."²⁵

The repeated references of Horace to the delights of escape from the hurly-burly of the capital to the restful peace of his Sabine farm, though genuine, were not in the same vein. He breathes, rather, the spirit of a well-to-do city dweller at his countryseat. Livy was a confirmed Republican and wrote his idealized history of the Republic in the Augustan Age. Though a friend of Augustus, he could not, like Virgil and Horace, welcome the new order as the return of the Age of Gold. To him the times were degenerate, and he looked far back with nostalgia to the noble pre-Gracchan days of heroism and freedom. But by his very emphasis upon the cults and hero-stories of the Italian past, and the simple virtues and devotion of the citizens to the state, and by exhorting his contemporaries to return to these pristine qualities, he was really serving the aims of Augustus and preaching the gospel of the new era. But neither Virgil's poetic glorification of rural life and ancient Italian tradition nor Livy's patriotic idealization of earlier national history nor the constructive reforms of Augustus were able to revive the ideal past, restore the Italian countryside to its old prosperity, or repopulate Italy with small citizen cultivators.

2. THE AUGUSTAN REVIVAL OF RELIGION AND MORALITY

Intimately associated with the aims of Augustus above described was his attempt to revive the ancient religious cults and the pristine Roman virtues now long decadent. He was doubtless thoroughly sophisticated as to religion and probably the old cults had meant as little to him as to other Roman intellectuals. But beneath his cold, calculating exterior was a certain vein of religious mysticism and astrological superstition, which had been stimulated by his remarkable fortune, and an intimate association with the Pythagorean, Nigidius Figulus. Also as a thorough conservative and a man of simple tastes, he was convinced that a renewal of the old Roman virtues, based on a revival of religious faith, was the necessary condition for any permanent prosperity. The ancient local shrines of beneficent spirits that once haunted every field, grove, and crossroads of Italy, now long neglected through years of civil disorder and the overgrowth of rational skepticism and Oriental cults, must be revived. The paralysis of despair, cynical skepticism, and social decay must pass with the dawn of the new era of peace.

The aim of Augustus, however, was primarily political, to inspire loyalty to the Empire, the new order, and himself as its beneficent founder and "present deity." As the victorious champion of the West against the Orientalism of Antony, he had aroused a new national patriotism, and a temporary reaction to the ancient Italian gods and against the previously popular Egyptian

²⁵ I, 5-42; 498 ff.; II, 458-474; 485 f.; *Loeb Classical Library* translation (H. R. Fairclough), by permission of the Harvard University Press. Virgil reveals the same spirit in the *Aeneid*.

cults. He would shrewdly capitalize upon this temporary national enthusiasm to launch his project for social and political regeneration and an intimate union of the old and the new. But his religious revival was not a mere calculating attempt to resurrect outworn forms for personal or political advantage. He sought to fill the old forms with a new meaning and to turn the religious mysticism that was invading Italy from the Orient to ends of Italian patriotism and social regeneration.

To restore the public religion and state cults, he revived the long defunct patrician priestly colleges, creating new patrician families to meet the need, enrolling himself at the head of each college. A second means of reviving the state cults was his vast program for the building and repair of temples throughout Rome and Italy. Such a policy, besides reviving civic religion, won the enthusiasm of the masses by furnishing employment, embellished his capital, stimulated new civic pride in the upper classes, and gave a general air of active prosperity.²⁶ To emphasize his association with the divine Julian house, he built a splendid temple to Mars, the Avenger, in his new Augustan Forum, and a temple to the Deified Julius in the old Forum. On the Palatine also, near his own residence, was erected the magnificent temple of Apollo, the special protector of the Julian house, and the patron god of the new era of peace. In addition to this extensive building program and the restoration of such famous temples as that of Jupiter Capitolinus, Quirinus, Magna Mater, and Saturn, eighty-two lesser shrines were rebuilt. Augustus took special pride in his temple building, emphasizing it in detail in his *Res Gestae*.²⁷ The expense was not a burden on the state treasury, but was met very largely from his own private patrimony.

Another phase of the religious program of Augustus was to encourage the newer worship of Mercury and Hercules, and the cults of such personified abstractions as *Fortuna* and *Pax*, connecting their worship with himself. In like manner he established altars to the ancient family and local cults of the Penates and Lares, as well as to his Genius in each of the 265 districts of Rome. He also revived the very ancient Arval brotherhood, whose functions were once intimately associated with the life of the Italian peasant, to foster the new veneration for the Julian house. The ancient rural festival of the *Ambarvalia* was also revived with an elaborate ritual to *Dea Dia*, the spirit of fertility, Tellus, and Ceres, uniting their worship with the imperial cult. His establishment of the new religious colleges of freedmen in Italy, the *Augustales*, was inspired by the same purpose. Like his modern imitator in Fascist Italy, also, he sponsored a general revival of organizations of youth under his patronage both in the Italian municipalities and in Rome to stimulate patriotism, the military spirit, a new national religious interest, and, withal, a reverence for their prince and patron.

In his attempt to regenerate religion and morals, Augustus had the loyal support of the poets, Virgil and Horace. Virgil's aid was especially effective, since he loved the ancient rituals and beliefs of the Italian countryside that

²⁶ The present Fascist régime in Italy seems to have learned much from Augustus on these points.

²⁷ IV, 19-21.

still persisted among the simple folk, and felt a tender yearning for their general revival. In his *Aeneid* he gave expression to the noblest religious experience of the Roman people, past and present, and their future aspiration. The whole poem breathes the spirit of the old Roman *pietas* which made Rome great, the pious recognition of duty to family, state, and ancestral gods, while keeping in the foreground the divine destiny of Augustus as their restorer. It has been well said that the real hero of Virgil's epic is the Penates rather than Aeneas.²⁸

In his *Georgics*, even more, the poet found opportunity for the spontaneous expression of his love for the ancient cults of the Italian peasantry, whose worship Augustus would foster as a means for the social regeneration of Italy. To the poet of the *Georgics*, all nature is literally alive with the ancient *numina*. Prayer, piety, honest toil, and the simple virtues of common folk are his themes, as opposed to the skeptical cynicism, self-indulgence, conflicts, and artificial life of the city.

Happy, too, is he who knows the woodland gods, Pan and old Sylvanus and the sister Nymphs! Him no honours the people give can move, no purple of kings, no strife rousing brother to break with brother, no Dacian swooping down from his leagued Danube, no power of Rome, no kingdoms doomed to fall: he knows nought of the pang of pity for the poor, or of envy of the rich. He plucks the fruits which his boughs, which his ready fields, of their own free will, have borne; nor has he beheld the iron law, the Forum's madness, or the public archives.²⁹

Even the rational Epicurean, Horace, rises to some of his finest poetic flights when he pictures the simple rustic worship of Phidyle or urgently exhorts his fellow Romans to restore the temples, tottering shrines, and smoke-blackened statues of their neglected gods, and bow in pious submission to their will.³⁰ A far less spontaneous, though genuine, expression of the poet's feeling is his Ode, *Carmen Saeculare*,³¹ which he wrote at the request of Augustus to be sung at the splendid celebration of the Secular Games in 17 B.C. inaugurating the new era. The Hymn is a striking example of the effective political propaganda of Augustus for his program of religious and social regeneration by which he connected himself and his new régime inseparably with the most ancient and hallowed Italian and Etruscan tradition. The advent of the new *saeculum*,³² or age, was a time for making a fresh start and for burying the evil past. It symbolized the belief that through Augustus Rome had experi-

²⁸ Cf. for example, V, 757-761 and 743-745, but the entire *Aeneid* is shot through with the same spirit. On the relations of Virgil and Augustus, cf. T. R. Glover, *Studies in Virgil*, pp. 144 ff.

²⁹ *Georgics*, II, 493-502, Loeb Classical Library translation (H. R. Fairclough), by permission of the Harvard University Press. The entire passage to 540 should be read.

³⁰ *Odes*, III, 23; 6, 1-5. This ode and the preceding five are usually interpreted as in support of the Augustan religious and moral reforms.

³¹ Besides the Hymn, other surviving sources for the festival are the Sibylline oracle text prescribing the ritual and three ancient slabs with inscriptions giving official details for the whole festival.

³² According to the ancient Etruscan idea, a *saeculum* was no fixed period, but a cycle beginning at any moment and ending with the death of the longest-lived man who was born at its beginning. Its opening was usually marked by divine portents. Traditional dates of previous celebrations were the years 449, 249, 149 (146). A comet appearing in 43 B.C. was declared to be a portent of a new age, but the celebration was not then feasible. It is said to have reappeared in 17 B.C.

enced a veritable rebirth, and its celebration has been likened to "an ideal triumphal arch marking the passage from old times to new."³³

The festival continued through the first three days and nights of June and included imposing rites of purification, sacrifices, splendid processions, elaborate shows and games, and the ceremony of burial of the old *saeculum*. On the last day the procession marched to the splendid temple of Apollo, the patron god of Augustus, on the Palatine, where the Secular Hymn of Horace was sung by twenty-seven young boys and an equal number of maidens. The Hymn was then repeated on the Capitoline, the ancient citadel of Jupiter and the older gods, thereby uniting in one ceremonial the religion of the early Republic with the new Augustan cult of Apollo.³⁴

Horace sought to include in the Hymn appeals to all Roman deities, old and new, especially emphasizing Apollo and his sister Diana. The mixture of Greek and Roman deities is suggestive of the cosmopolitan world religion of the new imperial state. The poet shrewdly joins the princes himself with the worship and ends as he began with Apollo, his patron god.

Other Augustan writers and artists joined at least indirectly in the universal glorification of the new era and its patron. Even the frivolous Ovid, in the *Fasti* of his later years, did homage to the spirit of the new age, as did also the Republican Livy by his idealization of the early Roman virtues, civic patriotism, and ancient cults.

The Augustan religious program was temporarily successful. The spontaneous thanksgiving for the return of peace and prosperity, the mystical reaction against the negative rationalism of the last century, the hearty support of the great Augustan poets, and the naïve faith of the Italian peasantry were all on his side, and he capitalized these advantages with the hand of a master. Of course, the religious decadence was not permanently checked, as is only too evident after his death. Yet it is partly due to his religious revival that the old Roman cults persisted for three centuries, and the popular beliefs long after, despite the corrosive influence of Greek thought and Oriental cults. Through his consummate tact also, the cult of Rome and the emperor became the very core of the Roman national religion, accepted not only in the provinces, but in proud Rome itself for centuries to come.

To check the degenerative social and moral tendencies of his age, Augustus supplemented his positive religious program with drastic negative legislation. Like his religious policy, his social laws were doubtless sincerely intended to raise the general morale of Roman society and restore in the citizenship the old spirit of national service.³⁵ The earlier moral life of Augustus and the morals of his daughter, Julia, however, were far from offering a model for such a re-

³³ A. Grenier, *The Roman Spirit*, Knopf, 1926, p. 315, by permission of the English publishers, Kegan Paul & Co. Varro's work of 42 B.C., presenting the Pythagorean doctrine of the rebirth (*palingenesis*) of all souls after four *saecula* of 110 years each, furnished an authoritative mystical background for the celebration.

³⁴ For the order of singing the Hymn, cf. W. W. Fowler, *The Religious Experience of the Roman People*, Macmillan, 1911, p. 445, and n. 48.

³⁵ Quite analogous in some respects is the program pursued by contemporary Fascist dictators to serve their national purposes.

form, but reflected well the social degeneration of the times.³⁶ He had divorced two wives before his marriage to Livia, and his second wife, Scribonia, had been married twice before. Livia he took from her husband, Tiberius Nero. He was also a flagrant example of childlessness, since his only descendant of three marriages was Julia, the daughter of Scribonia. In 12 B.C. he forced Tiberius, his stepson, to divorce his wife, whom he loved, and to marry for political purposes Julia, who was later banished for her notorious immoralities. Her daughter, Julia, proved to be of the same stamp. Augustus held Livia in high regard and lived with her from his marriage to her in 36 B.C. until his death. His personal and social life during his principate seems, on the whole, to have set a worthy example for the citizenship, despite the aspersions against him.³⁷

In any event, he was genuinely concerned with the decay of marriage and the family. This was, to him, the central cancer of Roman society, which he resolutely undertook to eradicate.³⁸ But, unfortunately, he had little conception of the underlying social, economic, and political forces that had been working for two centuries toward the emancipation of woman, increasing aversion to marriage and its responsibilities, and a declining birthrate. Such were the influx of wealth with the resulting leisure, luxury, and desire for ease and self-indulgence, the economic insecurity of the past century, the growing individualism, the influence of Hellenistic culture and manners, and the breakdown of the old restraints and conventions.

The old marriage *cum manu*, which gave the husband full legal authority over his wife, was now practically obsolete, and the *patria potestas* of the father had lost much of its meaning for the unmarried woman, since she could escape it by accepting the legal guardianship of a tutor. As we have seen, the Roman woman could now own and administer property, and enjoy equal education and the freest social relations with men. Divorce in the higher levels of Roman society was extremely common and easy for both parties, and social looseness encouraged the aversion to undertaking the responsibilities of marriage and children.

So impressed was Augustus with the need of reform that, contrary to his usual tact and political insight, he pushed through his laws regardless of public opinion. The details of his earlier reforms in 28 B.C. are unknown, but, in any event, they failed to work and were repealed.³⁹ In 19 B.C., after an absence from Rome, he again tackled the problem. Though voted a complete censorship over public and private morality (*cura legum atque morum*), he refused this authority, as he did again on two later occasions, preferring to depend upon his tribunician authority. In this year and the following, however, he carried

³⁶ The vicious slanders of Antony against his youth must be largely discarded, however, as we have seen, Chapter Twelve.

³⁷ The court gossip retailed by Suetonius, *Augustus*, 68-71, must be heavily discounted, as Suetonius admits. But cf. also Dio, LIV, 16, 3-7, who cannot be accused of prejudice against Augustus or the Principate. On the other side, cf. Suetonius, 72-77.

³⁸ Horace, *Odes*, III, 6, 21 ff., expresses the official view of Augustus on the central significance of the cynical disregard of the marriage tie in all social life.

³⁹ Propertius, II, 7, well reflects the reaction of the young bloods of Rome to such legislation, and their relief at its repeal. Cf. *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. X, p. 441, n. 3, which questions this early legislation.

through the Julian laws, drastic legislation regulating sex relations, extravagant luxury, and bribery, and imposing special disabilities on the unmarried and childless.⁴⁰ The naïve argument of the censor of 131 B.C., Q. Caecilius Metellus, on the unpleasant necessity of marriage and childbirth for national welfare, which Augustus is said to have used to support his reform, deserves citing here. "If we could do without wives altogether, we should be rid of the nuisance; but since nature has ordained that we can neither live comfortably with them nor without them, we must look to our permanent interests rather than to a passing pleasure."⁴¹

The first Julian law required marriage of all above certain ages and was enforced by penalties and rewards. A bachelor or spinster could not receive an inheritance unless married within one hundred days, and both were excluded from the ordinary public games. The same law also probably rewarded citizens with three children by preference in elections to magistracies, in the distribution of provinces, and in other political privileges, while private individuals were exempted from certain state obligations and received a double share in all state distributions.⁴² The next year, or soon after, another Julian law was passed with severe penalties to check adultery, which had not previously been a subject for criminal law. Marriage with an adulterous woman and even failure to divorce such a wife were punishable. Sumptuary laws were also passed limiting the height of houses to seventy feet and the expenses of banquets.

The marriage laws aroused strenuous opposition among the well-to-do classes, especially from the knights, who were the largest financial losers. Augustus was, therefore, obliged repeatedly to delay enforcement and yield concessions, and even then admitted his failure. Nevertheless he persisted in his purpose. The earlier laws were finally re-enacted, with some concessions and additions in the *Lex Papia Poppaea* of 9 A.D.⁴³ It repeated the preference for fathers in public office, set the required marriage age for men at twenty-five and for women at twenty, continued the disabilities against celibates as to legacies, with some concessions, and added numerous other detailed qualifications. To check the tendency toward overwhelming the old Roman stock with an influx of Greek and Oriental freedmen, Augustus also restricted manumission and denied to freedmen of the first generation after slavery public rights of citizenship.

During all his later life at least, Augustus sought by example as well as by precept and legislation to check the social degeneration of his times, even to the permanent banishment of his daughter and the court poet, Ovid, in 8 A.D. But his attempt to make men moral and check deep-seated social evils by negative legislation was an utter failure, for law has no compulsive force in itself,

⁴⁰ Suetonius, *Augustus*, 34; Ovid, *Fasti*, II, 139. Cf. Dio, LIV, 16. Horace lent his support, *Odes*, III, 6; 24, 35; *Carmen Saeculare*.

⁴¹ Cf. Livy, *Epitome*, LIX, and Aulus Gellius, *Attic Nights*, I, 6, cited by A. D. Winspear, *op. cit.*, p. 180, cited by permission of the University of Wisconsin Press.

⁴² Cf. the prayer of Horace, *Carmen Saeculare*, 45, for the success of the law, and his later references to the Augustan legislation in *Epistles*, II, 1, 1 ff., and *Odes*, IV, 5, 22. Cf. also *Satires*, II, 5, against legacy-hunting which encouraged celibacy.

⁴³ Cf. Suetonius, *Augustus*, 34, on the laws, the open revolt against them, and resulting concessions; Dio, LIV, 16.

except as it is backed by public opinion, even in a dictatorship.⁴⁴ The two Roman consuls, Papius and Poppaeus, who sponsored the law of 9 A.D., were themselves unmarried. So also were the poets, Horace and Virgil, his enthusiastic supporters. Despite the laws, political preferment continued to be open to bachelors and childless men, and sex immorality, childlessness, and aversion to marriage continued as rampant as before.⁴⁵ Still worse, as is usual with such legislation, it produced a crop of despicable snoopers and informers (*delatores*), who sought to capitalize on others' difficulties, thereby creating a feeling of insecurity, fear, plotting, and bitterness which was to bear its bitter fruits in the following generation.

V. JUDICIAL REFORMS

Nowhere is the interest of Augustus in efficient and just administration more evident than in his judicial reforms. He increased the number in each *decuria*, or list of jurymen, from 300 to 1,000, and the number of *decuriae* from three to four, thereby broadening the choice for the *quaestiones* (senatorial judicial commissions) from 900 to 4,000. The *decuriae* were liberalized by admitting freedmen to the fourth, and probably increasing the relative number of equestrians, and all were chosen by Augustus. Trial procedure was also improved. If the accuser failed to appear, the defendant was acquitted, while in the absence of the defendant the decision must be unanimous for or against him. The jurors were carefully segregated from the litigants to avoid bribery, and the number of days set apart for suits (*dies fasti*) was increased in the interest of speedy trial. Augustus also introduced a new form of trial, so that cases of extortion of governors, if merely civil for restitution of property, could secure a speedy and less expensive settlement at Rome. A jury of only five men was carefully chosen by a process of elimination, and a specific verdict must be rendered within thirty days. Special judicial powers (*cognitio*) were also conferred on the senate, and Augustus took personal charge of any criminal cases he desired, in the interest of fairness and efficiency. He gave close personal supervision to all courts, so that, through centralized authority, corruption was minimized and speedy and fair justice was rendered.

Augustus also made significant changes in judicial procedure in the provinces. He increased the numbers in the lists of jurymen, introduced Roman procedure into civil and criminal cases, and established a system of criminal courts. Above all, he decreed that Greeks as well as Romans should be selected as jurymen (*iudices*), thereby breaking down the traditional distinction between citizens and subjects. This leveling process was to continue through the next two centuries until finally universal Roman citizenship was decreed for all freemen.

⁴⁴ The present Fascist dictators of Europe are making little progress in their drive for larger families.

⁴⁵ Tacitus, *Annals*, III, 25. Horace, *Odes*, IV, 5, 3, in 15 B.C., was too hasty in his claims of success for the Julian laws. Cf. *Odes*, III, 24, 35 ff. *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. X, pp. 455 f., takes a much more favorable view of the results.

VI. ADMINISTRATION OF THE CITY OF ROME AND ITALY

The dominant interest of Augustus in Italy, however, is seen in his great concern for Rome, as the imperial capital of the world and the residence of its supreme ruler. Since Roman citizenship had been extended to all Italy, Augustus sought to give his capital a unique significance as the focal point of Italian patriotism. It must be transformed into a new city, worthy of its imperial position (*pro maiestate imperii*), by great public works and splendid building on a vast scale. As he later boasted, he received it a city of brick and left it a city of marble.⁴⁶ Even the humble proletariat must be lifted to the dignity of an order in such a capital. He did not colonize them outside of Rome as Julius did, but by restricting the influx of foreign slaves and instituting public works he created a greater demand for free labor. At his own expense, he frequently gave them lavish shows and gifts of grain or cash, which amounted to 50,000,000 sesterces between 29 and 2 B.C.⁴⁷ While abolishing their more dangerous clubs and imposing a license on others, he stimulated local patriotism and furnished a substitute for the old political energies of the citizens by dividing the city into fourteen regions and 265 wards (*vici*), each ward with four local magistrates, chosen annually by their ward.

Augustus grappled also with several grave problems of the capital which had never been seriously faced during the Republic, such as the lack of a proper police system to quell mob violence, the danger from frequent fires and floods, and the provision of an adequate water and grain supply. He kept three cohorts of his Praetorian Guard in the city for emergency and supplemented them with three cohorts of 1,500 each as a special police force, under tribunes or aediles, distributing them in the several regions and wards of the city. To cope with the fire problem, he organized a fire brigade of 600 slaves under aediles. When this proved unsatisfactory, after a disastrous fire, he established *vigiles*, or watches, in seven cohorts of seven centuries each under tribunes, and the whole headed by an equestrian prefect. But the problem was never successfully solved. His attempt to relieve Rome of the periodic floods from the Tiber by cleaning its bed of rubbish and fixing its bounds also gave only temporary relief. The administration of the water supply was placed in the hands of a senatorial board, who repaired the old aqueducts and built three new ones.⁴⁸ The most vital problem was to provide an adequate regular supply of imported grain at reasonable prices. In 22 B.C. the famine was so serious that the senate appealed to Augustus to take over the responsibility. At first he attempted to meet the problem through a senatorial board, but finding this unsatisfactory, he later established the equestrian office of prefect of the grain supply. Thus through the failure of the senate in its own sphere, Augustus was gradually forced, in the interest of efficiency, to take over the administration of the capital.

Similar measures were also taken to foster civic spirit, political unity, better

⁴⁶ Suetonius, *Augustus*, 28, 3; cf. Dio, LVI, 30, 3-4 ("of clay" and "of stone"). For details on Augustan building cf. Chapter Seventeen, Sec. II.

⁴⁷ *Res Gestae*, III, 15; IV, 22-23. He gave largesses usually to 250,000 and once to 320,000 city plebs.

⁴⁸ *Res Gestae*, IV, 20, and C.I.L., VI, 1244.

government, and loyalty to the régime in Italy. The peninsula was divided into eleven administrative regions, possibly for census and taxation purposes and to give the leaders in the Italian municipalities some voice in the choice of Roman magistrates. The earlier organizations of boys and youth were also revived under the patronage of the princeps to inspire patriotism for the new order, as we have seen. Even art was enlisted in the cause, for personifications of Augustan Italy and Rome were included in the larger design connected with the *Ara Pacis*. Thus were government, religion, art, literature, and the education of youth all enlisted in the effort to develop a new sense of civic responsibility, loyalty, and patriotic pride in the mission of Augustan Rome and Italy as the bearers of Latin culture to the West.

VII. PUBLIC FINANCE UNDER AUGUSTUS

The power of Augustus as princeps directly depended upon his control of imperial finances. But in order to preserve some semblance of constitutionalism, he was obliged to assume this authority, which had been the senate's most jealously guarded prerogative, slowly and by his usual indirection, taking advantage of events as they arose. The utterly chaotic condition of Roman public finance at the close of the civil war, without budget, funds, income, efficient or just methods of tax distribution and collection, or scientific census records, furnished him his opportunity. In contrast to the senate, he had enormous wealth as Caesar's heir and as the practical owner of the rich resources of Egypt, a fact which goes far to account for his actual power and accomplishments.

The old senatorial treasury (*aerarium Saturni*) was temporarily bankrupt and had little hope of regaining its old status. With the direct control of the less-developed provinces, Augustus took over a large share of the imperial revenues and tribute. But with an appearance of beneficence, he turned over the older provinces and their revenues to the senate and repeatedly subsidized its treasury with large amounts from his personal income,⁴⁹ by which he was increasingly able to control it. He first had the senate entrust the administration of the treasury to two ex-praetors appointed by itself, but after 22 B.C. there was a change to two praetors selected by lot. Thus began the decline of the senatorial state treasury in importance, until it was finally merged in the imperial treasury three centuries later. The separate treasury established for his imperial provinces gradually increased in relative importance to the *aerarium Saturni* until, a generation after Augustus, it became the chief treasury, the *fiscus*.⁵⁰

In 5 A.D., to meet the difficult problem of financing the army, Augustus established, by a personal grant of 170,000,000 sesterces, a separate military treasury (*aerarium militare*),⁵¹ to which other sums were added as occasion arose. Later he supplemented its income by a five per cent tax on all inheritances except to

⁴⁹ *Res Gestae*, III, 17, to the sum of 150,000,000 sesterces. Cf. Pls. X and XI.

⁵⁰ The name signifies "basket," in which money was commonly carried. The *fiscus* must be clearly distinguished from the private patrimony of the princeps.

⁵¹ Dio, LV, 25, 1-2; *Res Gestae*, III, 17.

near relatives and very poor legatees, and finally by a sales tax. The military treasury was managed by three ex-praetors chosen by lot for a term of three years. Of course, the actual control, as in the case of the other treasuries, was in his hands.

Distinct from these three treasuries was the private fortune of the princeps (*patrimonium Caesaris*), which was constantly increased by gifts and inheritances and through the expansion of his imperial jurisdiction until it is said to have amounted to 1,400,000,000 sesterces.⁵² This was administered by imperial slaves and freedmen who were exclusively responsible to Augustus.

The necessary expenditures of the Augustan state were for the army, the grain largesses and shows for the proletariat, public religion, public works, and police and fire protection. The treasuries furnished nothing for education or health, and little for civil service. The chief expense was for the maintenance, pay, and final pensions of the soldiers. This was an enormous drain, and a new and most difficult problem, since under the Republic much of the cost was gained through plunder, which was no longer permitted. The grain dole and other largesses to the urban plebs were a heavy drain on the senatorial treasury during the régime of Augustus, though he aided repeatedly by lavish gifts of his own.⁵³ The public shows were in the hands of the praetors, with the stipulation that they should not spend more than three times the appropriation from the treasury. Though the magistrates doubtless paid more than the state for such public entertainments, the drain on the treasury was by no means light. Public religion was partly supported by its own special lands and income, but it also entailed a large state expense. The vast projects of building and repair of temples, however, were financed largely by Augustus himself. The expense for roads, a large item under the Republic, was not now so burdensome, since it was financed largely by grants from Augustus and other wealthy Romans.

As to public revenues, its chief source in modern states, the property tax, was entirely lacking for Roman citizens, most of whom, indeed, paid no direct tax at all. The public domain, which had been a large source of revenue when the Republic was expanding, also meant little under the Empire, especially as a large part of such revenue from provincial lands was diverted by Augustus from the senatorial to the imperial treasury by his division of the provinces. The outstanding direct source of income was still the provincial tribute (land and head).

The most significant change made by Augustus in the tax system was his new emphasis upon indirect taxation to tap new sources of revenue and require Romans and Italians to bear some share of the burden. The only indirect tax previously paid by citizens was the five per cent on manumission of slaves. He increased the *portoria*, or customs taxes, and divided the Empire into eight or nine districts, imposing a tax of two and one-half to five per cent on goods that passed the boundaries to or from Rome. Other revenues, chiefly for the military treasury, were the five per cent inheritance tax, a sales tax, a two to four per cent tax on the sale of slaves, the five per cent tax on manumissions, and

⁵² Suetonius, *Augustus*, CI, 3. Cf. Dio, LIV, 29; 35, on gifts and inheritances.

⁵³ *Res Gestae*, IV, 22.

the income from fines and confiscations resulting from the Augustan marriage laws.

Augustus also did much to stop the loopholes through tax reform by periodic imperial censuses of people and property, probably throughout the Empire,⁵⁴ and by bringing the tax-companies for collection of the tribute under more direct control. In the collection of *portoria* and other indirect taxes also, a similar attempt was made to eliminate private exploitation and to centralize control, in the interest of fairness and efficiency. Until 15 B.C. Augustus shared the right of coinage with the senate, but, thereafter, the latter could issue only bronze. Though some copper and silver were coined in the provinces, minting was largely centralized at Rome. As a result, imperial coinage was better standardized than under the Republic, by which a new impetus was given to world trade. Thus in public finance as in other fields of administration, the princeps sought to abolish injustice and corruption, insure efficient and responsible service, and develop a more just and productive tax system whereby Rome and Italy should be required to contribute some share to the cost of imperial government.

VIII. THE COMMERCIAL POLICY OF AUGUSTUS

We have seen that the Roman Republic had no special commercial policy for the encouragement or regulation of national trade. This was still largely true under Augustus. There was now less need of intervention, since world peace had cleared the channels of trade, and the opening of vast new lands in the West and North greatly stimulated commercial expansion and made Italy the unrivaled commercial center of the whole Mediterranean world. By freeing the land communications of banditry and the seas of piracy, and by his imperial monetary policy and encouragement of the Latinization and urbanization of the West, however, Augustus did much indirectly to stimulate trade. The resulting economic prosperity of Italy is seen in its rapid urbanization and in the many buildings erected in the Italian towns during this period. Italian industry thrived as never before. Skilled craftsmen came from the East to ply their arts in the world center, and new factories arose, which exported red-glazed pottery, Capuan metal products, lamps, and Campanian blown glass throughout the Mediterranean world. An expedition was sent to Arabia to secure control of the trade routes to the Far East, which, though failing in its main purpose, secured ports on the Red Sea.

⁵⁴ On this problem, cf. Chapter Sixteen, Sec. II, 3.

Chapter Sixteen

THE PRINCIPATE OF AUGUSTUS; THE ARMY, THE PROVINCES, AND FOREIGN EXPANSION

I. THE AUGUSTAN REORGANIZATION OF THE ARMY

No department of the Roman state had been in greater need of reform than its military force. The Republic had possessed no real national standing army, but only a series of temporary armies to meet crises, loyal only to their generals. The burden of military service rested too largely on Italy, since Roman exploitation of the provincial subjects made it dangerous to arm them. Republican Rome had no adequate provision for regular pay of soldiers and for rewards at the end of their service, except the privilege of booty and the high-handed arrangements of their generals.

Augustus at once undertook the task with characteristic thoroughness, effecting needed reforms that lasted for two centuries and, in some respects, until the end of the Western Empire. Contrary to his indirect and gradual procedure in securing constitutional and financial supremacy, he frankly assumed full control of the army from the first. On his return to Rome, he laid down his military authority with his other unconstitutional powers, but retained the title *imperator*, and the senate, recognizing it as the only alternative to renewed civil war, immediately handed back his *imperium* as commander-in-chief of the army. He did not use his supreme command to establish a military dictatorship, however, or to make the army supreme in the state, but to guard the frontiers of the Empire and stop individual attacks on orderly government.

So huge an army as the 500,000 under arms at the close of the civil war was no longer needed and was difficult to finance, since under the new peace he could not permit plunder or exploitation. On the other hand, it was difficult and dangerous to discharge too many all at once, since lands could not be secured, and the soldiers might organize against him. By two great retirements in 30 and 14 B.C., therefore, he reduced the number of legions to twenty-eight,¹ or twenty-five after the losses of Varus in 9 A.D. If the twenty-five legions were at full strength, the legionary army at the death of Augustus numbered about 150,000, in addition to a contingent of cavalry for each legion. The retired veterans were settled in twenty-eight Italian municipalities and colonized in nine provinces on lands which he boasts to have purchased.²

Since it was no longer possible to recruit a citizen conscript army from the

¹ Mommsen's figure of only eighteen legions in 8 B.C. can no longer be accepted. Cf. H. M. Parker, *The Roman Legions*, Oxford, 1928, pp. 88-90; *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. X, p. 223.

² *Res Gestae*, I, 3; III, 16; Dio, LI, 4, 5; paying 600,000,000 sesterces in Italy and 260,000,000 in the provinces. Since he is recorded as having retired 300,000, the other 50,000 must have died in service.

Italian yeomen, Augustus, therefore, established a permanent standing army of volunteer professionals, bringing the movement begun by Marius to a climax. He established specific conditions of entrance, definite terms of service, regular pay, and rewards at retirement. His extensive use of provincials as auxiliary soldiers in the army doubled his forces, helped relieve the burden on Italy, and created a new bond of imperial patriotism for Rome in the provinces. In most of these reforms, Augustus may well have owed much to his adoptive father. For Caesar's Gallic legions were largely professional, not political. They had a permanent character with a certain *esprit de corps*, and included large contingents from the provincials of Cisalpine and Transalpine Gaul, and German and Gallic cavalry. They were also entirely under his control and were provided for by him on retirement.

After the Augustan reform the Roman army was organized as follows. The regular legionary troops were Roman citizens or provincials who received citizenship on enlistment. Their term of service was twenty years, and in addition to their daily wage of 10 *asses*, or 225 denarii a year, they received 3,000 denarii and a land allotment in the provinces on retirement.³ The Auxiliaries, about equal in number to the legionary troops, took the place of the Italian allies of the Republic. They were chosen from the most warlike of the provincials and were divided into cohorts of 480 or 960 each, and *alae* of cavalry, each with a prefect. At the close of their twenty-five years of service, they were rewarded with full citizenship. This innovation of Augustus enabled Rome to make full use of its provincial resources and made its subjects feel that they were an integral part of the Roman state.

The Praetorian Guard, composed of 9,000 citizen soldiers from Italy, which were divided into nine cohorts, served for only sixteen years and received on retirement 5,000 denarii (\$1,000). They were headed by two praetorian prefects of the equestrian class, which indicates the decreasing emphasis upon birth for high position under the Empire. Kept just outside the city, they provided for Augustus in Italy an imperial bodyguard corresponding to the small force which the great generals of the Republic were accustomed to retain for personal protection. In the later history of the Empire, the praetorians were often to prove anything but a bodyguard for the princes. In addition, Augustus established six urban cohorts as a city police, who received lower pay, served for twenty years, and were headed by a prefect of the city of consular rank. After 6 A.D. the military cost was met, as we have seen, by the establishment of a special military treasury to which Augustus donated 170,000,000 sesterces, supplemented by a five per cent tax on legacies and one per cent on sales. The problem, however, was always a pressing one, and the pension system broke down in the next reign.

Following the precedent of Julius, Augustus established *legati*, senators of praetorian rank directly responsible to him, as commanders of the legion, instead of military tribunes, who now became merely administrative officials. Since the *legati* were not usually professional soldiers, but would-be magistrates, their appointment meant the continuance of the unfortunate Republican

³ From the daily wage they must furnish their own uniforms, bed, and perhaps board, but were able to save some, which was deposited in a special military savings bank.

connection of the civil magistrate with military commands. Their lack of technical military training was compensated for, however, by the centurions, or captains, who acted as their advisers, and represented the real trained core of the army.

The navy now became a much more important and permanent part of the national defense than under the Republic. Augustus had learned its value in the civil wars and, hence, did not disband it. He kept permanent fleets at Misenum and Ravenna, and one for a time at Forum Julii in Narbonese Gaul. The ships were manned by personal slaves and officered by imperial freedmen.⁴ The stationing of a permanent fleet in Italian waters and the separation of the military from the naval command were innovations of Augustus. The chief function of the navy was not to be an aggressive fighting force, but to protect Rome and Italy against piracy and the interruption of the grain supply. It was also an important additional support to the princeps because of its peculiar dependence upon him. In his military reorganization as in his entire policy, Augustus placed the chief emphasis upon Italy as supreme over the provinces. Yet his extensive use of provincials, with the grant of full citizenship on retirement, and his settlement of many veteran colonies in the provinces were factors in the eventual Romanization of the provinces and their advance toward equality with Italy.

On the whole, the rewards of Augustus for long military service were too meager and external. Neither the pay nor the discipline nor the conditions of service were satisfactory. The problem of financing a sufficiently large and effective military machine was one of his greatest difficulties, which neither he nor his successors ever solved, and their failure was to be a significant factor in the final breakdown of the Empire. Perhaps the Empire had the resources to meet the problem successfully had they not been squandered on less important projects,⁵ but it was never properly solved. As a result, the army, undisciplined and underpaid, was always dissatisfied and was a constant threat to orderly government. Augustus also failed in his effort to separate the army from politics. This was the other chief military problem which, never satisfactorily solved, led to civil war and finally to absolute military monarchy and disintegration of the Empire.

II. THE AUGUSTAN REORGANIZATION OF PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT: THE PROVINCES TO 14 A.D.; FOREIGN POLICY, FRONTIERS, AND EXPANSION

The interest of the ancient Roman historians was chiefly centered on the capital, the imperial court, and the personality of the emperors, to the neglect of the empire as a whole. Until the epochal work of Mommsen on the Roman provinces, therefore, modern historians of the Roman Empire largely followed the same false emphasis. Since then, the vast amount of detailed investigation

⁴ Free provincials were later substituted, a further step toward Romanization of the provinces.

⁵ Cf. A. D. Winspear, *Augustus and the Reconstruction of Roman Government and Society*, University of Wisconsin Press, 1935, pp. 131 f., who estimates the annual cost of twenty-eight legions and the Praetorian Guard at about 300,000,000 sesterces.

has wrought a distinct shift of interest from imperial biography to world history, and from the city of Rome and its court gossip to the provinces and municipalities of the far-flung Empire. We must now turn, therefore, from our consideration of Italy and Rome under Augustus to his reorganization of the provinces, since here, as in Rome and Italy, he did much to determine the trend of the next three centuries.

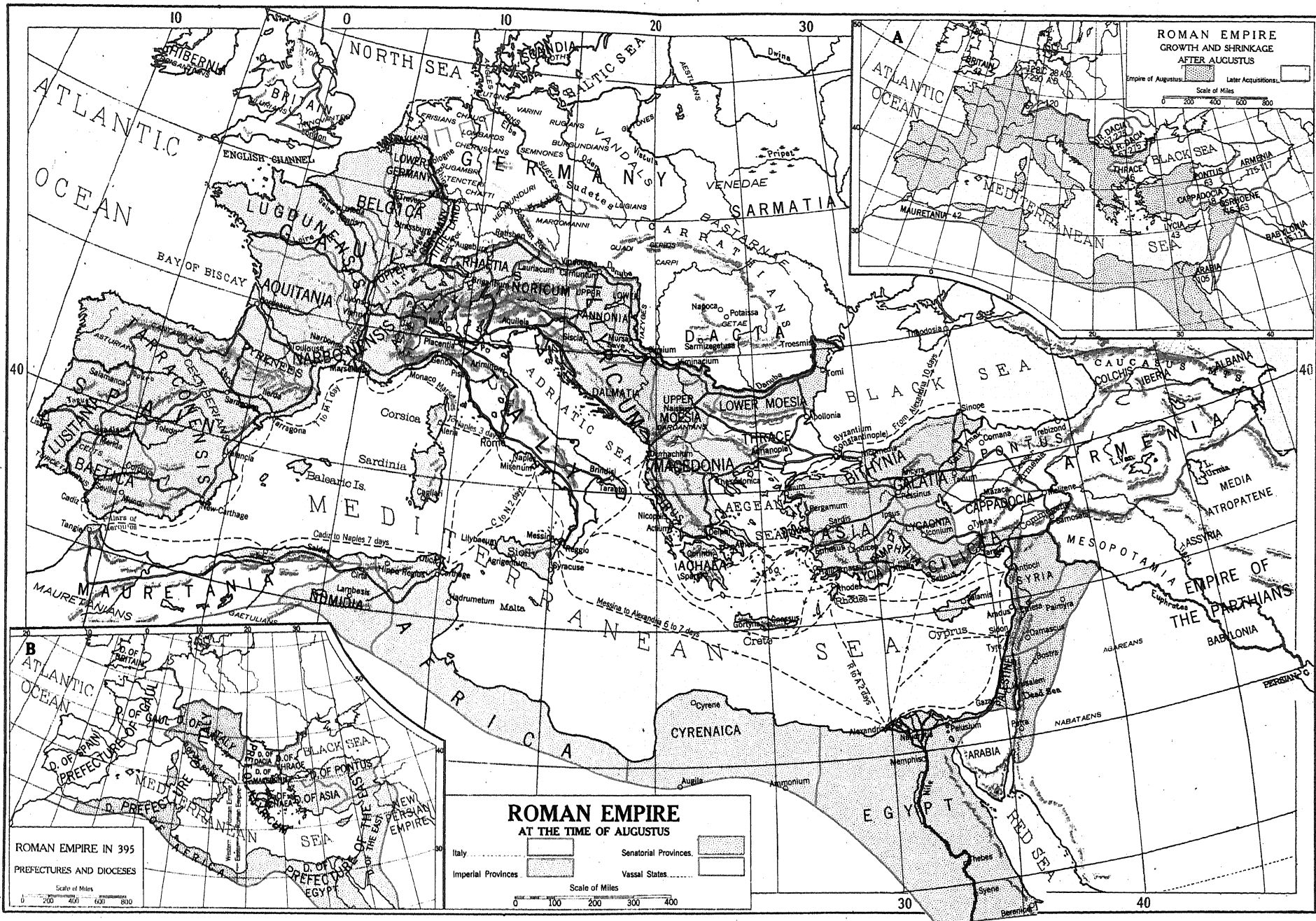
I. GENERAL AIMS, PRINCIPLES, AND POLICIES OF AUGUSTUS IN PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT

With Julius Caesar, as we have seen, began a distinctly new and constructive attitude of Rome toward her provincial subjects, which was continued and developed by Augustus. He visited all the provinces, except two, and his enlightened government resulted in a new era of prosperity for them and a new spirit of provincial loyalty to Rome. The Julian dream of a homogeneous empire of equally privileged subjects, however, was far too radical for his conservative successor, who centered his attention rather upon fostering Italian patriotism for his new régime.

Though he continued extensive overseas colonization, it was not on so grand a scale as was that of Julius. The colonists were veterans rather than poor citizens, the purpose was primarily military and for defense of the frontiers, and colonization was limited largely to the West. He was also more conservative about grants of citizenship, preferring to keep the dominance and financial advantage for Italy and to reserve the offer of Roman citizenship as a final reward for military service. During his entire rule the total increase in Roman citizens was less than 900,000 for the whole Empire, which would account for little more than the natural growth in population. Unlike Julius, who extended citizenship to the whole of Cisalpine Gaul while it still remained a province and who even planned to enfranchise all Sicily, Augustus was reluctant to extend the franchise to provincial communities. By the close of his reign, only fifteen out of sixty-eight such communities in Sicily had a privileged status. Yet Augustus had a distinct interest in the welfare of his provincial subjects, carrying further the Julian reforms to make taxation more equitable and less irregular and arbitrary.⁶

As in Rome and Italy, so in provincial administration Augustus divided the responsibility with the senate. In general, he assumed complete control of frontier provinces, such as Gaul, Hither Spain, and Syria, that required extensive military forces, leaving the more settled ones to the senate. The original division was not final, for changes were repeatedly made as occasion arose. In 23 B.C. he turned over Narbonese Gaul to the senate, since rapid colonization had made it seem "a part of Italy." Soon after, Baetica in Spain was added. In exchange he took over Illyricum because of its warlike hinterland and, later, Sardinia. Southern Greece was constituted a new province under the senate. As new frontier provinces were added, they became imperial, and the general trend was toward decreasing the number under the senate. The principle of division on the basis of need of legions was by no means rigid.

⁶ *Res Gestae*, II, 8.



As commander-in-chief of all military forces, Augustus had actual control over all the provinces, in the last analysis, and his legions were freely used even in senatorial provinces, if occasion demanded. The so-called *maius imperium* implied in his proconsular authority, granted in 23 B.C., gave him complete military and civil authority in his own provinces and probably the right of supervision or interference in the senatorial provinces.⁷ The recently discovered seven Augustan inscriptions of Cyrene have proven beyond a doubt his actual drastic interference by imperial edicts in the municipal affairs of a senatorial province, and have made the old alleged rigid division of powers in the provinces seem largely unreal.⁸ The tacit control of Augustus over the senatorial provinces also appears in his gradual encroachment on the senate's free allotment by limiting the number of candidates and practically nominating them. Even the proconsul's choice of quaestors and legates was subject to his approval. Above all, the right of petition or appeal of subjects to him in any province against an unjust governor in cases of extortion and the actual condemnation of the accused by Augustus, as in Asia, proves that the so-called senatorial control of the provinces was distinctly limited and subject to the strict oversight of the governors by the princeps.

While Augustus was a supreme magistrate theoretically under law in Italy, in the provinces he was, as *imperator*, the supreme military chief, and administered the imperial provinces through his own appointed *legati*, who were directly responsible to him. To insure efficiency, there was no rigid limitation on the term of service. In Egypt, the patrimony of the princeps, the governor was an equestrian prefect, who, however, commanded a legionary force. The administrators in newly conquered lands were also of equestrian rank, though they commanded only auxiliary troops. The *legati* were very carefully chosen by Augustus and were usually men of great military and civil ability. Their long term familiarized them with the local conditions and problems, and because of the strict control, fixed salaries, and outlook for an eminent career, they had more to gain by efficient and just government than by graft. Augustus did not tolerate misgovernment and kept regular tabs on them through frequent reports, aided by his new imperial post system. As a result, even settled senatorial provinces such as Achaia and Macedonia were later glad to be transferred to the emperor.

2. THE PROVINCIAL MUNICIPALITIES

At the time of Augustus the Roman Empire, in all its more settled parts, was an empire of city-states. The old Greek tradition of the city-state with local autonomy persisted even within the Hellenistic empires and was continued by Rome. Augustus also wisely retained the early Republican fiction of an alliance of city-states under the leadership of Rome, thereby producing a

⁷ Cf. *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. X, pp. 211 f.; Hammond, *The Augustan Principate*, Harvard University Press, 1933, pp. 34 ff., 54 ff., on the whole problem of the *maius imperium*, in opposition to McFayden's arguments for its limited authority. Cf. Dio, LIV, 7, on Augustus' interference in the senatorial provinces of Sicily, Achaia, Asia, and Bithynia.

⁸ Cf. J. G. Anderson, "The Augustan Inscription from Cyrene," *Journal of Roman Studies*, XVII, 1927.

good balance between centralized government and local control. Thus the whole imperial order was based on a system of more or less self-governing communities in which the local magistrates served as the intermediaries for the Roman state in taxation and internal provincial administration.

Since the Empire was the product of a gradual evolution, the provincial communities were of a variety of different types, distinguished by their relative degree of freedom and their relation to Rome. The great majority, in the time of Augustus, had no special privileges. They were tributary communities (*stipendiariae*) in which most of the land was Roman public domain, rented to the inhabitants for a *tributum*, or *stipendium*. The chief types of specially privileged city-states, which collected their own taxes for Rome and owned their land, were as follows: (1) A limited number of free communities, whose freedom was either permanently guaranteed by treaty (*civitates liberae et foederatae*), or held at the pleasure of Rome (*sine foedere*). These were theoretically free from the control of the provincial governor, but they were actually subject to his interference, and their form of government tended toward the Roman type. (2) *Coloniae* were new settlements of Roman citizens, which, in the Augustan Age, were mostly military and veteran colonies, a few of which enjoyed partial or entire immunity from taxes. (3) *Municipia* were originally independent states which were later granted a charter conferring either full Roman or only Latin rights. Since many of the old *municipia* had attained full Roman rights, the distinction between *colonia* and *municipium* gradually disappeared. All types of communities were, of course, subject to general imperial jurisdiction and taxation, unless specifically exempted, but even the non-autonomous cities had a degree of local self-government. On the borders of the Empire also were vassal kingdoms under native client princes who were used by Rome to hold the frontier. This was, however, merely a temporary, personal relationship, and by agreement the kingdom was usually incorporated into the Roman Empire as a province at the king's death.

The general tendency in the history of the Empire was for the city-states to increase in number and for all to be reduced to a uniform status. Augustus definitely encouraged this tendency by increasing the autonomy of subject states, limiting that of the free communities and constituting client kingdoms as provinces. Though doing all to encourage the municipalization of the West, like the East, he was careful to respect the tribal traditions of the provincials. The municipalities had their own local government of elected officials under a *cursus honorum*, a senate of 100 *decuriones*, and an assembly. The existence of these municipal organizations throughout the Empire was an immeasurable aid to Rome in the creation of imperial administrative machinery. The Roman provincial governors and legates had only to adapt the already existing system to imperial needs and supervise it. A considerable part of the imperial taxes was levied and collected by the municipalities themselves. Each municipality had its local treasury, *arcana publica*, though there was little in the way of municipal taxes, since local expenses were met by income from municipal lands, monopolies, fines, inheritances, and gifts and liturgies by magistrates and well-to-do citizens. State slaves did the menial work. The chief local expenses were for public works, baths, shows, festivals, religion, including the imperial cult,

and grain distribution. The cost of embassies to Rome and the imperial post (*cursus publicus*), established by Augustus, were added burdens.

An important means of uniting the many separate towns or tribal groups in a province, and of inspiring them with a common loyalty to the Empire and its emperor, was the provincial *concilium*. Its counterpart in the Greek East for cultivating common religious and racial interests was the *Koiná*, which Rome had previously suppressed as politically dangerous, but had later permitted to continue for purely religious purposes. Augustus shrewdly used these institutions as centers for celebration of the imperial cult of Roma and Augustus. He actively encouraged the creation of the *concilia*, composed of delegates from the municipal councils or tribal groups, in the barbarian West for the same purpose, such as the *concilium* of the three Gauls which met annually at Lyons to celebrate his cult. The *concilia* served as a medium for communication with Rome, through laudatory decrees to the emperor or the governor, or complaints and appeals to the emperor or senate for redress against provincial misgovernment.⁹ A special embassy carried the eulogy or complaint of the *concilium* to Rome. The *concilia*, however, were not recognized as a regular part of the machinery of provincial government.

3. THE PROVINCIAL TAX SYSTEM UNDER AUGUSTUS

The chief direct taxes on provincials and the primary sources of Roman revenue were the *tributum soli*, a fixed assessment on land paid either in money or in kind, and the *tributum capitis*, an income tax on businessmen which varied in rate according to the wealth of the province, sometimes being only a poll tax. Provincials were also subject to all the indirect levies above described for citizens,¹⁰ besides bearing the often heavy cost of embassies, *concilia*, the imperial cult, and the imperial post. Probably no regular revenues came from the client kingdoms. Other imperial income came from the private patrimony of the princeps and the leased mines, forests, and pastures in the provinces owned by either the imperial *fiscus* or the emperor. Aside from paying the cost of provincial administration, the lion's share of even the direct taxes probably found its way to the Roman treasuries.

Besides making imperial taxation more just and efficient, Augustus sought to check evasion and exactions by a general census of all taxable wealth and population in the Empire with the record of age for military service.¹¹ The *Breviarum imperii*,¹² which Tiberius had read before the senate after Augustus' death, was probably based on such a census. It listed the resources of the Empire, population of citizens and allies under arms, the fleets, client kingdoms,

⁹ Augustus forbade such eulogies of a governor during his term of office, and until sixty days thereafter.

¹⁰ For these taxes, cf. above, Chapter Fifteen, Sec. VII.

¹¹ *Res Gestae*, II, 8. St. Luke's reference II, 1, our sole authority for a general census (*oikouménēn*, inhabited world), implies a later date. For this and other reasons, many historians have followed Mommsen in doubting a census of the whole Empire. But the reasons for questioning Luke seem insufficient, and only a general census could have fulfilled his purpose to gain a list of all taxable wealth and all persons subject to military service in the Empire. The *Breviarum* also could hardly have been based on less than a general census, and Suetonius, *Augustus*, 101, says *Breviarum totius imperii*, a record of the whole Empire. Cf. H. Stuart Jones in *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. X, pp. 192 f., and A. D. Winspear, *op. cit.*, pp. 162 f.

¹² Tacitus, *Annals*, I, 11; Suetonius, *Augustus*, 101; Dio, LVI, 33

imperial expenses, direct and indirect taxes, and other revenues. Thus Augustus had developed a type of imperial budget by which exactions and irregular expenditures could be checked, and the whole system of public finance placed on a more scientific basis.

To what extent Augustus reorganized the method of tax collection in the provinces is impossible to answer dogmatically in view of the very meager data. Without doubt, he undertook by all feasible means to free the provinces from the crying abuses and extortions of the Republican system that had drained them dry without filling the treasury. But the old system of graft by the tax-companies was too strongly entrenched to be uprooted at once, especially by a man of compromise who sought to conciliate the senate. Probably, however, he gradually abolished the tax-companies for the collection of direct taxes in his imperial provinces and kept a stern check on the rest, thereby initiating a policy which led to the complete abolition of farming the direct taxes at some time during the first century. The problem of indirect taxes is still more difficult, but the collection of the *portoria* seems to have remained long in the hands of the tax-companies, though thoroughly supervised by imperial officials. The careful choice of provincial governors and imperial officials, the close check on them by Augustus, and the new machinery for bringing complaints through the provincial *concilia* and for the swift condemnation of extortion also did much to end the old injustices in tax collection. In the whole matter of taxation, therefore, the Augustan Principate was a distinct advantage both to the provincials and to the Roman treasuries.¹³

4. ROADS AND COMMUNICATIONS: THE IMPERIAL POST

In his great development of roads and communications as in his creation of an imperial civil service, Augustus aimed to gain more effective supervision of all the details of imperial administration and to establish a more direct connection between governors and governed. This in itself is a sufficient evidence of his initiative and achievements. In 20 B.C. the *Cura Viarum* was transferred to his authority, and he established a board of senators of praetorian rank as curators of the roads in Italy. Under his inspiration an intensive program of road building was also begun in the provinces, especially the newly conquered ones, until from the golden milestone in Rome, a network of highways extended into all parts of the Empire. Milestones and inscriptions and other evidence from this period bear witness to active road building in Africa, north-western Spain, southern Spain between Baetica and the North, Gaul, Raetia, Moesia, and Thrace. In Gaul, Agrippa developed four great trunk lines from Lugdunum to Aquitania, the Rhine, the North Ocean, and down the Rhone. A road was planned in recently conquered Raetia from northern Italy to the Danube.

The Augustan *pax Romana*, which brought prosperity and order to Italy and the Empire, and curbed the plague of piracy on the sea, enormously stimu-

¹³ For a recent study of the Augustan system of tax collection, cf. A. D. Winspear, *op. cit.*, pp. 164-167. Two outstanding authorities on Roman imperial taxation are Th. Mommsen and M. I. Rostovtzeff.

lated the expansion of trade over far larger areas than ever before. Trade routes were extended, bringing more direct contact with remote lands even in the Far East, eliminating middlemen, introducing new demands and products, and aiding Romanization. But the facility for such intercommunication was markedly increased by the new Augustan roads policed by colonies and garrisons at strategic points, to secure military control and more efficient supervision of the provinces.¹⁴

The latter purpose was more specifically realized by the imperial post, established by Augustus for the rapid communication of official dispatches and reports between Rome and the provinces. Posting-stations were placed at intervals of from five to ten miles along the great trunk highways, where relays of horses and couriers (imperial slaves) were secured. A usual day's journey was from five to eight stations, or about fifty miles. The use of the imperial post was strictly controlled by *diplomata*, special permits for the bearer to be transported at public expense. Such permits were issued only for official business and were rarely used even by senators. As we have seen, the cost of maintenance of horses at the provincial stations was a heavy expense to the municipalities, and the post was probably, on the whole, a burden rather than a benefit to the provincials, despite its aid to more efficient and just government.

5. PROVINCES AND CLIENT KINGDOMS UNDER AUGUSTUS

After his victory at Actium in 31 B.C., Augustus remained in the East for two years to end Antony's arrangements with the vassal princes and reorganize Rome's Asiatic empire. Some years later (22-19 B.C.) he visited Greece and the East, giving personal attention to its resettlement. At the beginning of his principate Rome had only three provinces in Asia Minor, Asia, Bithynia, and East Cilicia. Much of the interior of Bithynia was ruled by Amyntas, a client king, until his death in 25 B.C., when the whole was divided into two Roman provinces, Pamphylia and Galatia, the latter including Pisidia and Lycaonia. Augustus settled numerous colonies in central Asia Minor, which was now rapidly Romanized, and enjoyed a new prosperity, as the extensive remains of roads, cities, buildings, and public works attest. He also promoted provincial *concilia* in Asia Minor for his cult, and temples to him were authorized at Pergamum and Nicomedia. Pontus,¹⁵ part of Cilicia, and numerous Greek city-states on the Black Sea were still ruled by client kings under Rome, and Lycia continued as a loose federation of cities. Armenia, though theoretically a client kingdom under Rome, was Parthian rather than Roman in culture. Its actual connection with Rome constantly shifted, depending upon the relations between Rome and Parthia. It is about the only important example where Rome's policy of establishing client kingdoms as buffer states on the frontiers proved dangerous and unsuccessful. In general, this policy was one of the shrewdest elements in Roman statesmanship both in the Republic and Empire. Theo-

¹⁴ Cf. M. P. Charlesworth, *Trade Routes and Commerce of the Roman Empire*, 2d ed., Cambridge, 1926; *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. X, index on *Viae* and Roads.

¹⁵ Pontus, a narrow strip on the south coast of the Black Sea, had been united with Bithynia as a Roman province by Pompey in 65 B.C., but Antony gave to Polemo a part of this as a client kingdom. Cf. map opposite p. 334.

retically they had full sovereignty in their own kingdom, except in foreign affairs, but actually Augustus kept strict supervision over them.

In the East Parthia alone was a match for Rome. The Parthians, like their predecessors, the Persians, were largely Iranian in race, language, religion, and culture, and ruled a compact national state of 1,200,000 square miles in the Tigris-Euphrates Valley and the Iranian Plateau. Augustus had won a boasted diplomatic victory over their king in 20 B.C., recovering the lost Roman standards without a battle,¹⁶ whereby Armenia again was left to Rome's suzerainty for a time. But he did not undertake to conquer the country. Thus the Parthian boundary on the northern Euphrates remained one of Rome's most dangerous frontiers.

Herein consisted the great strategic importance of Syria to hold the Euphrates frontier against Parthian attack. For this reason Augustus retained it as an imperial province, keeping four legions there commanded by one of his most experienced and trusted *legati*. Because of the danger, not only from Parthians, but from the attacks of hill tribes, the legions were stationed inland instead of on the boundary, as was the usual practice. In the Syrian towns, such as Tyre, Laodicea, Berytus, Byblus, and Apamea, were very prosperous linen and silk industries, and city life was brilliant and luxurious. Antioch, the capital, was not an industrial but a "pleasure city" and rich commercial center, famous for its abundant water supply, lighted streets, fine buildings, and gardens. Syria had been thoroughly Hellenized and colonized by the Seleucid kings. But the older Aramaic element lived on by the side of the Greek, as is evident from the double names of persons and places in the New Testament. The only Augustan settlement was Berytus.

Judaea to the south had become a client kingdom under Antipater after the capture of Jerusalem by Pompey in 63 B.C. Under the efficient and prosperous rule of his son, Herod the Great, the realm was much enlarged. He magnificently restored the Jewish temple¹⁷ and sought in other ways to conciliate the Jews. But his attempt to deprive the Jewish high priest of his power, his imitation of Hellenistic religion and culture, and his friendliness to Rome greatly antagonized his stricter nationalistic subjects.¹⁸ His death in 4 B.C. was followed by a period of confusion and misgovernment, resulting in the final establishment of Judaea as an imperial province in 6 A.D. under a procurator of equestrian rank.

In accord with their policy of aiding the small nations, the Romans of the Republic had frequently shown favor to the Jews since their conflict with Antiochus IV in 167 B.C. Augustus was especially careful to respect their religious and national traditions, even sending to the high priest gifts for the temple. When Judaea was made a province, he tactfully avoided using Roman legions there, but substituted 3,000 local troops of Syrian Greeks, while the few Roman soldiers in Jerusalem were careful to leave their "idolatrous"

¹⁶ *Res Gestae*, V, 29; Horace, *Odes*, IV, 15, 7; Virgil, *Aeneid*, VII, 606. Coins were struck representing a triumphal arch, and Augustus receiving the standards from the Parthian king.

¹⁷ The same of whose destruction Jesus warned, Matt. 24: 1-2.

¹⁸ He built a Greek theatre and a Roman amphitheatre, and introduced Greek games and Roman fights of the arena. He also built the city of Caesarea as a port of Jerusalem, and Sebaste where Samaria once stood.

standards at Caesarea. The Jews were exempt from military service and enjoyed local self-government through their high priest and religious council, the Sanhedrin, which had full civil and criminal jurisdiction, except in capital cases. Any injustice of Romans against them was met with condign punishment. They were allowed to issue their own coinage in the name of the emperor, but without his image, for local use and for payment of temple tribute. But all this Roman indulgence won only the Herodians and the small minority of well-to-do and Hellenized Jews, while the masses, ever inflamed by zealots, remained unconciliated.

Southeast of the province of Syria, extending from Damascus along the east boundary of Palestine to include northern Arabia, was the client kingdom of the Arab Nabataean kings. Their rich capital at Petra,¹⁹ the chief station for Indian commerce on the main trade route between Arabia and Gaza, was a truly Arab city, little touched by Greek influence. Damascus and the northern part of the Nabataean realm, however, had been quite thoroughly Hellenized through Syria.

Crete and Cyrene enjoyed peace and prosperity as a senatorial province. Cyprus also was turned over to the senate in 22 B.C., but its large population of Jews caused frequent strife with the Greek inhabitants.

Macedonia, including Thessaly, probably Epirus, and part of western Greece, but not the south, was a senatorial province with its capital at Thessalonica, where the chief *concilium* met. Greek civilization had never penetrated far into the highlands of the Macedonian interior, and few Greek towns existed there. Augustus planted many veteran colonies both there and in western Greece, often on earlier Greek sites, but not primarily for Romanization purposes. With the conquest of the northern tribes to the Danube, Macedonia ceased to be a frontier province.

All central Greece and the Peloponnesus, including many of the Greek islands, were now constituted as the senatorial province of Achaëa, governed by a proconsul with the capital at Corinth. But several of the chief cities, such as Athens, Delphi, and Sparta, enjoyed a free *civitas* status. Athens retained the right of coinage and was even permitted to hold extensive island dependencies, and Sparta was granted all Laconia.²⁰ Near Actium, Augustus founded Nicopolis (Victoria), a free colony of native Greeks, and on the promontory he built a temple to Apollo and established the Actian games in commemoration of his victory. He encouraged a sense of national unity among the Greeks, reviving and enlarging the Achaean League and reorganizing the Delphic Amphictyony to include Nicopolis and Macedon. But all the sentimental favor shown to the Greek cities by Augustus and his successors was now of little avail. The naturally poor country, drained of its resources and robbed of its morale by the generals and exploiters of the Republic, never recovered its old prosperity.

¹⁹ On Petra and other Nabataean cities, cf. Chapters Twenty-three, Sec. II, 2, and Twenty-four, Sec. V, 2.

²⁰ Patrae (Patras) was a Roman colony, as was also Corinth, which had been rebuilt by Julius Caesar.

Egypt was appropriated by Augustus as his own patrimony,²¹ as we have seen, and was governed directly by a prefect of lower equestrian rank with proconsular power, who commanded three legions and was responsible only to the emperor. No senator or even knight of the highest class was permitted to set foot in Egypt, except by the emperor's permission. Augustus had good reason for this special treatment of the country, since it furnished one-third of Rome's grain supply and a large part of his revenue,²² controlled the Far Eastern trade routes, and was so isolated by desert and sea as to form a dangerous stronghold for a rebellious general.²³ Contrary to his usual policy, Augustus did not encourage the development of city life or local self-government in Egypt. Everything was done to crush all vestige of national feeling, and the economic system and policy of strict repression of the native population under the earlier Ptolemies were revised under Roman rule. The peasant cultivators, constituting over nine-tenths of the population of about 7,500,000, were practically serfs and paid far heavier grain and produce taxes than under the Ptolemies, besides a poll tax, which was mercilessly exacted by the imperial collectors.²⁴ Extensive lands that had fallen under private ownership, including temple lands, were appropriated by Augustus, and the priests subsidized. Most of the industrial monopolies of the Ptolemies were probably abolished to stimulate trade, and much was done to restore the decadent agriculture and industry to its old prosperity under the earlier Ptolemies.²⁵

A whole administrative bureaucracy of knights and freedmen was developed under the prefect, a vice-prefect (*juridicus*), and a procurator of finances (*idilogus*). The agricultural villages were divided into nomes, each administered by a *strategos*, whose duty it was to exact the whole pound of flesh from the wretched fellahin. At the heart of each nome was its agricultural center, the "metropolis," but lacking all the usual rights of *municipia*. A census was taken every four years to insure that no one escaped the imperial tax-machine, which was nowhere as terribly efficient as in Egypt. While Egyptians were excluded from Roman citizenship, the Greek settlers were subject only to the same conditions as were all provincials and were admitted to both legionary and auxiliary forces. The large Jewish population in Alexandria constituted a grave problem, since there were frequent racial outbreaks between them and the Greeks. Though permitted to have their own Sanhedrin, they lacked the privileges of the Greeks and were subject to the hated poll tax like the native Egyptians. Alexandria was a cosmopolitan city of about half a million inhabitants, second only to Rome, the financial heart of Egypt and world mart on the chief trade routes from East to West, the center of learn-

²¹ For the sources on economic conditions in Roman Egypt, cf. Allan C. Johnson, *Economic Survey of Rome* (ed. T. Frank), Vol. II, *Roman Egypt*, pp. 719 ff.

²² Probably well over 75,000,000 Attic drachmas (\$13,500,000) or 300,000,000 drachmas in the debased currency of Egypt in the time of Augustus. This is exclusive of the tribute in kind. Augustus had exacted probably 250,000,000 Roman denarii (\$50,000,000) after his conquest. The tribute in kind (grain) amounted to 20,000,000 *modii* (less than 5,000,000 bushels) annually at the beginning of the reign of Augustus and was later increased. Rome gave little in return, except a measure of peace. Cf. A. C. Johnson, *op. cit.*, pp. 481-488 for full data.

²³ An example of the stern watch of Augustus over his prefects is the fate of Cornelius Gallus.

²⁴ A. C. Johnson, *op. cit.*, Pref. p. v, estimates it under Augustus as "fourfold" that exacted by the earlier Ptolemies.

²⁵ A. C. Johnson, *op. cit.*, Pref. p. v, and pp. 11, 325 ff., 486, 636.

ing, philosophies, and religions, famous for its library, Museum, Temple of Sarapis, and royal palace.²⁶ Its Jewish, Greek, and Christian scholars were to play a major part in the development of philosophy and religion during the next five centuries.

Unlike all other parts of the Empire, Egypt reaped no advantage from the new era in provincial administration. The old Ptolemaic system of ruthless exploitation of the native masses continued, only with more deadly thoroughness. The tribute was a steady drain and was not spent in the country as under the Ptolemies. Augustus and his early successors increased production, and Egypt under the earlier Empire was by no means exhausted. But with the later decrease in administrative efficiency, the prosperity of the country steadily declined.²⁷

No part of Arabia was yet included in the Roman Empire. In 25 B.C. Augustus sent a force of 10,000 men from Egypt to Arabia Felix (Yemen in southwestern Arabia) under Aetius Gallus to secure control of the trade routes and open direct commerce with India. The expedition failed, but gained access for Roman traders to some of the Red Sea ports. An Ethiopian invasion of Egypt was later punished by Roman penetration nearly to the Ethiopian capital of Meroë, but Augustus was satisfied to retain the old Egyptian frontier at the first cataract.

Africa, which included Numidia after 25 B.C., was the only senatorial province in which the governor was entrusted with legionary troops. These were necessary to check the raids of desert tribes and to carry on extensive irrigation and building projects. The province was quite thoroughly Romanized through veteran colonization and trade, though the Punic language never died out. Africa enjoyed a new prosperity under the Principate. It was still one of the chief granaries of Rome and exported also fruit, wine, and purple dyes. Carthage, restored as a colony by Julius Caesar, was the chief city of the province, but Utica, which enjoyed a *civitas* status, Hadrumetum, Leptis Magna, and Thugga were also important. West of the province of Africa were the two client kingdoms of Mauretania, set up by Augustus in 25 B.C., ruled by the cultured Juba, whose wife was the daughter of Antony and Cleopatra. Their son, Ptolemy, succeeded to the throne, ruling until 40 A.D.

In the thickly populated Hellenic East Rome could make little headway toward Romanization, but merely aided in the extension of Greek civilization. In the barbarian West, however, she had a more virgin field, and it is in the civilizing and Latinizing of the West that the momentous significance of Roman imperialism for the future of Western culture especially appears.

Spain was reorganized into three provinces by Augustus about 25 B.C. Baetica, which according to the contemporary geographer, Strabo, was so thoroughly Romanized as to have actually forgotten its native language, was assigned to the senate. It included such important towns as Gades (Cadiz), Corduba (Cordova), and Hispalis (Seville). Tarraconensis, comprising over half of the peninsula, and Lusitania in the West were made imperial provinces under legates. Owing to repeated rebellions of the wild tribes of north-

²⁶ A surviving reminder of Augustan Alexandria is Cleopatra's Obelisk now standing in New York and known as Cleopatra's Needle.

²⁷ Cf. A. C. Johnson, *op. cit.*, pp. 353 f.

western Spain, Augustus was obliged to keep three legions in the peninsula. Because of its minerals, its extensive exports of wine, grain, and oil, and especially its supply of auxiliary troops, Spain was one of the most valuable sections of the Empire. No network of Roman roads existed there, however, such as was developed in Gaul.

Sicily shared with the rest of the Empire the recovery in prosperity resulting from the Augustan peace, and continued to be an important source of Roman grain. Sardinia and Corsica, which were at first assigned to the senate, were transferred to Augustus in 6 A.D., since they had become resorts for pirates.

Transalpine Gaul was now so thoroughly Romanized as to seem almost a part of Italy, though retaining its old Celtic religion. Augustus reorganized it on the municipal, instead of the old tribal, basis and assigned it to the senate as Gallia Narbonensis. The more recently conquered Gallia Comata was as yet far from being Romanized and required the presence of strong legions as much to curb rebellion as to guard the Rhine frontier against German invasion. A strong national spirit, centering in the religion of the Druids, long persisted.

Augustus made a thorough reorganization, dividing it into three imperial provinces, Aquitania, Lugdunensis, and Belgica, which were under one governor until 17 A.D. The old system of sixty-four cantons, each with a village capital as the administrative center, was retained. Many of these gradually developed into important towns, but the strength of Gallic tribal feeling is revealed in the persistence of the old tribal place names in the modern, as Paris (Parisii), Bourges (Bituriges), Amiens (Ambiani), and Rheims (Remi). The central town, Lugdunum, at the junction of the great trunk roads of Agrippa, was granted Roman citizenship and the right to coin gold. Here, at the political and commercial capital of the three Gauls, met annually the great Gallic *concilium*, with delegates from the sixty-four Gallic cantons to celebrate the imperial cult at the altar of Roma and Augustus. Though its purpose was primarily religious, it stimulated national unity and served as a means of giving expression to complaints, petitions, or eulogies through embassies to Rome. The census of 27 B.C. reveals the importance of Gaul to Rome for its rich lands and auxiliary recruits.

III. FOREIGN EXPANSION

I. THE NORTHERN FRONTIER AND ROMAN EXPANSION TO THE DANUBE

Augustus was primarily a man of peace and had little interest in further aggressive expansion in itself. But he saw the necessity of a strong natural frontier to the north in order to protect Italy from barbarian invaders.²⁸ The result was the conquest and formation of a series of new provinces extending the Roman boundary to the Danube. The maritime Alpine districts were completely subjugated and placed under imperial prefects by 14 B.C. The country

²⁸ The long list of provinces won under Augustus may seem to belie this statement, but cf. the following narrative for evidence. Cf. map opposite p. 334.

of the Raetians, which includes eastern Switzerland, the Tyrol, and parts of Bavaria and Austria, was conquered by Drusus and Tiberius and became the imperial province of Raetia under a procurator in 15 B.C. His administrative center was Augusta Vindelicorum (Augsburg). A monument, *Tropaeum Alpium*, was set up near the site of modern Monaco in 7 B.C., on the base of which were inscribed the names of forty-six conquered Alpine tribes.²⁹ To the East was the land of the Noricans, rich in minerals, including modern Styria, Carinthia, and most of Austria. Their invasion of Istria to the south led to their conquest by Tiberius and Drusus in 16 B.C., and Noricum was made a procuratorial province. Here Romanization proceeded much more rapidly than in the Alpine districts, and numerous thriving towns developed.

Illyricum (modern Yugoslavia) had never been thoroughly conquered under the Republic, and pirates found easy resort there. But soon after Octavian's sweeping campaign in 35 B.C., the country was subdued, and a thorough attempt at Romanization began. The more important coast towns were made Italian communities, and a number of new colonies were established. Illyricum, as the province of Dalmatia,³⁰ was assigned to the senate in 27 B.C., but was later transferred to Augustus. The Pannonians continued their incursions, but were finally subdued by Agrippa and Tiberius, thus pushing the Illyrian conquest to the Danube. Pannonia became an imperial province in 10 B.C., but Tiberius and Germanicus were obliged to face a series of alarming revolts there between 6 and 14 A.D. due to oppressive taxation.

The remaining territory south of the Danube was Moesia and Thrace, including roughly modern Bulgaria, old Serbia, part of Rumania, European Turkey, and the northern Greek coast. The tribes of Moesia and Thrace had long threatened the Macedonian frontier. Both countries were subdued by 29 B.C., but were ruled through client kings and were not organized as Roman provinces until considerably after Augustus.

The conquest of these new lands from the Alps to the Euxine was a military necessity if Roman civilization and power were to be secure. By it Augustus had gained a defensible northern frontier and had postponed for centuries the menace of barbarian attack. Also, though it was probably not a part of his deliberate policy, he had secured control of the valuable trade route along the Danube to Constantinople and the East.

2. THE GERMAN FRONTIER

Rome already possessed a natural German boundary in the Rhine, won by Julius Caesar, but it was her most dangerous frontier. Invading German hordes had made raids into Gaul in 29 and 16 B.C., even defeating a Roman army. If Gaul was to be pacified and secure, it seemed that Augustus must undertake an aggressive campaign against the Germans in their original haunts.³¹ The conquest of Germany to the Elbe would greatly shorten the

²⁹ Horace, *Odes*, IV, 4, 17; 14, 9 and 14, echoes these campaigns.

³⁰ The old term "Illyricum" was used to include Pannonia and Dalmatia, and sometimes also Moesia and Noricum.

³¹ The Germans, whom Caesar describes in his *Gallie Wars*, VI, 21-28, were already in process of transition from a nomadic to a settled life.

frontier to be defended and connect the northern forces much more effectively with the Danube.

Tiberius, who began the campaign, was succeeded in 12 B.C. by his brother, the brilliant young Drusus, than whom no man could have been better fitted for the task. Handsome, brave, a born leader, of bold initiative, worshiped by his soldiers, a master of strategy, he struck straight at the issue, to make the Elbe (Albis), instead of the Rhine, the Roman frontier and accomplish in Germany what Julius Caesar had done in Gaul. Having easily conquered the Batavians on the lower Rhine by the aid of a navy on the North Sea, he fought his way to the Ems (Amisia) and thence to the Weser (Visurgis), making a circuit back to the Rhine, where he built five ports on the present sites of Bonn, Bingen, Mainz, Strassburg, and Worms. In 9 B.C. he made another campaign, penetrating to the Elbe, and set up a trophy there. But his ambitious plans for a conquered Germany were cut short by a fatal fall from his horse when they seemed on the point of realization. While still under thirty, he had gone far toward the conquest of Germany. If he had lived to complete it, as in all probability he would have done, his accomplishment might well have been permanent, since in that case the later disaster of Varus would hardly have happened.

Tiberius took over the command of Drusus with full proconsular power over the three Gauls and command of the armies of the Rhine. He continued the conquest with marked success, and might have completed the task had he not retired in disgust to Rhodes in 7 B.C., apparently because of his failure to win the confidence of Augustus. During the next decade the successors of Drusus made little headway, though rebellions were quelled and a road was built between the Rhine and the Ems. With the restoration of Tiberius to imperial favor in 4 A.D., he again assumed the command in Germany. Within two years he had pacified the rebellious tribes between the Weser and the Elbe,³² and by the aid of a fleet reached the lands to the north of its mouth. He had therefore repeated on a larger scale what Drusus had accomplished eighteen years previous. Tiberius now planned to conquer the powerful Marcomanni, so as to win continuous control between the Elbe and the Danube. Their remarkable leader, Maroboduus, had established a strong state in the regions of modern Czechoslovakia, with a formidable army thoroughly trained in Roman tactics. He wished to be an independent ally rather than an enemy of Rome, but Rome's whole policy was aimed at securing a continuous frontier from the Elbe to the Danube. It was, therefore, only a question of time before they should clash. Tiberius planned a union of the Rhine army with his own from Illyricum against Maroboduus. With double the troops of the enemy, and led by a commander of the experience and ability of Tiberius, the campaign might well have succeeded had not events again intervened. Alarming revolts in Pannonia and Dalmatia demanded the presence of Tiberius with his legions for the next three years, and the Rhine army hastily returned to protect its boundary. This would have been the opportunity for Maroboduus, but fortunately for Rome he preferred to maintain his neutrality.

³² Among these were the Langobardi, who centuries later conquered much of Italy and gave their name to the northern part, as Lombardy.

In this critical situation Augustus made the mistake of appointing his distant relative by marriage, Publius Quinctilius Varus, to the command in Germany. Varus is a glaring evidence that the old Republican inefficiency and corruption had not been entirely eliminated. He had no experience in active warfare, to say nothing of frontier fighting. As governor of Syria, he had made a fortune and fondly supposed he could use the same highhanded methods with the spirited barbarians, utterly blind to the actual dangers. Outraged by his tactless insolence, the German chieftains, led by Arminius, who had won knight-status by service in the Roman army, secretly plotted an attack and defeated him in the dense Teutoburg forest near modern Osnabrück. Three Roman legions, the Seventeenth, Eighteenth, and Nineteenth, were entirely wiped out with the loss of 20,000 men, and Varus, unable to face the disgrace, committed suicide.

This was the greatest disaster ever suffered by Roman arms since Cannae, not excepting the defeat of Crassus at Carrhae. Rome could ill afford to lose her legions, but still more serious was the possible effect on Germany and Gaul. The tribes beyond the Rhine started a general revolt, but the Rhine forces and fortifications held Gaul and the Rhine frontier secure. Fortunately also Maroboduus persisted in his neutrality, despite the incitement of Arminius, who sent to him the head of Varus. Panic ensued in Rome, and the state had to use threats to secure enlistments, even resorting to levies on retired veterans and freedmen. Augustus was stunned by the terrible disaster, from which he never recovered. All the splendid work of Drusus and Tiberius had been undone, and the hope of securing a defensible frontier on the Elbe shattered. He had no heart, at his age, to attempt to recover the prestige of Roman arms in Germany. The lost legions were never replaced in the Roman army, and, until his death, the Roman policy against Germany was merely defensive. Each anniversary of the defeat, he put on mourning, and his repeated wail was, "Quinctilius Varus, give me back my legions!"³³ A new offensive was undertaken by Germanicus in the next reign, but Germany was never recovered.

The historic significance of the defeat of Varus has usually been stressed as momentous in its consequences. For if Rome had held the Elbe and had pressed on to the Vistula, the natural frontier of Europe, she would have had a western boundary of only 800, instead of 3,000, miles to guard, and Germany might have been permanently Romanized. But the task of conquering Germany was far greater than the conquest of Gaul, since the primitive Germans were more warlike and were not organized into towns, nor could the undeveloped country pay for its conquest. It is also a grave question whether Rome could have permanently held and Romanized so vast a territory of undeveloped peoples, even if temporarily conquered. That conquest was by no means impossible, however, is evident from the brilliant work of Drusus and Tiberius, had not death and the Pannonian revolt intervened. In any event, had Germany been permanently conquered and Romanized, and had the bounds of the Empire been pushed to the Elbe and the North Sea,

³³ Suetonius, *Augustus*, 23; Dio, LVI, 23. He makes no mention of the disaster in his *Res Gestae*.

it is clear that the whole future political and cultural history of Europe would have been different.³⁴

At the death of Augustus in 14 A.D., eight legions were stationed on the Rhine, seven on the Danube, three each in Spain, Egypt, and Syria, and one in Africa. The Empire then extended from the Atlantic to the North Euphrates and the Syrian Desert, and from the Sahara to the English Channel, the Rhine, and the Danube.³⁵ The degree of Romanization varied greatly. In Greece and those parts of the East most thoroughly Hellenized, Roman influence was very largely limited to the political administration. In the barbarian West, on the other hand, where Rome had a virgin field, she undertook a program of thorough Romanization.

The great problem of Augustus and his successors, which was never adequately solved, was how to raise and maintain a sufficient army to hold so vast an empire. It caused Augustus, who was not a general, to grow ever more conservative about expansion, especially after the Varus disaster. His last advice to Tiberius not to seek further expansion³⁶ became, with few exceptions, the traditional policy of his successors.

IV. THE PROBLEM OF SUCCESSION

In theory, the princeps received his supreme authority by grant of the senate and the Roman people, and he was no king, despite his actual absolute power. He could not, therefore, legally transmit his delegated power to a successor by heredity. Augustus realized full well, however, that to leave the question of the succession open to ambitious rivals would mean a recrudescence of civil war. His own experience also, as adopted son and heir of Julius Caesar, had taught him to seek his heir in his own household. He therefore purposed to found a dynasty and met the legal problem in his usual way, by indirection, depending upon the established Roman tradition of family solidarity. His chosen candidate was practically assured of acceptance in advance by adoption and association with him as junior consort through the grant of proconsular *imperium* and tribunician power. Thus here, as elsewhere, he

³⁴ To speculate seriously on what might have been the chief differences is by no means a futile intellectual activity, but a valuable exercise in historical imagination, and furnishes a needed corrective to the prevalent notion of an absolute determinism in history.

³⁵ See map opposite p. 334 for the Empire in the time of Augustus.

³⁶ Cf. above, p. 337, on the *Breviarium totius imperii*, or chart of the Empire left by Augustus, and his advice to Tiberius, Dio, LVI, 33; Tacitus, *Annals*, I, 1. The list of provinces and client states in 14 A.D. was as follows:

The newly conquered provinces added under Augustus were the Maritime Alps, Raetia, Noricum, Pannonia, Dalmatia, possibly Moesia (date uncertain), Galatia, and Egypt (the direct patrimony of the princeps). New imperial provinces, reorganized or added from client kingdoms, were Numidia (added to Africa), the three provinces made from Gallia Comata, Judaea (after 6 A.D.), and Pamphylia and Cilicia (separate after 25 B.C.). Of the senatorial provinces, Baetica, Spain, was reorganized, Cyprus and Achaia were made separate provinces, and Crete and Cyrene were united.

Client kingdoms were Cappadocia (until 17 A.D.), Mauretania (until 40 A.D.), Thrace (until 46 A.D.), and Armenia (only partially under Roman influence).

For a complete list and description of Roman provinces, cf. W. T. Arnold, *Roman Provincial Administration*, 3d ed., Oxford, 1914, pp. 266 ff. Cf. Th. Mommsen, *The Provinces of the Roman Empire*, 1885, still the only comprehensive analysis. Cf. map opposite p. 334 for the Roman Empire in 14 A.D.

established the basic principles of imperial succession which were normally followed during the next two centuries. In theory, the princeps nominated and the senate accepted, but the success of the method depended upon the coexistence of a strong emperor and an able heir in the direct line of succession. It therefore often failed and was superseded by irregular methods, plot, intrigue, and especially by military interference of either the praetorian cohorts or a provincial army. This lack of a uniform, legally established method of succession, and especially the growing dictation of the army in the settlement, was one of the gravest weaknesses of the Principate, which was never permanently solved and finally led to its breakdown in military absolutism.

The immediate problem of Augustus was to make sure of an efficient successor in his direct line, and to consummate this end he ruthlessly overrode all lesser individual or family loyalties or natural human feelings to consummate his aim. Despite his campaign against childlessness, his only issue from three marriages was Julia. He had two stepsons, Tiberius and Drusus, children of his third wife, Livia, by a previous marriage. But he felt little affection for Tiberius and desired to secure a successor in the direct line. His first choice was his nephew, son of his sister, Octavia, young M. Claudius Marcellus. In 25 B.C. he therefore married him to his daughter, Julia, and the next two years, though under age, he was admitted to the senate and the aedileship. But the popular idol died in 23 B.C., and his loss was universally mourned, as reflected in the noble lines of Virgil.³⁷ Augustus now turned to his loyal and efficient aid, Agrippa, who was forced to divorce his wife, Marcella, though the princeps' own niece, and marry Julia. He was granted the proconsular *imperium* and the tribunician power for five years, which powers were later reconferred. But he died in 12 B.C. to the great loss of Augustus and Rome, for it could confidently be predicted that he would have made a great emperor.

Agrippa was survived by three sons and two daughters of Julia. The two elder sons, Gaius and Lucius Caesar, had been adopted into the family of the princeps five years earlier, but they were still young, and the health of Augustus was precarious. He therefore turned temporarily to his eldest stepson, Tiberius, the victor over Noricum, as his best available successor, forcing him in 6 B.C. to divorce his wife, Vipsania, the daughter of Agrippa, to whom he was devoted, and marry Julia, who has well been dubbed "the supreme pawn in the imperial game."³⁸ He was entrusted with the important Illyricum campaign, being granted the proconsular *imperium* and tribunician power for five years. The real purpose of Augustus, however, was apparently to retain him merely as guardian for his two grandsons, Gaius and Lucius Caesar, who were slated as his direct heirs on their arrival at maturity. Tiberius, divining this and piqued at not being adopted, or else disgusted at the outrageous immoralities of Julia, retired morosely to Rhodes, to the great disappointment and anger of Augustus. Unfortunately, his other stepson, Drusus, the brilliant young conqueror of Germany, had died in 9 B.C. Another blow to his hopes

³⁷ *Aeneid*, vi, 860-886.

³⁸ A. D. Winspear, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

was the notorious profligacy of his daughter, Julia, whom he, as the champion of moral reform, was finally forced to banish to the rocky isle of Pandataria.³⁹ Among her numerous lovers to feel the wrath of Augustus was the love elegist Ovid, whose *Ars Amatoria* may have shocked the sense of public decency, even of the high society of Augustan Rome. To his exile in far-off, barbarous Tomi on the Euxine we owe his *Tristia*.

The two grandsons of Augustus, Gaius and Lucius Caesar, who had assumed the garb of manhood in 5 and 2 B.C., were now groomed for the succession. But Lucius died of a fever in 2 A.D., and Gaius, two years later, from a wound received when on a mission in Armenia. The only recourse of Augustus was now to accept Tiberius, who, though recognized as capable, was not in direct line of descent and had never found favor with him. Through the influence of Livia he had been permitted to return to Rome. In 4 A.D. he was finally adopted by Augustus and granted the tribunician power for ten years. But though he had a son, he was forced to adopt his nephew, Germanicus, the son of Drusus, who was married to Agrippina, a younger daughter of Agrippa and Julia. The year before his death, Augustus had the tribunician power of Tiberius renewed for life and made him his colleague in the *imperium* over the whole Empire. Thus he had finally laid a basis for regular nomination of a successor by the princeps through adoption and association with himself in the rule.

V. THE PERSONALITY AND ACHIEVEMENT OF AUGUSTUS

The last years of Augustus were darkened by chronic illness, the disaster in Germany, the untimely death of his two grandsons, Lucius and Gaius Caesar, and the scandalous conduct of his daughter and granddaughter. Yet he kept an alert mind and a firm hand on the government to the last. In his last year he undertook his third imperial census and lived to complete it. Accompanying Tiberius on his journey to Illyricum as far as Beneventum, he fell ill on his return and died at Nola on the nineteenth of August, 14 A.D., at the age of seventy-five. According to Suetonius, his last moments were brightened by a clear mind and a sense of humor. Calling for a mirror, he had his person prepared for death and asked his friends whether he had played his role well.⁴⁰ After elaborate funeral honors and a public eulogy by Tiberius,⁴¹ his ashes were placed in the family mausoleum, built by himself, where already reposed the remains of Marcellus, Octavia, his two grandsons, and his great friend, Agrippa.⁴² Soon afterward, as we have seen, he was voted divine honors and a temple by the senate, and Tiberius had read in its presence his will with

³⁹ Her eldest daughter, Julia, was later exiled for the same offense. Augustus never forgave either and stipulated that they should not have place in the family mausoleum.

⁴⁰ *Augustus*, 99.

⁴¹ Dio, LVI, 35-42. The entire speech, while eulogistic, is worth reading as an evidence of what could be said publicly of Augustus with some assurance of acceptance.

⁴² Here in the Augusteum reposed the remains of all the Roman emperors until Hadrian. The shell of the building still survives and was used as a concert hall until 1936. The tomb inscriptions of Octavia and Marcellus were recently found in excavations at the Augusteum.

advice to his successors,⁴³ his statistical summary of the Empire (*Breviarum totius imperii*), and his *Res Gestae*, or account of his public career, which was to be inscribed on brass pillars outside his mausoleum.

The personality of Augustus presents a baffling problem, both because of its strangely contrasted qualities and the lack of authentic data. Malicious scandal, scurrilous backstairs gossip, or rhetorical eulogy are the chief stock in trade of the ancient historians on him. Our sure knowledge of either his actual physical qualities or his real inner life is therefore strikingly meager. He was handicapped from youth until his death by a frail constitution and was subject to repeated illnesses, which prevented him from becoming a great soldier. Though short of stature, he was well proportioned, and his portrait statues reveal a man of dignity, intellectuality, and purpose. Suetonius calls him "unusually handsome and exceedingly graceful," but his catalogue of the great man's ailments hardly comports with such a statement.⁴⁴

Mentally, he was a man of great administrative ability and political acumen, though not a creative genius. He was devoted to liberal studies from his youth, and his sincere enthusiasm for Greek literature, art, and thought did much to make the Golden Age of Latin literature possible. His style was simple and direct, but he was never an adept at either public speech or writing. It was his habit to use a manuscript even in his more important conversations with Livia, lest he should say either too little or too much.⁴⁵ Like many cultivated men of his day, he dabbled in philosophy, epigram, epic, and tragedy, but, with more humor and sense than some of his successors, he reserved his effusions for private consumption.⁴⁶

An analysis of his moral qualities is especially difficult because of the contrast between his earlier and later life, as well as the conflict in the ancient data. During the civil wars he was the incarnation of cold-blooded cruelty and cynical self-seeking. He brutally denied burial to his fallen foes with a scoff, pursued his revenge against Caesar's enemies to the bitter end, and joined hands with Antony in one of the most bloody proscriptions of all history, culminating in the brutal murder of the aged Cicero. Yet in his principate he was deservedly famed as the paragon of clemency, even permitting the most outrageous language about himself. Was this a mere pose for effect? It seems more probable that victory and the vast responsibility of a world empire wrought a genuine change in him. His spirit of revenge and self-seeking gave place to a sincere desire to save the state. He was man enough to rise to his responsibility and to bear his great fortune with dignity and humanity.

Like most of the public men of his own and the previous generation, he was persistently accused of gross sex irregularities, both in his youth and in later life,⁴⁷ most of which may be rejected as the scandal of enemies. His moral life as princeps was probably considerably better, and certainly no worse, than that of his class. Though often revealing a cynical disregard for marriage, his own married life with Livia seems to have been marked by

⁴³ For the terms of the will, cf. Suetonius, *Augustus*, 101, and Dio, LVI, 32. Though the bulk of his fortune was left to Livia and Tiberius, the Roman people and the soldiers were not forgotten.

⁴⁴ *Augustus*, 79-82.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 85.

⁴⁵ Suetonius, *Augustus*, 84.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 68-71.

genuine affection. The utterly conflicting pictures of Livia in the ancient accounts make a judgment of Augustus difficult.⁴⁸ She is either a puritanical Roman matron of the old school, simple, efficient, and generous, or an unprincipled court plotter who would not stop at any cruelty or treachery to consummate her ends. Perhaps she was both.

The testimony is unanimous that Augustus, despite his lofty position, lived simply and temperately and was a hater of all ostentation and affectation in life or speech.⁴⁹ In any fair estimate of his character, also, we must not overlook his unflinching tact, his ability to inspire abiding loyalty in his friends, his courageous conquering of his physical infirmities, his untiring industry, and his single-minded devotion to the service and welfare of the state for a period of over forty years. Like most of his class, despite the vogue of Greek rationalism in Rome, he was strongly affected by omens, dreams, and prodigies, and had a mystical attitude to his fortune.⁵⁰ It is, therefore, not at all impossible that such a man in such an environment and lofty position may even have entertained some belief in his own divinity.

The real Augustus, however, is best revealed in his achievement, his masterly reconstruction of the Roman state, which work persisted in outline for three centuries or longer. He has been truly called "the architect of the Roman Empire," for it was largely his creation. He was one of the world's greatest political organizers and administrators. In view of our previous analysis, this achievement needs no further elaboration here. That he could so thoroughly reorganize the whole imperial structure with so little friction, and with such abiding results, is a mark of statesmanship of a high order. His establishment of internal peace and security on sea and land, and his over forty years of just and efficient government of a vast empire, stamps him as vastly more than the diplomatic hypocrite whom Tacitus and some modern historians have portrayed. His reorganization of Roman provincial administration was so thoroughly done that the provinces continued to enjoy good government even under such successors as the mad Caligula or the monster, Nero.

While his *Res Gestae* is not free from insincerity and egotism, it is certainly a remarkably reserved statement. His real services to the Roman state were vastly more far-reaching and permanently significant than his bare summary reveals.⁵¹ He lacked the full cosmopolitan vision of Julius Caesar, but he did more than any other Roman to abolish the old vicious distinction between a ruling, parasitic Rome, and an empire of exploited provinces. Henceforth, the provinces were to be wisely administered, not looted. The Principate had its fatal weaknesses, as the future proved. It was too dependent on the person of the princeps, and its constitutionalism was essentially unreal. For as commander-in-chief of the imperial armies, the princeps was actually the master of the state, as all recognized. Yet the Augustan compromise gave to the world two centuries of peace, order, and good government, and at Augustus' death

⁴⁸ Cf. Suetonius, *Augustus*, 73; and Dio, LIV, 16; LV, 2. Cf. Tacitus, *Annals*, I, 6; 10.

⁴⁹ Suetonius, *Augustus*, 86; 72-77.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 90-93.

⁵¹ The alleged speech of Maecenas (Dio, LII, 14-40), though reflecting also conditions two centuries later in Dio's own day, would repay reading as remarkably expressive of the ideals and reforms of Augustus.

probably even most of the senators could accept the general tenor of the funeral eulogy of Tiberius, culminating in the words:

It was for all this, therefore, that you, with good reason, made him your leader and a father of the people, that you honored him with many marks of esteem and with ever so many consulships, and that you finally made him a demi-god and declared him to be immortal.⁵²

The noble sculptures of the *Ara Pacis*⁵³ are truly symbolic of his abiding achievement as one of the greatest statesmen and public servants of the Roman state. Unfortunately, the new era meant, for Rome and Italy, a barter of liberty for security, but for the millions of imperial subjects who had no liberty to lose it was a boon. The feeling of the provincials for Augustus is truly expressed in the sincere tribute of the Greek sailors at Puteoli, that it was "through him that they lived, sailed the seas, and enjoyed their liberty and their fortunes."⁵⁴

VI. THE BIRTH OF JESUS AND THE NEW CHRONOLOGY

In our account of the principate of Augustus, we have found it necessary to cross the chronological line from B.C. to A.D. With his régime began not only a new political era for the Roman world, but a new Christian era for all future Western civilization. For when the autocratic Octavian was founding his new Empire, revered as Augustus and *deus*, another king to be was born, named Jesus, who was also later to be worshiped as divine and to extend his rule over the Roman Empire and far beyond. In contrast to his aristocratic contemporary, he was born in an insignificant village, of obscure peasant parents, from a most hated race, in the most despised part of the Empire, and according to tradition, not in a home, but in a stable. Yet his Christian church was destined to enter into the heritage of the Roman Empire itself and later dominate the Western world, so that it would even reckon its chronology from his birth.⁵⁵

The exact date of his birth is unknown, since the data are incomplete and indefinite, and our present reckoning was not worked out until the sixth century by an abbot, Dionysius Exiguus, who set the first year of the new era as the 754th of Rome. But the data prove that Dionysius erred in his reckoning, and that Jesus was born some years earlier, probably between 7 and 4 B.C., by our chronology.⁵⁶

⁵² Dio, LVI, 41, 9, *Loeb Classical Library* translation (E. Cary), by permission of the Harvard University Press.

⁵³ Erected 13-9 B.C. Cf. Chapter Seventeen, Sec. II, 1.

⁵⁴ Suetonius, *Augustus*, 98, 2, cited by F. E. Adcock in *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. X, p. 596.

⁵⁵ For an analysis of the life and work of Jesus in its social and intellectual setting, cf. Chapter Twenty, Sec. IV. Cf. Ch. Guignebert, *Jesus*, Knopf, 1935, pp. 90-96, for a critical discussion of the data as to his birthplace, favoring some village in Galilee, possibly Nazareth, rather than Bethlehem of Judaea. Jesus was a common Hebrew name, the same as Joshua, while *Christos* is the Greek for the Hebrew Messiah meaning the "anointed one." For other recent works on Jesus and his background, cf. Bibliography, F, 5.

⁵⁶ Cf. Vol. I, Chapter One, for a further reference to this problem of Christian era chronology.

Chapter Seventeen

THE AGE OF AUGUSTUS (27 B.C.-14 A.D.)

I. LITERATURE AND LEARNING

I. GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS

Like the Periclean and Elizabethan eras, the Augustan age was a time when the patriotic pride of the whole nation in its great achievement and cultural world mission found expression in a literature of outstanding genius. The soul of the new era was Augustus, its creator, without whom either the age or its noblest literature would be unthinkable. He had laid the material and spiritual basis for it in a new economic security and faith in the future. He had made a great poetry possible by furnishing a new inspiration and a generous patronage of genius. But above all that he did towered the masterful personality of Augustus himself, or rather the Virgilian legend of him as savior and superman, who inspired and shaped the culture of the age. Liberally educated, a man of broad humanism, refined tastes, and a genuine appreciation of literature, as well as a man of great deeds, he was the fitting sponsor for the Golden Age of Latin literature.¹

The very presence of this overshadowing personality and power of Augustus, however, detracted somewhat from the spontaneity of the literature. Its themes and emphases are too largely suggested from above. The decline of civic freedom was necessarily reflected in a literary gospel of submission to the miracle man. Open criticism was practically silenced. Literature must be less bold and original. Of Augustus, the "present god," and his régime, as of the dead, the rule was *nil nisi bonum*, "nothing except good."² With political liberty gone, oratory lost its *raison d'être*, and history must busy itself with the remote past, as Livy did, or, if contemporary, must be eulogistic and uncritical. Despite Livy's ardent Republicanism, however, his full accord with the reform spirit of the new era and patriotic pride in the greatness and civilizing mission of imperial Rome made a great history of the Republic possible. Under the broad humanism of Augustus, also, the blighting effects on poetry were not yet as marked as they were later, and the enthusiasm for the new order and its creator inspired such geniuses as Virgil and Horace to noble poetic flights. Though court poets, and writing partly at his suggestion, they were remarkably free. But as the greater geniuses died the enthusiasm for the new era waned, and the power of the princeps became less veiled under the morose and despotic successors of Augustus.

Before the age of copyright and printing, even a great literary genius could

¹ He was himself something of a poet, but he had the good judgment to destroy his effusions.

² Though Augustus was remarkably tolerant about what was said of him.

not hope to support himself by his writing. Men like Virgil and Horace, of small income, could never have found the leisure to become great poets, except for the generous patronage of Augustus and his rich and cultured minister, C. Maecenas, the Rockefeller of the Augustan age.³ Such patronage also accounts for the perfection and polish of much of their verse, for only through economic security and leisure could literature attain such urbanity, dignity, finish, and balance. Patronage had its unfortunate features, however, despite the tolerance of Augustus. It limited literary freedom and suggested themes. Virgil's two great poems were made to order, a condition which later became fatal with lesser geniuses under less humane patrons. Patronage also created a standard of moderation in expression and ideas, which Horace calls *aurea mediocritas*, "golden mean." Subsidized by wealth also, poetry rapidly became artificial. Though all the great Augustan writers were of the middle class from small Italian towns, they were essentially court poets and lost touch or sympathy with common life. Horace, however, shows some sympathy with the common people.⁴

The Augustan age represents the full maturity of the literary movement that was well advanced in the days of Cicero and was already beginning to decline before the death of its patron. It was pre-eminently an age of poetry. Prose had declined, for even Livy is far below Cicero. The outstanding writers were already mature men before Actium. Virgil was nearly forty, Horace five years younger, and Livy in his late twenties. Propertius and Tibullus were young men. Only Livy and Ovid survived Augustus, and then only by three or four years. The Augustan writers had no immediate successors.

In Augustan literature the cultivated Roman was Hellenized to the full extent of his capacity. The Alexandrian influence, almost at its height in Catullus, who prays the shades of Callimachus and Philetas to admit him to their groves, was still strong in Virgil and especially in the elegiac poets. The penchant for mythological erudition, pedantic parade of learning, antiquarianism, artificial polish, sentimental love, pretty conceits, and the didactic motive were all freely imitated by them. But Alexandrian influence was gradually waning, largely due to the political changes. All kinds of literature were attempted, and the tendency was back to the older Greek epic and lyric and the earlier Roman models. Virgil's chief teachers were Homer, Hesiod, and Ennius. Horace is the least Alexandrian of Augustan poets, preferring the older lyric models of Sappho, Alcaeus, and Anacreon. Didacticism was not limited to the Alexandrians. From Hesiod on, the Greeks had stressed the essential teaching function of the poet, the Romans, from Ennius and Cato to Lucretius, had found the idea especially native to the Roman mind, and the Augustan writers continued the tradition.

The antiquarian tendency was also not due to Alexandrian influence only. It was the outgrowth of a national patriotic interest in the early legends and

³ His urbanity and refined literary taste were typical of the best in the Augustan age. Other patrons, besides Augustus himself, were M. Vipsanius Agrippa, Virgil's friend, C. Asinius Pollio, orator, poet, historian, and M. Valerius Messalla, orator and antiquarian.

⁴ E.g., *Satires*, I, 6, 112 ff.

customs of Rome and Italy from the days of Ennius and Cato. This interest was now greatly stimulated by the Augustan policy of revival of interest in the old Italian cults and customs as a means of arousing national patriotism for his new era. This fondness for archaic words, old usages, and lines from the earlier poets is especially marked in Virgil and Propertius. To Virgil, however, it was no external matter, but a means of bringing out the spiritual meaning of the past for the present, which was the essence of his message. Livy, the historian, and Virgil were the two great antiquarians of the age, but in their hands the emphasis ceased to be a mere literary pedantry and was imbued with abiding and universal meaning. Even the frivolous Ovid finally turned to the antiquarian interest in his *Fasti*, which fact reveals how dominant was the literary fashion. Horace, however, avoided it, and Augustus despised it as affectation.

Despite the enthusiasm for the new era and the serious aims of such men as Augustus and Virgil, much of Augustan poetry, especially the love elegy, lacks purpose and reflects the ennui of a spoiled and pampered youth in a decadent society. An air of pessimism pervades it. Its only aim is a refined sensuality, and its only philosophy of life a degraded Epicureanism. The love elegists are interested chiefly in their petty selves, and the monotonous reiteration of their ephemeral passions in the most polished and perfected verse. The only element of universality in them is their artistic mastery of the Latin tongue. The Golden Age is past for them, as it is also for the serious Livy, and to a large extent for Horace, whose dominant note is *Carpe diem*, "Enjoy the day." Even in the greater writers, Virgil, Horace, and Livy, the emphasis upon finished literary form is often greater than upon richness of content. As a historian, Livy is more interested in style than he is in truth.

Augustan literature reflects the decline of reason and the growth of mystic romanticism, a tendency which Augustus, like contemporary dictators, did all to encourage.⁵ Dogmatic, absolute systems became more the vogue. Neo-Pythagoreanism, Stoicism, and religions from the Hellenistic Orient vied in popularity with the revived old Italian cults in popular interest. Stoicism lost its old primary civic and ethical emphasis and became a dogmatic religion with a full theology. Astrology, with its magic, fatalism, and doctrine of astral sympathy, was universally popular even with the educated classes including the skeptical Epicurean, Horace. In seeming contrast to such tendencies, intellectual interest, culture, and reading were never so extensive in Rome. The number of writers was legion, and the custom of public recitations of his poems by an author and public libraries, in imitation of Alexandria, was established by Asinius Pollio and Augustus.

On the whole, the Augustan age of literature was distinctly inferior to the Periclean and Elizabethan. It was far less creative and pregnant with great thought, more an artificial, hothouse product, less close to life, and more affected by the obsession for rhetoric and learning. Yet it by no means lacked the elements of greatness. Though based on Greek models, its finest products were genuinely creative, and sometimes outdid them. The work of the greater

⁵ Though he tried to curb the Oriental religions in the interest of Roman patriotism.

writers is ennobled by a sincere enthusiasm for the new era. Augustan literature has its sublime passages, and is, at its best, notable for its refined taste, appreciation of natural beauty, broad humanism, lightness of touch, beauty of diction, noble music, and perfect mastery of the Latin language. The rhetorical emphasis is also as yet not so obtrusive as it became later. Though the outstanding writers cannot stand with Homer, Sappho, Sophocles, or Thucydides, yet each in his own way has made himself deservedly immortal.⁶

2. PUBLIUS VIRGILIUS MARO (70-19 B.C.)

Virgil, the supreme poet of Roman literature, the prophet of the new age and the incarnation of its noblest ideals, was born of humble stock in a rural village near Mantua. He was intimately acquainted with woodcraft and all the activities of the Italian farmer. He knew and loved the birds, the natural beauty of the Italian countryside, and the simple happiness of rural life. Despite his humble origins, he was educated in literature, rhetoric and philosophy and was especially influenced by an Epicurean teacher. In the redistribution resulting from the civil war of 42 B.C., he lost his little farm, but regained it through the aid of Asinius Pollio, the governor of Cisalpine Gaul, who encouraged him to write his *Eclogues*, the first of which is an expression of appreciation to Octavian, his benefactor, who is henceforth to him "a god." In a second veteran settlement, the next year, he was again dispossessed, but was remunerated through the influence of Cornelius Gallus and Maecenas. Henceforth, he spent his life in close touch with Maecenas and the imperial circle at Rome and on an estate near Naples which he had received from Augustus. He was studious, shy, and retiring, deeply religious, of a sensitive nature, devoted to his art, indifferent to political freedom, a lover of nature, who always retained something of his rural awkwardness and preferred his country estate to the life of the capital and court. In his fifty-first year, after finishing his *Aeneid*, he went to Athens for philosophical study and leisure to revise his epic, but accepted an invitation from Augustus to return in his party to Rome. Already ill from the summer heat in southern Greece, he died soon after reaching Brundisium in 19 B.C. He was buried at Naples, leaving as his enduring monument his three undoubted masterpieces, the *Eclogues*, *Georgics*, and *Aeneid*.

The *Eclogues*, or *Bucolics*, written when the poet was about thirty, are ten idylls in close imitation of the Greek Theocritus, the master of pastoral.⁷ Eclogues 3, 5, 7, and 8 are in the form of competitive songs of herdsmen or goatherds, but unlike the best of Theocritus, they are essentially artificial songs for the sophisticated court. The poet and his friends of the imperial circle masquerade as shepherds, and the simple rural setting is a mere framework for them and their ideas. In view of the emphasis on amoebaeon, or competitive, songs which turned the attention from the unsophisticated countryside

⁶ For Horace's and especially Virgil's spontaneous enthusiasm for the new era, patriotic pride in Rome's imperial mission, sincere reverence for its prince, and sympathy with his policies, cf. the previous chapter.

⁷ For the best evaluation of Virgil's dependence upon Theocritus, cf. E. K. Rand, *The Magical Art of Virgil*, Harvard University Press, 1931. Cf. Pl. XI.

and unlettered shepherd to technical artistry, this tendency toward artificiality was inevitable. It had already appeared in some of the *Idylls* of Theocritus and was further developed in his Greek successors, Bion and Moschus. Virgil's artificial pastoral had its medieval and Renaissance imitators, the outstanding examples of which were the Elizabethans, Spenser and Sidney, and Milton in his *Lycidas*.

Despite their artificiality and close dependence on Theocritus, however, Virgil's *Eclogues* breathe a sincere love of the countryside and true appreciation of natural beauty. The charming diction and exquisite finish of their verse have deservedly won for them a high place in Roman literature. Even in these poems of his youth, he was far more than a mechanical copyist; he revealed his genius to distill from his Greek originals a truly national Roman poetry of high quality. The fifth eclogue, an apotheosis of Daphnis, was probably written for the first celebration of Julius Caesar's birthday after his death. The fourth eclogue, written in 40 B.C., after Philippi, prophesied in lofty, mystic language the advent of a child whose birth shall herald the "end of the age of war." Virgil may have had reference to the hope of a son from the recently married Antony and Octavia after the Peace of Brundisium.⁸ But because of its mystic and prophetic language, the poem had great vogue in the Middle Ages as a prophecy of the birth of Jesus.

The *Georgics*, a didactic poem, was suggested to Virgil by Maecenas to encourage agriculture and glorify Italy. The poet spent seven years in careful elaboration of his work, writing only a few lines a day, and finished it in time to read it to Octavian on his return to Italy in 29 B.C. Aside from satire, didactic poetry was the most native to Roman genius, and Virgil and Lucretius were its two supreme Roman masters. In accord with the literary fashion of the Augustan age to choose a special Greek model, Virgil, who posed as the Roman Theocritus in his *Eclogues*, now sought to be the Latin Hesiod, the sage of Ascræ. But in this case the Roman imitator outdid his Greek teacher. He was far more profoundly affected by Lucretius, who probably exerted a deeper influence on the thought and composition of his *Georgics* than any great poet has ever exerted on another, except Virgil on Dante. The two had similar interests as retiring, studious lovers of nature. Yet Virgil is no slavish copyist. His genius was in seeing and depicting beauty in common life and concrete nature, while Lucretius emphasized the sublimity of natural law. Virgil's deep piety for the primitive Italian cults would have been slavish superstition to his predecessor. Virgil's gods are not afar off and unrelated to the world as are those of Lucretius, but intimately associated with every beauteous detail of rural Italy. Though a glorifier of nature with Lucretius and the Epicureans, his poem reveals also clear Stoic elements. While inferior to his model in philosophical insight, he rises above him in his power to depict natural beauty in concrete detail and in the perfect finish and magnificent music of his hexameters.⁹

⁸ On the probably later reference to Asinius Pollio, cf. *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. X, p. 472, n. 2.

⁹ Other influences were the Alexandrian didactic poets, Aratus and Nicander, many Greek philosophers and scientists, and the Roman authorities on agriculture, Cato and Varro.

The four books deal with the tilling of the soil, tree and vine culture, animal husbandry, and bee culture. Parts are prosy advices to farmers and factual descriptions of their activities, but many passages have immortalized the poet as a master in the depiction of natural beauty, and enshrined forever in literature the loveliness of the Italian countryside.¹⁰

The *Aeneid*, his masterpiece, was begun at the suggestion of Octavian in 29 B.C., though the poet had long contemplated crowning his career by a great epic. It was not finished until 19 B.C., thus engrossing the last ten years of his life. He aimed to be the Homer of the Romans and to glorify imperial Rome, Augustus, and the new era by making his legend symbolize prophetically the growth of his nation by divine destiny through all dangers and struggles to world supremacy and its climax of peace and prosperity in the divine Julian house.

The legend of Aeneas of Troy as the founder of the Roman race can be traced back at least to the sixth-century Greek poet, Stesichorus, and was known to Virgil through the Sicilian Greek historians and the early Latin epic of Ennius and Naevius. In some ways, the Romulus legend would have served better as the basis of a national epic for Romans, since it was more simple, more Roman, and richer in national and human interest to the unsophisticated popular mind. But the legend of Aeneas had long been officially recognized, and its Trojan and Greek origins helped to symbolize the cosmopolitan character and vastness of the Augustan Empire. The chief background of the *Aeneid* is the Homeric epics, the *Odyssey* for the first six books and the *Iliad* for the last six, without which neither the framework nor many of the episodes would ever have been conceived. But the two are utterly different in character and aim. The Homeric poems are simple epics of human life, while the *Aeneid* is a literary epic of national glory. Occasionally also Virgil outdoes his model, as in his episode of the lower world. Other Greek sources for Virgil's masterpiece were the so-called Homeric *Cycle* and *Hymns*, the great tragedies, the Sicilian historians, and especially the *Argonautica* of Apollonius of Rhodes, to whom he was indebted for his dramatic Dido episode. Elements were also drawn from the early Latin epic of Ennius, Cato, Varro, Lucilius, and Lucretius, and also from plastic art in the colored reliefs.

The *Aeneid* is no mechanical or eclectic patchwork, however. Its deepest ideas and feelings are not Greek, but Roman. Its patriotism for imperial Rome, the glorious new age, and its founder have made it the most national of great poems. In this consists its chief originality, for it had no predecessor and no adequate successor. All the materials are welded into a splendid unity, and informed with a new meaning in the white heat of the poet's genius and national passion, which expresses the noblest aspirations of the age. But all parts are not of equal excellence. The first half is, on the whole, far superior, especially Books II, IV, and VI, though there are many noble passages in the later books. Of these latter, IX and XII are the best, while V and X, conven-

¹⁰ For example, II, 136-176, in praise of Italy, III, 10-15, tribute to his native Mantua, and IV, 149-196, a remarkably fine description of the life and work of the bees in the hive and outside. But these and many other beautiful passages in the *Georgics* must be read to be appreciated. For citations and further detail on the poem, cf. Chapter Fifteen, Sec. IV.

tional imitations of the funeral games and battles of the *Iliad*, are the poorest. The epic is also quite uneven in literary finish. Parts are highly polished and of great poetic power; others are almost prosy and mediocre. Virgil, who had proved himself capable of the most exquisite work in his *Eclogues*, *Georgics*, and in parts of his *Aeneid*, was painfully aware of this. As we have seen, he had intended to spend three years at Athens in polishing its verse, but was prevented by his untimely last illness. He would therefore have destroyed the manuscript had not Augustus intervened.¹¹

The greatness of the *Aeneid* is not in the epic as a whole or in the character of its hero. The pious Aeneas, so helplessly dependent on a god at every step, who dictates his every decision, makes a pale Odysseus and fails to compel our interest.¹² The characters who enlist our sympathy are not Aeneas and his associates, but his victims, who strive bravely but blindly against harsh fate, the tragic Dido, the noble Turnus, Pallas, Lausus, and the lovely Lavinia. The *Aeneid* is also far below the Homeric epics in vivid realism, simplicity, dramatic power, natural human interest, joyous freshness, brilliant imagery, narrative power, and creative imagination. There is little of Homer's spontaneity and spirit of personal adventure. Virgil is studied and oratorical rather than dramatic, but even in oratory he falls far short of his model.

The poetic power of the *Aeneid*, however, is found in its details. The poet's mastery of the emotions of pathos and pity for the noble victims of fate, the music of his hexameters, his love of natural beauty, supreme artistry in words, splendid episodes, broad human sympathy, fine descriptive power, stately grandeur, deep sense of religion, and patriotic passion have assured to his masterpiece a high place in world literature despite its defects.¹³ He has made of his native Latin a language of inexhaustible riches, immortalized the beauties of his beloved Italy, and created a national epic without a peer. Though far below Homer, it is the supreme masterpiece of Latin literature and stands with the epics of Homer, Dante, and Milton as one of the five greatest in world literature.

Virgil was recognized soon after his death as a great classic. He was loved by Horace who calls him "simple and charming."¹⁴ He was also a model for the three elegiac poets. After the Augustan age, he dominated education and literature, and his works were used as texts in the schools. Velleius Paterculus called his epic *princeps carminum*, "the peer of poems." The medieval Christians, to whom Homer was practically unknown, cherished his imitator as the master poet and as the prophet of the Messiah in his fourth eclogue. His pathos, deep religious feeling, and broad learning, besides his picture of the lower world, made him to them a magic master of all wisdom and almost a Christian. Dante, the embodiment of the best thought of the Middle Ages, called him "my master" and made him his revered leader

¹¹ The epic was edited and published two years after his death by Lucius Varius and Plotius Tucca at the command of Augustus.

¹² Yet his character and fortune are the prefigurement of Augustus.

¹³ Cf. I, 102 ff., for a fine description of a storm; VII, 25-36, for appreciation of natural beauty; and II, 250-795, for the grandeur of his account of the fall of Troy.

¹⁴ *Satires*, I, 10, 44, *molle atque facetum*.

through Hell and Purgatory. To the humanists of the Renaissance, he was still the supreme poet. They placed him even above Homer and Theocritus, and ninety printed editions of his works had appeared before 1500. Until late in the nineteenth century, he continued to hold his high place, though distinctly below Homer, and no classic poet has so deeply influenced the literature and education of modern Italy, France, and England. Recent criticism has seriously questioned the traditional estimate of him, but his right to be considered one of the world's great literary geniuses, and the greatest, after Lucretius and Cicero, in the Latin tongue, has never been seriously questioned.

3. QUINTUS HORATIUS FLACCUS (65-8 B.C.)

Virgil has suffered by comparison with his models, while Horace has not, since Horace's have survived only in a few fragments. For the same reason, also, Horace seems more original. These facts and the poetic charm of his highly finished *Odes* have caused some modern critics to adjudge him the supreme Latin poet. But while Horace was supreme in his chosen realm, Virgil has won equal success with a far more universal theme. Horace was a native of Venusia in Apulia. His father, though a freedman, supervised his son's education, sending him to the best schools in Rome, and later to Athens to study philosophy. Horace expressed great appreciation of his father and his father's guidance.¹⁵ In 44 B.C. he joined Brutus, who was defeated at Philippi. Having lost his farm in the resettlement, he returned to Rome and became a clerk of the quaestors. His poetic talent interested Virgil, who introduced him to Maecenas in 38 B.C., and henceforth he was one of the inner circle. Some years later, Maecenas gave him a large countryseat in the Sabine Hills near Tivoli, where, free from care, he spent most happily his remaining years. His strong preference for such an independent life even caused him to refuse an appointment as the private secretary of Augustus. He was able to retain the great man's friendship, however, and made him his heir. His intimate association with Maecenas was symbolized even in death, for he was buried near the tomb of his patron on the Esquiline.

The literary work of Horace falls roughly into three periods. To the first period, from his return to Rome until 30 B.C., belong his *Epodes* and two books of *Satires*; to the second, until 23 B.C., the first three books of the *Odes*; to the third, the two books of *Epistles*, *Ars Poetica*, *Carmen Saeculare*, and the fourth book of the *Odes*. The *Epodes*, named from their meter, have contributed little to his reputation as a poet. They are commonplace and lack finish and refinement. Though avowedly imitations of the Greek iambic poet, Archilochus, they show nothing of his reputed fire and fierce invective. The first ten are in the so-called epodic meter.¹⁶ The themes of the *Epodes* have a wide range, varying from praise of rural life and pleasure to attacks on war, poisoning, and other evils.

Following Lucilius, his predecessor, Horace gives his satires the title *Ser-*

¹⁵ *Satires*, I, 4, 103-128; 6, 65-92.

¹⁶ Epodic, an iambic trimeter followed by an iambic dimeter. Catullus, not Horace, was the first to introduce the iambs of Archilochus.

mones, or "Talks," though they are couched in hexameter verse.¹⁷ All the *Satires* of the first book, except the eighth, clearly follow the Lucilian model in themes, meters, and sometimes, as in the seventh and the repulsive second, which were written before he met Maecenas, even in vocabulary and harshness of attack. In the later fourth and tenth *Satires*, on the other hand, while recognizing the skill and originality of Lucilius as the "inventor" of satire, he criticizes freely the Lucilian type for its harsh invective, verbosity, and lack of literary finish. Here, as in the third and sixth *Satires* also, he upholds his own more genial and finished art. By the time of the publication of Book II in 30 B.C., the literary reputation of Horace was already established, and satire no longer needed defense, though his first poem is devoted to a humorous plea for his own freedom of speech. The influence of Lucilius is still strong, but the poet is now more independent of his model, and in the fifth, sixth, and seventh *Satires* this influence has practically disappeared.

In the *Epistles*, written in his maturer life, though they are of essentially the same literary type as the *Satires* and deal largely with the same themes in conversational hexameter, the poet is independent of his earlier model. Here the Horatian lightness of touch, even when dealing with serious themes, urbanity, literary finish, kindness, genial humor, refinement, good taste, Hellenic balance, sanity, and mellow maturity of judgment, reach their perfection. "Good sense, good feeling, and good taste, these qualities latent from the first in Horace, had obtained a final mastery over the coarser strain with which they had at first been mingled."¹⁸

The first book consists of twenty comparatively short letters, expressing the poet's homely moral maxims as to the wise guidance of life, rather than direct satires on the follies and evils of his contemporaries. His criticism is by contrast and in kindly spirit. Virtue and wisdom are the supreme values. Study philosophy, especially in Homer, who is wiser than all the professional philosophers. The Stoic dictum is true that "Only the wise are free." Live a simple, temperate, and contented life. Set not your heart on riches or position. Keep free from vice, and be not enslaved by pleasure bought with pain. Marvel at nothing (*nil admirari*), avoid excess, and retain a wise indifference. Preserve your personal independence. Keep a calm balance, neither elated at fortune nor disturbed at adversity. To Horace, the simple delights of country life in the retirement of his Sabine estates are greater than any the noisy capital can offer, but true happiness depends on the state of mind rather than on the abode. The genial moralizer is, however, no ascetic or stern Stoic. Like his modern successor, Montaigne, he has the sense of humor to take neither himself nor his fellows too seriously. Greek moderation, not abstention, is his rule, and "*carpe diem*" is still his law of life. Poetry written by "water-drinkers [*aquae potoribus*]" cannot long please or persist." He still boasts of being a "fat and sleek porker from Epicurus' herd."¹⁹ But his pleasure, like that of his master, is of the higher, intellectual type and requires only simple comforts and a few books to satisfy.

¹⁷ On the origins of Roman satire and the satires of Lucilius, cf. Chapter Seven, Sec. III, 2.

¹⁸ J. W. Mackail, *Latin Literature*, Scribner, 1895, p. 111, by permission of the publishers.

¹⁹ *Epistles*, I, 19, 1-3; 4, 15-16.

The three *Epistles* of Book II are much longer and deal with literary criticism and the poet's own works. The first, a literary apology, is addressed to Augustus on his complaint that his own name had not appeared in the *Epistles*. The third, while in epistolary form, addressed to the Pisos, bears the probably later title of *Ars Poetica* (*The Art of Poetry*). It reveals many evidences of Lucilian influence, and was probably composed some years before its publication. Though dealing with all types of poetry, fully a third of the poem is devoted to drama. In general, the prerequisites for a successful poet are original genius, training, common sense, insight into character, wisdom, high ideals, intelligence, willingness to profit by criticism, and an appreciation of the noble history and high mission of the poet's art. He must also balance the "pleasant" and the "useful," give unity, simplicity, and balance to his poems, and attempt only those types of poetry that befit his genius.

Both *Satires* and *Epistles* attack many evils and follies then conspicuous in Augustan society, though, as seen, the *Epistles* deal with them indirectly and in a more genial spirit.²⁰ But even in the *Satires* the emphasis of the poet is increasingly on the sin rather than the sinner, and he can laugh at himself as well as at others. The *Satires* and *Epistles* are especially valuable for their many sketches of everyday individual and social life and the manners, customs, and ideals of the Augustan age, as also for the insight which they afford into the inner psychology of the poet himself. Like Cicero in his letters, Horace has, through his *Satires* and *Epistles*, given us an intimate and detailed picture of himself and his age. His many quotable bits of worldly wisdom have also become the stock in trade of the cultured of every age in all lands.

The abiding fame of Horace as a poet, beloved by many moderns in every generation, however, rests on his lyric *Odes*. In these he turned away from the Alexandrian models of Catullus and the elegists to the early Greek lyricists Alcaeus, Sappho, and Anacreon. He boasts of being the "first to wed Aeolian song to Roman melodies."²¹ Several of his poems are in part adaptations of extant fragments of his Greek models, and had their lyrics not been largely lost, doubtless many of them could be recognized in the Latin version of Horace. He followed his Greek masters closely in form as well as in content, adapting his Latin to the wide variety of lyric meters. The first nine *Odes* of Book I are each couched in a different meter, thereby including in these *Odes* nearly all the types used in the first three books.²² His favorite meters are the Alcaic and Sapphic stanzas. The meters are remarkably well adapted to the thought, and their perfect technique makes even commonplaces beautiful. The first three books of *Odes* were written between 30 and 23 B.C., after which Horace returned to his first love in the *Epistles*. The *Odes* of the fourth book were composed between 17 and 13 B.C., due to the request of Augustus for poems in honor of his stepsons, Tiberius and Drusus. The book also includes two odes to Augustus. Thus here Horace joins Virgil as the poet of the Roman Empire and exalted patriotism for the new order.

²⁰ For the chief social evils and follies emphasized by Horace in his *Satires* and other works, cf. below, Sec. IV.

²¹ *Odes*, III, 30, 13 f.

²² For the Greek lyric meters and examples, cf. Vol. I, Chapter Fifteen, Sec. I. For the Latin imitations by Horace, cf. *Odes*, I, 1-9.

Despite the poet's close imitation of his Hellenic models, he was distinctly Roman in inspiration, tone, and outlook. He was the mouthpiece of the Roman people, expressing their collective sentiments and interests, and reflecting the spirit of the age with its joyous hope in the new era of peace and prosperity. His themes are extremely varied, touching almost every phase of human interest and every mood—friendship, the events of the day, patriotism for the Empire, Augustus and the new order, the degeneration of the age, philosophy, the delights of rural life, the gods, the sea, reform, his future fame as a poet, conviviality, and love. But unlike Catullus and his contemporary elegists, his dominant interest is not love, which in him is usually neither a deep nor a serious emotion. The passionate sentiment of Catullus is conspicuously absent from the *Odes* of Horace. Yet his love lyrics have been imitated and quoted more universally than those of any other Roman love poet. Here, as elsewhere, he gives truest expression to the sentiment of the average man. Beneath his seeming lightness and frivolity, he always has a serious moral undercurrent. There is nothing profound about him. His bits of homely wisdom become almost trite with repetition, but we hardly notice this fault in a poet of such sincerity, variety, and charm of expression. As in his *Epistles*, his practical philosophy of life is a happy eclectic balance between Stoic and Epicurean, emphasizing a wise moderation and a calm balance amid life's changing fortunes. In the first six *Odes* of Book III and in Book IV, he has become practically an imperial poet laureate, the glorifier of the Empire, the new order, Augustus and his family, and the champion of his reforms, but withal he retains his simplicity and sincerity. This poet of sane living and the balanced mind, by virtue of his very commonplaces, rises above his time and becomes the poet of universal humanity. In his inimitable way, he holds up a mirror to the world, revealing its virtues and vices, its wisdom and follies, its stereotyped ideas and its self-satisfactions.

One great secret of the poet's universal popularity is his own personal character and temper. He fascinates by his ever-changing moods from grave to gay, from playful to serious. He makes us feel at home by his unflinching good cheer, kindly wit, frank sincerity, plain common sense, and genial humanity which is never too elevated above the common, erring man. He wins by his refined urbanity, broad tolerance, good breeding, sanity, and good taste. In short, he is an eminent example of a truly civilized man, free from the narrow provincialisms and vulgarities of the crowd, yet unspoiled by the pedantries of the scholar or the snobbery and follies of high society. Thus, while no one, least of all Horace himself, would class him among the greatest poets of spontaneous genius, the unflinching charm of his *Odes* has made them the supreme collection of shorter poems, ancient or modern, that has retained its popularity despite the shiftings of time and taste. Another secret of their charm is their perfect finish. Poetic inspiration in him was supplemented by exquisite art and endless labor. His verse in the *Odes* is without a flaw. His genius for just the right word is unerring, so that perhaps no other poetry loses so much of its exquisite flavor, subtle beauty, delicate feeling, and poetic fancy by translation. The ancients well said that the "moulds in which he cast his thought were broken at his death." His remarkable terseness, with no

wasted word, the result of endless painstaking, is well expressed by his own phrase for his *Odes*, "*operosa carmina*."²³ Besides his perfect form and strange felicity in words, he attracts by his picturesque imagination, his appreciation of natural beauty, his dramatic quality, and his friendly, conversational tone.

The defects of Horace are evident to all, the too practical tendency of his race, a lack of depth, and the repetition of the commonplace. He is not in a class with his Greek models for fire, spontaneity, profound passion, elevation of style, and varied melody of verse. But no poet combines so many pleasing qualities as man and artist, and no poet has touched a more universal human strain. Kindly satirist, lyrist, painter of lovely pictures, consummate artist in words, he constantly grew more humane, more refined, more mellow, more balanced, and a more finished artist throughout the years.

The poet's prophecy of his immortality has proved truer than he dreamed. He has built for himself a "monument more enduring than bronze."²⁴ His *Odes* were recognized by his contemporaries and later Romans as the most perfect product of Roman lyric poetry. The eminent critic of the next century, Quintilian, said: "Of our lyric poets, Horace is almost the only one worth reading."²⁵ His perfect art and Epicurean attitude had little appeal for the Middle Ages, but he regained his popularity with the Renaissance humanists and was preferred to Virgil by eighteenth-century England, with its similar tastes and interests. He served as the model for all English lighter verse, was translated and imitated by English poets from Herrick to Pope, and was constantly quoted by English essayists and statesmen from Lord Chesterfield, Horace Walpole, Burke, Pitt, and Fox to Gladstone, who finally translated his *Odes*. But just as he is untranslatable, so he has never been successfully imitated in Roman times or since.

One must be on intimate terms with Horace and have a firsthand knowledge of his *Odes* in their Augustan setting and in their wide variety to appreciate him properly. Translations are also poor substitutes, at best, but two of his best-known shorter lyrics will suggest something of his poetic quality in his lighter vein.²⁶

One dazzling mass of solid snow,
Soracte stands; the bent woods fret
Beneath their load, and, sharpest set
With frost, the streams have ceased to flow.

Pile on great fagots and break up
The ice; let influence more benign
Enter with four-years-treasured wine,
Fetched in the ponderous Sabine cup;

Leave to the gods all else. When they
Have once bid rest the winds that war
Over the passionate seas, no more
Gray ash and cypress rock and sway.

²³ *Odes*, IV, 2, 31-32.

²⁵ X, 1, 96.

²⁶ I, 9, addressed to *Thaliarchus*; Calverley's translation, by permission of G. Bell & Co. The meter of the original is Alcaic.

²⁴ *Odes*, III, 30, *Monumentum aere perennius*.

Ask not what future suns shall bring;
 Count today gain, whate'er it chance
 To be; nor, young man, scorn the dance,
 Nor deem sweet Love an idle thing,

Ere Time thy April youth have changed
 To sourness. Park and public walk
 Attract thee now, and whispered talk
 At twilight meetings prearranged.

Hear now the pretty laugh that tells
 In what dim corner lurks thy love,
 And snatch a bracelet or a glove
 From wrist or hand that scarce rebels.

The following selection reveals the serious undercurrent so common to even his least serious lyrics.²⁷

He of life without flaw, pure from sin, need not borrow
 Of the bow or the darts of the Moor, O my Fuscus!
 He relies for defense on no quiver that teems with
 Poison-steeped arrows;

Though his path be along sultry African Syrtes,
 Or Caucasian ravines, where no guest finds a shelter,
 Or the banks which Hydaspes, the River of Story,
 Licks languid-flowing.

For as lately I strayed beyond pathways accustomed,
 And with heart free from care was of Lalage singing,
 A wolf in the thick of the deep Sabine forest,
 Met, and straight fled me,

All unarmed though I was; yet so deadly a monster
 Warlike Daunia ne'er bred in her wide acorned forests,
 Nor the thirst-raging nurse of the lion—swart Juba's
 African sand-realm.

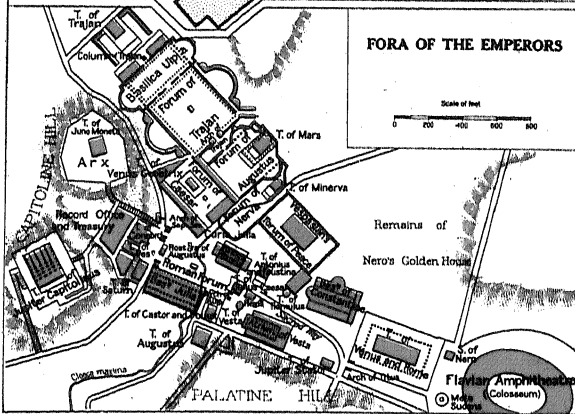
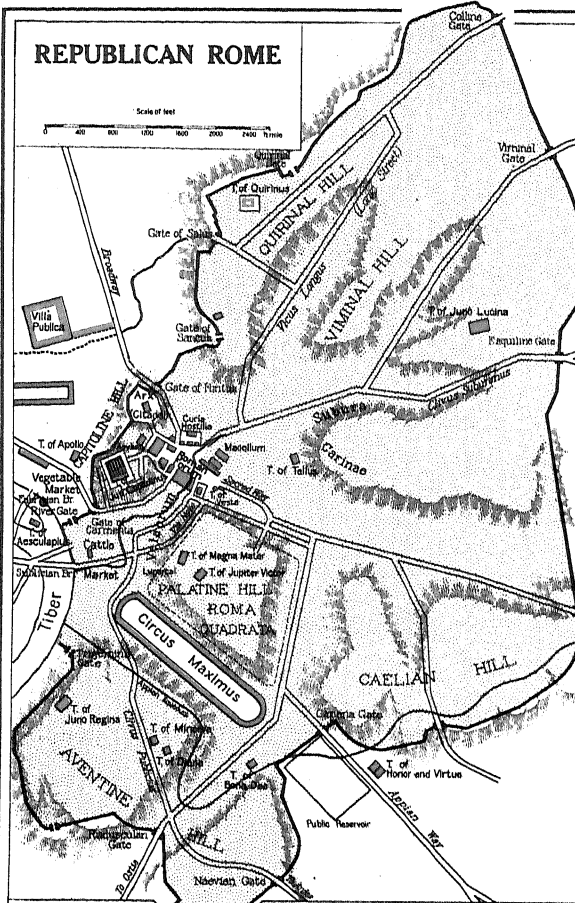
Place me lone in the sterile wastes, where not a leaflet
 Ever bursts into bloom in the breezes of summer;
 Sunless side of the world, which the grim air oppresses,
 Mist-clad and ice-bound.

Place me lone where the earth is denied to man's dwelling,
 All so near to its breast glows the car of the day-god;
 And I still should love Lalage—her the sweet-smiling,
 Her the sweet-talking.

²⁷ I, 22, the famous *Integer Vitae* to his friend, Fuscus, Lord Lytton's translation, 2nd ed., 1872, Longmans, Green, by permission of the publishers. The original meter is Sapphic. Beautiful for its simple naturalness and grace, and expressive of the poet's more serious philosophy, is his "Invitation to Maecenas," I, 20. Other significant *Odes* are II, 1, to Asinius Pollio in serious vein; II, 20, and III, 30, predicting the poet's future fame; II, 10 and 18 on his philosophy of the golden mean; III, 1 and 2, noble appeals to youth, II, 17, to Maecenas, "the glory, beauty, and pillar of my life"; III, 27, showing the poet's fine dramatic ability; IV, 3, in which he calls

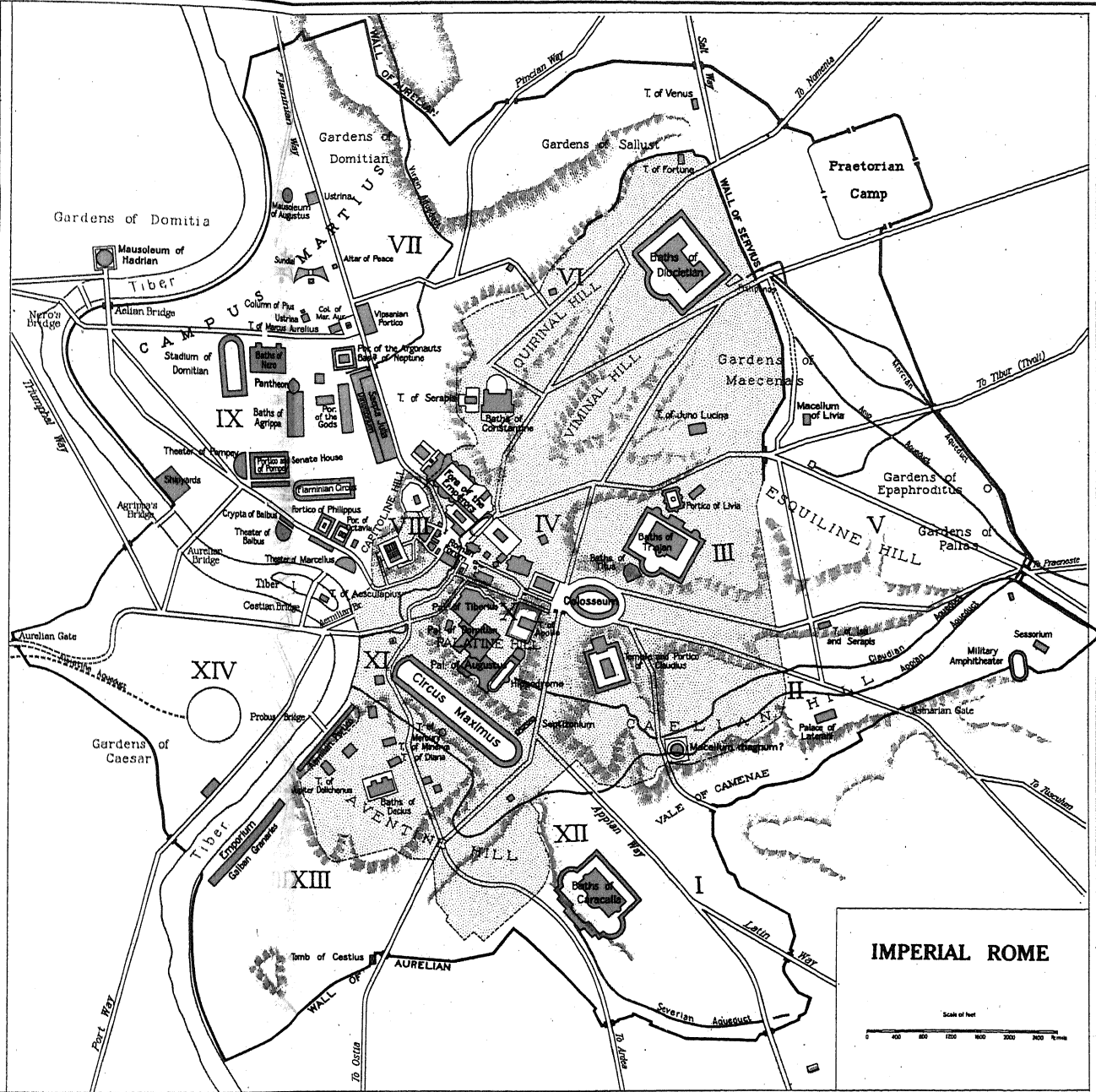
REPUBLICAN ROME

Scale of feet
0 400 800 1200 1600 2000 2400 Miles



FORA OF THE EMPERORS

Scale of feet
0 200 400 600 800



IMPERIAL ROME

Scale of feet
0 400 800 1200 1600 2000 2400 Miles

4. THE MINOR AUGUSTAN POETS AND OVID

Roman love elegy was the direct reflection of a corrupt and highly immoral society, born of the previous period of civil war and the extreme wealth and luxury from world conquest. The model of the Augustan elegists was the Alexandrian elegiac love poetry of Callimachus and his associates, which had been introduced into Rome before the days of Catullus and was now the height of fashion. Like their Alexandrian masters, the Roman elegists filled their poems with Greek legend, pedantically parading their erudition. Following their literary models, they designated their mistress by fictitious names, comparing her to all the heroines and goddesses in the catalogue. Their dominant theme is erotic love. All life centers about themselves and their illicit passions. Little else matters. The objects of their amorous effusions are often women of low birth, and are either courtesans or matrons. They regale us *ad nauseam* with their erotic delights and woes, their loves and hates, and the sensuous fascination but gold-digging avarice, cruelty, and faithlessness of their beloved. Some of their complaints and passions are poignantly real, but more often they are highly artificial and lack the vital realism of Catullus. Theirs is a "light muse," of small conventional pictures, as Propertius admits, but they seek to compensate for lack of content by finished verse, polished turns of phrase, and literary ingenuity. This tendency to separate literature from life was finally to become a fatal disease.

Albius Tibullus (54-19 B.C.) is the first Augustan elegist whose poems have largely survived.²⁸ He was a native of Latium, of equestrian rank, a friend of Horace, and admired by his younger contemporary, Ovid. In his four books of elegies are included a considerable number which are not from his hand. The love of Tibullus for his Delia is genuine but lacks the profound emotion of Catullus. Like most of the contemporary elegists, he reflects the moral *malaise* of a blasé and oversophisticated generation, and a certain melancholy, as of a love that is ephemeral and doomed to early decay. But the monotony of melancholic love is relieved by anecdotes, scenes of common life, moralizing, and mythological story. All Alexandrian forms are attempted, even pastoral. While not a virile poet, Tibullus is an amiable and refined spirit, and his elegies are notable for their simple style, light touch, and elegant technique of expression and versification.

Sextus Propertius (50-15 B.C.) was born of well-to-do parents at Assisi, the home of St. Francis, a man of very different fame. His Cynthia, the dominant theme of his first three books, though a courtesan, was a beautiful and attractive woman of refined culture. His love, interrupted by repeated quarrels and unfaithfulness, is intensely physical, with a vein of melancholy, but lacking the pensiveness of Tibullus or the light frivolity of Ovid. The elegies reflect the tempestuous course of his love in alternate expression of passion, plaintive ret-

himself the "lyrist of Roman song" (*Romanae fidicen Lyrae*), a poem famed for its sweetness and dignity; and IV, 5, to Augustus, called "*dulcissimum carmen*." For the *Carmen Saeculare*, cf. above, Chapter Fifteen, Sec. IV, 2.

²⁸ Practically nothing remains of the elegies and tragedies of Cornelius Gallus, the friend of Virgil, whose poems were greatly admired by his contemporaries.

respect, and bitter hate. His abbreviated compactness often results in obscurity, and his Alexandrian erudition is too obtrusive. His poetry also lacks depth and atmosphere. But he is far more virile, original, and artistic than Tibullus. For the bold originality of his expression and figures, the sonorous cadence of his lines, the technical perfection of his verse, "polished with fine pumice" (*exactus tenui pumice*), and his mastery of beautiful words and phrases and picturesque imagery, he deserves a high place among the lesser Roman poets. Many of his poems are tiny, clear-cut pictures like elegantly carved jewels.

With the loss of Cynthia, he turned increasingly to moralizing on the vanity of human ambition and desire. The soul is, after all, the supreme value, for all material differences end in death. Book IV is devoted to other themes, with only two sure references to Cynthia, and includes four poems on Roman antiquities in imitation of the *Aitia* ("Causes") of Callimachus. He joins his greater contemporaries in praise of the great accomplishments of Augustus, glorifying him as "our god" and "savior of the world," though he naturally resents his marriage laws.²⁹ On the whole, he is the most serious and truly Roman of the Latin elegists.

Publius Ovidius Naso (43 B.C.-17 A.D.), the greatest of the Latin elegists, came of wealthy equestrian stock, was educated at Rome and Athens, and traveled extensively in the East. He had a recognized place in the high society of Rome, being close to Messala and his circle, and an intimate friend of Tibullus and Propertius. Unlike his fellow elegists, he was married three times. After years of ease, pleasure, and social recognition in court circles at Rome, he was suddenly banished by Augustus in 8 A.D. to barbarous Tomi (modern Costanza) on the Black Sea, where he spent his last ten years in sad exile. The pretext, as we have seen, was the grossly immoral influence of his *Ars Amatoria*, written ten years before, and his probable connection with the disgraceful conduct of Julia.

The love elegies of Ovid in his three books of *Amores*, unlike those of his predecessors, are utterly lacking in genuine feeling or serious purpose. His Corinna is a purely imaginary "everywoman" for whom his love is only literary. Like the other elegists, he fills his poems with Alexandrian learning and mythical story, but he is far more sportive and frivolous, and his sense of humor saves him from absurdity and enlivens his elegies with remarkable variety and wit. They are really a complete set of elegant miniatures picturing the reaction of the lover to every shifting circumstance. Though only pretty pictures, their exquisite finish, vivid imagination, flashes of humor, and variety have won for Ovid recognition as the most brilliant and interesting of Latin elegists.

His *Heroides* continues the *Amores* in the form of letters from famous Greek heroines of antiquity to their absent lovers. The fame of these women in ancient literature gave to the *Heroides* an added dramatic interest.³⁰ The *Ars Amatoria*, a poem in three books on the art of seduction, is the natural climax

²⁹ II, 10, 13 ff.; III, 4, 1, *deus Caesar*; IV, 6, 37 f., *mundi servator*; II, 7, on the marriage law.

³⁰ A poem on the *Care of the Face*, only one hundred lines of which have survived, contrasts the high civilization of the Augustan age with the earlier crude simplicity, and includes a versified list of recipes for cosmetics, interesting for social history.

of Ovid's frivolous art, as also of the unhealthy spirit of Latin love elegy. That such a work of polished libertinism could pass current reveals the degenerate character of Roman society and the utter futility of the Augustan moral legislation.³¹ The poem has some fine descriptions, humor, keen psychological insight, and a famous passage glorifying imperial Rome and Augustus,³² but it is, on the whole, uninteresting. The *Cure of Love* (*Remedia Amoris*), Ovid's final poem on love, offers a series of trite suggestions for escaping its bonds. As in all his love elegies, the monotony and insincerity are relieved by interesting variety, imagination, humor, and a perfect mastery of diction and poetic technique.

Ovid now turned to more serious themes and attempted to do his part in the Augustan propaganda for patriotism, religion, and the glorification of the past. The *Fasti*, or calendar of Roman festivals, dedicated to Augustus, was planned to include twelve books, one for each month, but only six were ever completed because of his exile. In writing such a poem on religious festivals the poet was attempting nothing new, but followed Propertius in imitation of Callimachus and other Alexandrians. But in the *Fasti* Ovid is thoroughly Roman and seeks to take the place of Horace in expressing the spirit of the new age. He describes the Roman festivals with their related myths, astronomical features, and antiquities, arranged according to the day of their occurrence. The conglomerate character of the work makes unity impossible, and the astronomical data are often inexact. But the poet's poetical genius, variety of style, vivid and beautiful descriptions of festivals, interesting stories, star lore, and eloquent patriotic passages save even such a seemingly prosy subject from monotony. The poem also contributes much to our knowledge of Roman religion, life, antiquities, topography, and chronology, since the significant days in Roman history are treated with especial fullness.

The crowning work of Ovid is his fifteen books of *Metamorphoses*, which recount in his lively style the myths "of forms transmitted into bodies new." The poem was completed before his banishment in 8 A.D., and in his grief he cast it into the fire, but fortunately copies had previously been made. Here again he followed closely the old Alexandrian prescription for turning Greek myths into pretty stories, but he gave a unity to the whole by arranging the stories in order from creation to his own day, and outdid his models in the art. Many of the stories are simply and dramatically told with striking narrative skill, psychological insight, flashes of humor, and endless variety in style and theme. The tragic stories of Pentheus and Athamas, the naïvely sentimental tale of Pyramus and Thisbe, the pathos of Niobe, the heroic myth of Perseus, the horror of the Gorgon's head, the touching story of Proserpine, the mental torments and horrible revenge of the deserted Medea, the exciting adventures in flying of Phaëthon, Daedalus, and Icarus, the bitter strife of Ajax and Ulysses, the charming idyll of the rustic hospitality of Philemon and Baucis, the dramatic Calydonian Hunt of Meleager, the heroic exploits of Hercules, the romantic tale of Orpheus contrasted with his terrible death, the moral of

³¹ Even Augustus seems not to have objected to the work until ten years after its publication.

³² I, 177 ff.

Midas against avarice and presumption, the pretty story of Ceyx and Alcyone, transformed into sea gulls as a reward for their conjugal faith, the fierce combats of centaurs and *Lapithae*, and many tales of Troy touching the whole gamut of human interest are all included. Some of the stories are marred by the rhetorical tendency, and the obtrusion of learning, antiquarianism, and prosy name listing, but the collection as a whole assures Ovid a high place in the art of storytelling.

The fall of Troy and the escape of Aeneas, especially after his arrival in Italy, mark the turn from Greek to Roman themes. His detailed analysis of the Pythagorean doctrine of transmigration toward the end accords well with the general theme. The poem closes with the apotheosis of Julius Caesar and a prophecy of the same divine future for Augustus, ending with a striking prediction of the immortality of his own work and fame. In the *Metamorphoses* Ovid has retained his lightness of touch and perfect mastery of words, while rising, at times, far above his earlier frivolity and insincerity to great poetic power and pathos. Though he has not caught the stately music of Virgil's hexameters, in the liquid flow of his verse, vivid narrative, dramatic power, and psychological insight, he is easily in the front rank of Latin poets. Ever since its publication, his *Metamorphoses* has been, even more than Homer, a mine of ancient legend for artists and writers.

The banishment of Ovid was a death blow to Alexandrianism in Roman literature. With his exile, the poet largely lost his inspiration, and his remaining works are of a distinctly inferior quality, even in technique. His *Tristia*, in five books, still retains something of the old polish, picturesque description, and wit, but is, on the whole, a long series of wearisome wails over his fate. He had not the character to rise above his misfortune. The *Tristia* is of interest, however, for its data on the poet's life and the barbarous Scythians, and its evidences of genuine feeling so lacking in the love elegies.³³

Despite his perfect mastery of the Latin tongue and his many excellent qualities as a poet, Ovid falls short of greatness, through his lack of character and sincerity. His images were largely ready to his hand, already worn trite by Alexandrians and two generations of Roman imitators. His poetic pictures are at best only brilliant but artificial literary exercises apart from life. Yet Ovid's prophecy of his future fame proved true, for few ancient poets have exerted a greater influence on later culture. He was a favorite in the Middle Ages, and an important source of Provençal poetry and medieval romance. His *Heroines* were "Saints" who live for love, and were Christianized by means of medieval allegory, as by Chrétien Legouais in the fourteenth century. Even his *Art of Love*, allegorized, furnished inspiration for the medieval *Romaunt de la Rose*, and the reckless "wandering scholars" and goliardic poets made Ovid their Bible. He was beloved by Chaucer and Boccaccio, the champion storytellers, and was also a favorite of Milton. Many traces of his influence appear in Shake-

³³ On his life, cf. *Tristia*, IV, 10. Some of his best letters are I, 6; III, 3; IV, 3; V, 2; II, 14, and *Letters from the Pontus*, I, 4; III, 1. Some lost works are his *Medea*, the *Phaenomena*, on astronomy, some epigrams, an *Epithalamium*, a poem on the death of Augustus, and one in the Gaeic language in honor of the Julian family.

speare and other English poets, and the wealth of ancient mythological allusion in modern poetry finds its chief source in him.⁸⁴

5. AUGUSTAN PROSE: LIVY

The Augustan era was pre-eminently an age of poetry. Latin prose reached its climax in the days of Cicero and began to decline soon after through imitation of poetic diction and the influence of the rhetorical schools toward artificiality and a striving for effect, which cast an increasing blight upon later prose and poetry alike.

The only notable prose writer of the period was Titus Livius (59 B.C.-17 A.D.). Livy was born in Patavium (Padua) apparently of well-to-do parents. He came to Rome when about thirty, where he spent his remaining years, though he died in his native town. His great work was his *History of the Roman Republic* entitled *Libri ab Urbe Condita*, "Books from the Founding of the City," to which he devoted his best forty years. It covered a vast scope of over 700 years from the founding of Rome to the death of Drusus in 9 A.D. The first of the 142 books were written during the first years of the Augustan Principate, while the last twenty-two were published after his death. The books were later divided by an ancient editor into decades or groups of ten, perhaps in accord with the order of their publication. Owing to the limited material, the first fifteen (not all extant), covering nearly 500 years to the opening of the Punic Wars, were far less detailed. Ten books are devoted to the Hannibalic War, and another ten cover only the eight years of Sulla's dictatorship. Since the vast work was too long for later Romans, it was abridged, and the original was neglected until the twelfth century A.D. As a result, only thirty-five books have survived, I-X (753-293 B.C.), and XXI-XLV (218-167 B.C.), some of which are not complete. Thus over three-fourths of the work, and that the more authoritative part because of its nearness to Livy's own time, is forever lost to us, except for a series of meager summaries. Nor were these made directly from the original, but from a previous abridgment. Should these lost books ever be recovered, which is quite unlikely, doubtless the new knowledge would require a very extensive revision of our histories of the last century and a quarter of the Roman Republic. The thirty-five surviving books, however, have won for him immortality.

For the earlier history of Rome, Livy drew his material from the works of the Roman annalists,⁸⁵ and also from the Greek Polybius. He was no critical historian, but selected with little discrimination from his sources whatever seemed to fit his purpose regardless of their disagreements or reliability. His choice was determined superficially by the majority testimony, by the earliest source, or by what would contribute to the glorification of Rome. He repeated the early legendary accounts of the patriotic Roman annalists practically as history, and even in his later account he made no independent research either

⁸⁴ Many minor elegists and other poets cluttered the Augustan age. Ovid names twenty-three without exhausting the list, most of whose works are not extant, but the loss to literature is probably not large.

⁸⁵ Cf. Chapter One, Sec. III, on the credibility of Livy and the annalists on early Roman history.

from inscriptions and other abundant contemporary documents or by firsthand study of battlefields and routes of armies. In military, constitutional, and legal matters, he is therefore an unsatisfactory guide, though his accounts of battles are models of vivid word painting.

Though an ardent admirer of the Republic and of Pompey, he recognized its hopeless decadence and, as a personal friend of Augustus, wholly, if sadly, accepted the new order. At least, it brought security and peace, and under a clement and humane ruler like Augustus, the loss of liberty seemed not unduly oppressive. It was better to a lover of the golden mean than either extreme or civil war. Like the contemporary poets, he felt a strong patriotic pride in the power and greatness of Rome, and by his glorification of the founding fathers and their ancient institutions, he aided in the Augustan policy of religious and patriotic revival, as we have seen. He shows a distinct bias for Rome and its early leaders, such as the Scipios against their enemies, but his conscious aim was to tell the truth, and his errors are due to lack of critical insight rather than to deliberate coloring of his narrative. Despite his uncritical character, his patriotic bias, and his interest in broad generalization and dramatic effect rather than in exactness of detail, his account from the late fourth century on is based on broad knowledge and a keen insight into human life, and may be safely followed in the main. Had his later books survived, his reputation for accuracy would doubtless have been much enhanced.

Unlike the great Greek historians, Thucydides and Polybius, however, his aim was not primarily to record exact truth "as a priceless possession for all time," but moral edification and literary art, and for this legend was as valuable as history. As he says in his Preface:

Here are the questions to which I would have every reader give his close attention, —what life and morals were like; through what men and by what policies, in peace and in war, empire was established and enlarged; then let him note how, with the gradual relaxation of discipline, morals first gave way, as it were, then sank lower and lower, and finally began the downward plunge which has brought us to the present time, when we can endure neither our vices nor their cure.

What chiefly makes the study of history wholesome and profitable is this, that you behold the lessons of every kind of experience set forth as on a conspicuous monument; from these you may choose for yourself and for your own state what to imitate, from these mark for avoidance what is shameful in the conception and shameful in the result.³⁶

True to this moral aim, Livy makes stand out especially those men, acts, and events that will serve as models for the citizen and the state.

Even above this ethical aim, however, was his desire to present the whole of Roman history as a literary masterpiece. In this aim he was so eminently successful that his history was soon universally recognized as the standard account, and still holds the palm for vivid, clear, artistic prose. Like Thucydides, he dramatizes characters and events by introducing speeches which constitute the most original and brilliant part of his history, relieving the monotony of continuous narrative, and exhibiting insight into human character and motive. One of the cleverest is the speech of Hanno, by which he proves Rome in the

³⁶ Loeb Classical Library translation (B. O. Foster), by permission of Harvard University Press.

right from the mouth of the great Carthaginian himself.³⁷ The entire introduction to the Hannibalic War is one of Livy's finest examples of dramatic narrative, in which he effectively emphasizes the justice of the Roman cause. His speeches throughout reveal a close study of Demosthenes and Cicero, but despite his thorough training in the contemporary schools of rhetoric, these speeches show little of the declamatory vice which later blighted all Roman literature. An artist in words, he is never dull, and in picturesque, swift, flexible style he has rarely been equaled. But despite his greatly superior literary art, historians today would gladly trade his surviving books for the lost books of Polybius.

As the first complete history of Rome in artistic Latin, and because of its high patriotic and ethical emphasis, his work was recognized as a perfect model, an *Aeneid* in prose, even before his death. Pliny the Younger recounts in the next century that a resident of distant Gades (Cadiz) journeyed to Rome to get a glimpse of the famous historian and, on seeing him, was satisfied to return without enjoying the other sights of the capital. His work probably contributed more than any other book to Roman imperial education. It was the model of later Roman writers and has exerted a strong influence upon some moderns since the Renaissance. But even Livy's prose lacks the simple, chaste diction of Caesar or the dignity and beauty of Cicero, and, aside from Livy, Latin prose style was already becoming artificial, tasteless, and affected.

Pompeius Trogus, a contemporary of Livy and a Roman citizen of Narbonese Gaul, wrote a universal history, *Historiae Philippicae*, in forty-four books. He attempted to supplement Livy by presenting to Romans the history of all the Oriental, Greek, and barbarian nations conquered by Rome. As the title implies, his chief emphasis was upon the history of the Macedon of Philip and Alexander and the succeeding Hellenistic empires until their assimilation by Rome, but he devoted two books to the Parthians, one to Gaul and early Rome and one to Spain. His work has survived only in an epitome made in the second or third century by Justin, which found much use in the Middle Ages, and is still a good supplement to our knowledge on many points.³⁸

With the passing of the Republic, political oratory markedly declined. Henceforth, it had little serious purpose and degenerated to school exercises. Messala, Pollio, and a few others tried for a while to continue the great Ciceronian tradition, but the times were against them, and those orators who opposed the new régime were soon silenced. What little is known of the Augustan orators is derived from the elder Seneca, whose work is a good example of the vapidness and tastelessness of the current rhetorical training in the schools, when liberty was dead.³⁹

The Augustan age also produced several scholarly works of an antiquarian and technical nature. The work of Verrius Flaccus, partly preserved in a summary of Festus, furnishes valuable data on Roman antiquities and early Latin diction. Of the voluminous works of C. Julius Hyginus, librarian of the Palatine library, nothing has survived, but two works falsely ascribed to him are of

³⁷ XXI, 10.

³⁸ There were several other historians of the Augustan age, but about all that is known of them is their names.

³⁹ For further detail, cf. Chapter Twenty, Sec. III.

interest, a treatise on astronomy and a mythological handbook called *Fabulae*, valuable for its preservation of many plots of lost Greek tragedies. The most important technical work, though devoid of literary value, is the treatise of Vitruvius, *On Architecture*, in ten books, dedicated to Augustus. Vitruvius was primarily a practical builder and probably superintended the construction of the Augustan war engines. As the only surviving systematic treatment of ancient architecture from antiquity, his work is of great value for architecture and archaeology.

6. GREEK LITERATURE

Since by the time of Augustus most of the Greeks of Europe, Asia, and Egypt were within the circle of the Roman Empire, and since many Greek authors wrote on Roman themes, their writings should now be considered a part of the literature of the Empire. Diodorus of Sicily, an older contemporary of Augustus, who spent several years in Rome, wrote a *Historical Library* in forty books, extending from the mythical stories of the Greeks and non-Hellenic tribes to the beginning of the conquest of Gaul. Only Books I-V and XI-XX have survived in complete form. The author's claim to have spent much travel and thirty years on his historical research is not borne out by the meager results, for his work is an uncritical mass of disconnected details. It has, however, considerable historical value as reflecting the older works from which it was compiled.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus lived in Rome for over twenty years after Actium. By his study of Latin literature and his intimate association with leading senators, he became imbued with Republican prejudices and an admiration for Rome. In his twenty books of *Roman Antiquities*, published in 8 B.C., he undertook to prove that the Romans were not "barbarians" by connecting them with the Greeks in early legends. Though he used reliable sources, he was no historian, and his style is verbose and rhetorical. As a critic and appreciator of literature in his several literary treatises, he is far more significant,⁴⁰ though the famous treatise of Longinus, *On the Sublime*, which was probably written early in the first century A.D., is of greater interest and value.⁴¹ A very prolific Greek writer of the Augustan age was Nicolaus of Damascus, a friend of Herod and the teacher of the children of Antony and Cleopatra. Of his historical and rhetorical writings and his great *Universal History*, only a few fragments remain. His declamatory and eulogistic life of Caesar (Augustus) alone has survived.

The Romans seem to have known little of the Hellenistic science of geography except in brief summaries. Despite their far better opportunities for geographical observation, they showed no real scientific curiosity. The so-called map of Agrippa painted on a portico was not for scientific but for practical purposes to impress the public with the vast extent of the Empire, and did not,

⁴⁰ He wrote a *Handbook to Rhetoric*, *On the Composition of Words*, and *Essays on Ancient Greek Authors*. Only eleven books of his *Antiquities* are extant.

⁴¹ Both the name and date of the author are uncertain. He shows some knowledge of the Old Testament.

like the Greek maps, represent the earth as a circle,⁴² but as a long band. Unlike the Greek, also, it made no attempt to represent topography or latitude and longitude. The great *Geographica* in seventeen books was by Strabo, a Greek of Asia Minor and Alexandria, who traveled widely and spent a short time in Rome in the Augustan age. His first two books are on physical geography, and the others describe the whole known world. Much of his information is from older books, but his accounts of Asia and Egypt are especially valuable, since they present firsthand knowledge. His description of Spain is also good, being apparently based on recent data gotten at Rome. Strabo's *Geography* impresses the reader with the remarkable safety of travel throughout the Empire and the peace, order, and prosperity enjoyed under Augustan rule.

II. AUGUSTAN ART AND BUILDING

As the Augustan era of peace and prosperity, with its fresh political and spiritual enthusiasms, gave a new soul and meaning to poetry, so it did to art. The effect, however, was slower and less marked, due to the less flexible artistic tradition, the preponderance of Greek artists over Roman, and the lack of a master like Virgil. Its forms and motifs were old, either Hellenistic or a revival of the early Italic, but it breathed a new and original spirit, distinctly Roman, imperial, and universal. Though official and political, it was an art sincerely expressive of the patriotism of citizens and provincials for Italy, the Empire, the new order, and its founder. It was a new art, cold, stately, majestic, with a practical, didactic aim to teach the new imperial outlook and glorify the doings of both rulers and people.

I. SCULPTURE

In sculpture, the spirit of the Augustan age and the new art is nobly represented in two chief forms, portraiture and monumental reliefs. Portrait sculpture was especially fitted to the Roman genius. Greatness in this field had already been foreshadowed in the last century of the Republic, but through the influence of the portraiture of the princeps, the sculpture of the new age was refined and informed with a new meaning symbolical of universal empire. Though a combination of Hellenistic and old Italic, and somewhat idealized, the portraits are strongly realistic and Roman in appearance and meaning.

The multitude of portraits of Augustus throughout the Empire exerted so strong an influence that the representations of members of the Augustan family and intimate friends, as Tiberius and Agrippa, were made to show some resemblance to him, despite the usual Roman realism in portraiture. Many of his portraits have survived both in bronze and marble and in many forms. The most famous, a masterpiece of Roman portraiture, is the full-length statue from the villa of Livia at Prima Porta, and now in the Vatican. It probably commemorates the glorious return of the Roman eagles from Parthia in 20 B.C., though the type of head and some details of the shield suggest a later date. In

⁴² The Peutinger map, once owned by a fifteenth-century Augsburg banker and now in the Library in Vienna, is a medieval copy of a fourth-century original, probably the map of Agrippa.

either event, it was doubtless modeled after contemporary portraits and is an excellent, realistic likeness, with a touch of idealization. Though a fusion of Hellenistic and Italian, the statue is thoroughly Roman in type and motive. Traces of color are still retained on the breastplate and statue. The expression and pose are somewhat conventional and coldly majestic, yet they suggest vital power and the rational mastery of passion. The sculptured relief on the breastplate is a masterpiece of skilled workmanship, symbolizing the whole world under the power of Rome.⁴³

Portrait sculpture of private persons was more human and intimate, while also revealing the more refined technique and taste of the age. The female portraits are individual and full of life. Children and young boys and girls were also attractive subjects for sculptors and were humanly portrayed, a characteristic especially Italian rather than Greek, which reappeared in the art of the Renaissance.⁴⁴

The noblest and most elaborate example of Augustan monumental sculpture is the *Ara Pacis Augustae*, an altar of peace, erected in the Campus Martius between 13 and 9 B.C. in thankful recognition of the return of Augustus from his prolonged absence in Gaul and Germany.⁴⁵ The monument consisted of a marble wall in the form of a square surrounding the altar. The inside of the wall is decorated with carved festoons of foliage and fruit hanging from *bucrania* (ox skulls). The lower sections of the outside walls are richly adorned with foliage and flowers in conventional but graceful spiral motifs, extending from a base of acanthus leaves. Above are friezes of sculptured figures, symbolizing the domestic ideals of Augustus, a pictorial expression of the sentiments of Horace.⁴⁶ On the east side was a matron with two babes, symbolizing Mother Earth or perhaps Italia, a fine example of Roman relief sculpture.⁴⁷

The unbroken north and south walls gave opportunity for portraying a continuous procession; on the south, Augustus and his family, with representatives of the religious orders, moving toward the left, and, on the north, the senators, magistrates, and people facing toward the right, as if following the Augustan procession. Here are real portraits, strikingly individual in character, and the monotony is relieved by a marked variety in costumes, attitudes, and persons. The altar is another *Res Gestae* in art.⁴⁸

Little remains of Roman painting from the Augustan age, but doubtless the examples of murals from Pompeii and the two from the villa of Livia at Prima Porta, dating about 40 B.C., are representative. Portrait painting was also com-

⁴³ Cf. Pl. X. For this and other chief portraits of Augustus, cf. *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. IV of Plates, Pls. 44b, 146a-d, 148a-b, 150; also, A. Hekler, *Greek and Roman Portraits*, Pls. 163-173.

⁴⁴ Cf. *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. IV of Plates, Pls. 162a, 164, 166-d, 166a-c (Octavia, Livia, and the elder Agrippina). For children in Augustan art, cf. the figures of the Augustan family.

⁴⁵ Cf. one of the finest *Odes* of Horace (IV, 5), urging his return.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, and *Carmen Saeculare*.

⁴⁷ The picture fits perfectly the beautiful descriptions of Italy by Horace, *Carmen Saeculare*, and Virgil, *Georgics*, II, 143-157. Cf. A. Grenier, *The Roman Spirit*, pp. 352-354.

⁴⁸ Cf. Pls. X and XI. Parts of the relief are in the Uffizi Gallery at Florence, the Vatican and Terme Museums at Rome, and the Louvre at Paris. For the figures, decorations, and plan of the entire monument, cf. A. Grenier, *op. cit.*, p. 350, and Plates XIII-XV, and *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. IV of Plates, Pls. 114a-124b.

mon, but few examples have survived.⁴⁹ In Rome and throughout the provinces Augustan influence was everywhere active, inspiring and shaping all art to imperial ends. Art became a significant means of "pictorial teaching," a function which it later subserved on a vastly greater scale in Christianity.

2. THE NEW ROME

The Augustan age was epochal for the beautification of the imperial capital by a multitude of splendid new buildings and the now common use of the recently discovered white Carrara marble. Some marble had been used in the previous period, and ambitious plans for the improvement of the city had been made by Julius Caesar, as we have seen. But the new Augustan peace and prosperity and the revival of religion and imperial patriotism furnished a new impetus to public and private building on a large scale. The boast of Augustus was therefore well founded that he "found Rome a city of brick and left it a city of marble." Livy also scarcely exaggerated in calling Augustus the "founder and restorer of all the temples of Rome."⁵⁰ The dazzling Carrara marble was contrasted with colored marbles, and the effect was varied by travertine and tufa faced with stucco. Italic architectural elements still persisted, though the Hellenic influence dominated.

The improvement and enlargement of the Roman Forum, already begun by Julius, were carried out on a grand scale by Augustus. At his death in 14 B.C. its chief buildings were as follows: on the northwest, the temple of Concord; adjoining it to the south, the temple of Saturn (42 B.C.), whose eight surviving pillars belong to a later period; on the south side, the splendid Basilica Julia, begun by Julius and finished by Augustus; to the east, the temple of Castor, three columns with entablature of which still survive; at the east end facing the Rostra, the temple of the Divine Julius, and, adjoining it to the rear, the Regia, splendidly rebuilt in 36 B.C. and turned over to the Vestals; on the north side, east of the Curia, the Basilica Aemilia, rebuilt by Augustus with pillars of Phrygian marble. The temple of Janus was also somewhere in the Forum. The so-called Argiletum, north of the Forum, a street famous for its book-sellers, was cleared and made into a new market place. The Julian Forum, with its temple to Venus Genetrix, begun by Julius, was finished by Augustus, and a new Augustan Forum to the north, beautified by porticoes and statues, was established.

The swampy north section of the Campus Martius was drained, and the whole Campus took on a new appearance. Here were built the theatres of Balbus and Marcellus (11 B.C.). The Theatre of Pompey was also repaired, and a marble enclosure for voting, begun by Julius, was finished by Agrippa. Here, also, he built the Pantheon,⁵¹ the splendid baths (*Thermae*) of Agrippa, and the Basilica of Neptune. In the north section of the Campus also stood the first stone amphitheatre, and an imposing mausoleum on the circular plan of an

⁴⁹ Cf. *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. IV of Plates, Pls. 172a and b. For Pompeiian examples of portraits, paintings and mosaics, possibly in this period or soon after, cf. Pls. 174a-176c.

⁵⁰ IV, 20, 7. Cf. Frontispiece.

⁵¹ The extant circular Pantheon, with its great dome of one solid mass of concrete, was rebuilt by Hadrian in the second century A.D. and will be described in a later chapter.

Etruscan house built by Augustus, 60 feet in height and 300 in circumference, for the imperial family.

Other sections of the city were improved and beautified with splendid buildings. On the Capitoline, the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus was elaborately repaired, and other temples and lesser shrines were built about it, among them the temple of Mars Ultor⁵² and of Jupiter Tonans, famous for the splendor of its marbles. The Palatine was the original *Roma Quadrata*, where were the hut of Romulus and other sites sacred to ancient Roman tradition. Here was the aristocratic residence section, and the birthplace of Augustus himself. It therefore gave its name (*palatium*) to the magnificent palace of Augustus, which Ovid says was "worthy of a god." Beside it he dedicated in 28 B.C. the splendid temple to his patron deity, Apollo. It was a peripteral temple of white marble, with eight columns, and enriched with art, including a bronze Colossus of Augustus in the form of Apollo, and statues of the fifty daughters of Danaüs and their fifty wooers. In this temple were the sacred Sibylline Books and a Latin and Greek library. On the Palatine also was the temple of the Divine Augustus built by Livia and Tiberius after his death. Maecenas also transformed the Esquiline from a malarial district of abandoned cemeteries to a beautiful park. Though the Augustan buildings were distinctly inferior to the best Greek temples in finish and perfection, they were majestic and splendid examples of Roman engineering, and the use of arch and dome gave them an added sense of height and dignity. One of the finest of surviving Roman temples in grace, symmetry, and perfection of details is the *Maison Carrée* at Nîmes, built by Agrippa in 16 B.C.⁵³

As the multitude of temples bore witness to the Augustan religious policy, so the public baths, theatres, libraries, public works, market places, docks, and warehouses testify to the new economic prosperity of Augustan Rome. Wealthy Romans also built elaborate homes enriched with costly art. But Rome was far from being all of marble or travertine. In its narrow, crooked streets towered the many-storied wooden tenements in constant danger of fire, where Rome's teeming masses eked out a precarious existence. There also seems to have been little regular city planning in Augustan Rome in contrast to marked evidences of it in some of the contemporary Italian cities and in the provinces. Triumphal arches as monumental entrances were multiplied in Rome, Italy, and the provinces, but little remains of these from the Augustan period. The type is illustrated, however, by the fine extant example at Ariminum, Italy, celebrating the completion of the *Via Flaminia*. The use of the arch in bridges and aqueducts developed rapidly during the Augustan age. Its most noble example, if it dates from this period, is the Pont du Gard near Nîmes,⁵⁴ whose three massive tiers of arches, varying in size, are both majestic and beautiful.

⁵² This is to be distinguished from the great temple of Mars Ultor built later in the Augustan Forum.

⁵³ Cf. Pl. XX.

⁵⁴ But perhaps it dates from the reign of Antoninus Pius in the second century.

III. AUGUSTAN ECONOMY⁵⁵

In material prosperity the Augustan era was just as truly a golden age as in art and literature, and it was this prosperity that furnished their necessary basis. After generations of anarchy and civic strife at home and endless conflicts in the provinces, peace and order finally reigned throughout the entire Mediterranean world, and life and property were again secure. Piracy and brigandage were suppressed, the frontiers were protected, and world-wide industry and commerce were given free course. For the first time the seas were policed by two regular Roman naval squadrons, and travel by sea and land was unmolested. The terrible disturbance to agriculture from the repeated veteran settlements was ended. Land, long idle, again felt the plow and produced with renewed fertility. Agriculture prospered, though the trend to large estates continued. The new security, the influx of the vast wealth of the Ptolemies to Italy, the intense activity in public building, and the greatly increased demand for luxuries and comforts gave a new impetus to all production, and trade and industry flourished as never before.

Within certain limits, Italian industry reached its climax in the early Principate. It remained largely of the shop variety, however, and in the hands of a multitude of small craftsmen, freedmen, or poor citizens, though the latter were decreasing through the encroachment of slave labor. Factory industry continued to be limited to a few products especially fitted for large-scale manufacture, such as bricks, produced on the large estates, the red-glazed ware of Arretium, terra-cotta lamps shipped in vast quantities throughout the Mediterranean world, and the iron and bronze ware of Campania. In industry slave labor dominated as it did on the large estates. Land in Italy and the provinces continued to be the necessarily preferred investment for the senatorial nobles, and trade, finance, and public contracts, rather than industry, for the equestrian capitalists.

The *collegia*, or artisan guilds, largely suppressed by Julius Caesar for their political activities, were permitted by Augustus to reorganize under a state charter as socially useful, but were carefully regulated. They were therefore common in every craft, both in factory and independent shop industry, and included slaves as well as freemen.⁵⁶ But their function now became chiefly social and to provide aid to the poor and a sort of insurance to meet burial expenses. The *collegia* built halls with multitudes of small cells, or *columbaria*, with individual burial urns, for the ashes of the dead, and small marble slabs for the name of the deceased. The state permitted the members to meet socially to eat and drink together not oftener than once a month. A later inscription giving the rules and by-laws of such a *collegium* may safely be applied also to the Augustan age. According to it, the initiation fee was 100 sesterces and an amphora of wine, and the monthly dues amounted to about three cents. On the death of a member 300 sesterces were drawn from his account to provide

⁵⁵ For details, consult the analysis of the economy of the late Republic, since the conditions were largely similar, except for the renewed prosperity.

⁵⁶ In an inscription of a century later, a guild rule states: "If any member who is a slave gains his freedom, he shall present the corporation with an amphora of good wine."

for his burial. Newly elected officers were required to furnish food and wine on pain of a fine, and specific fines were provided for disturbances and insults to members.

Trade was greatly stimulated by the new security. Never was there so thorough an economic unification of the whole Mediterranean basin as under the early Empire. Rome and Italy were increasingly dependent upon the provinces for grain, raw materials, and luxuries of all kinds. Imports flowed in from every corner of the Mediterranean world, civilized and barbarian, and indirectly from India and China, to satisfy the luxurious tastes of the well-to-do. Large trading companies were organized with warehouses at Puteoli. The northern conquests opened up direct trade communication by the Danube River with the East, and the garrisons on the frontiers were miniature Romes, centers for inland trade. As we have seen, Augustus indirectly encouraged commerce by building roads, bridges, and harbors, by colonization, territorial expansion, and the *Pax Romana*. But Augustan Rome still had no policy of state regulation to favor Italian industry, trade, or shipping.⁵⁷ Wide initiative was left to private enterprise throughout the Empire, and there was no attempt to crush the competition of the provinces with Italy. Italian merchants were active in purchasing and lading, but shipping was still largely in the hands of Syrians and Greeks. Puteoli, rather than Ostia, still remained the chief port, since it was far easier to secure a return cargo there. Rome had no policy to make Italy self-sufficient. Imports in grain, raw materials, and luxuries vastly exceeded exports of wine, olive oil, pottery, and metal products. The excess must be paid for in coin. This was not so true of her trade with the barbarian West, however, which needed Italian products.

Even more than Italy, the provinces shared in the new prosperity of the *Pax Romana*. This was especially true of the African provinces. Carthage, rebuilt by Caesar, rapidly developed as an important port. The Augustan colonial policy and the rich, cheap lands brought an influx of Roman colonists and veterans, and several of the decadent coast towns sprang into fresh life. The new prosperity also brought a return of many Punic settlers. Cities, trade, and industry thrived, opening new markets for farm products. Henceforth, after Egypt, Africa was the chief wheat producer in the Empire.

Spain, rich in agricultural and mineral resources, and civilized by centuries of contact with Mediterranean culture, also entered upon a new era of prosperity. Its manufacture of steel blades, linen, and woolen textiles from home-grown flax and wool, its high-grade sheep and cattle, vineyards, olive groves, and orchards, now thrived as never before. Spanish merchants, especially at Gades, controlled much of Spanish commerce, sending out the largest ships of the Mediterranean and Atlantic. The Spanish provinces present a striking example of the prosperity resulting from the Augustan "let alone" policy of free trade and free agriculture.⁵⁸

Narbonese Gaul, now practically a part of Italy, was highly Romanized and enjoyed great prosperity, since the rest of Gaul served as a field for its com-

⁵⁷ Cf. also above, Chapter Fifteen, Sec. IV, on Augustan economic policy.

⁵⁸ On Spanish trade and ships, cf. Strabo, *Geography*, III, 5, 3; 2, 5-6. The entire book of Strabo on Spain is especially valuable and interesting.

mercial exploitation. The other three Gauls raised large quantities of wool and grain, the surplus of which was sold to the army. They enjoyed good government and large local initiative in economic affairs, but for a century after Augustus the country was only slightly Romanized. In the East recovery under the Augustan régime was more gradual. Greece was beyond recovery and gradually declined. Asia, though relieved of the vicious contract system by Caesar, had suffered terribly by the exactions of Brutus, Cassius, and Antony. The province slowly regained a moderate prosperity, however, under the Augustan policy of peace, honest government, and noninterference in provincial internal economy. The imperial estates were not as extensive there during the Augustan age as they were in Galatia, Phrygia, and Pisidia. Ephesus and other coast cities flourished, but the province as a whole had few centers of great wealth and little factory industry.

When Augustus took personal control of Egypt, it was half-ruined by a century of mismanagement at the hands of the decadent Ptolemies. Temple lands and private estates had greatly expanded. The irrigation canals were neglected, the state monopolies had degenerated to licensed privileges, graft was rampant, and taxation disorganized. He secularized most of the temple lands and gradually abolished the contract tax system and the old Ptolemaic monopolies. Customs duties were also reduced, in accord with Rome's usual policy of freedom of trade. Thus Egypt gained by becoming the natural halfway house for transit trade from southern Arabia and India to Rome. Augustus also used the army to clear the canals, thereby reclaiming much wasteland. Roman occupation of Egypt therefore meant a new agricultural and commercial prosperity at first, though there was little change in the status of the great mass of practically serf population, and the marked rise in wages was probably fully equalized by the rise in prices resulting from debased coinage. On the whole, Augustus concerned himself with economic problems far less than did Julius. Only in Egypt did he make drastic changes for the stimulus of trade, industry, and agriculture, and even there his lowering of the tariffs and partial abolition of monopolies was only in accord with the regular Roman custom of unhampered trade.⁵⁹

IV. SOCIETY AND MORALS

The unhealthy social and moral tendencies of the parasitic leisure classes of the late Republic, previously described,⁶⁰ continued unchanged in the Augustan age, only much intensified by the new prosperity and relaxation from war. We have seen these conditions well reflected in the futile social legislation of Augustus, above analyzed.⁶¹ The same picture is revealed in most of the Augustan literature, especially in the love elegists and Horace. They reflect a decadent, oversophisticated society, pampered by wealth, money-mad, crassly materialistic, enervated by a refined sensualism, ennui, and aimlessness, and devoid of family, social, or civic responsibility. The supreme end of life is a

⁵⁹ For further details on the provinces and the Augustan commercial policy, cf. the previous chapter.

⁶⁰ Chapter Thirteen, Sec. III.

⁶¹ Chapter Fifteen, Sec. IV.

luxurious self-indulgence and an artificially polished culture and art that finds no end in life outside its vapid self. The refined luxury of the aristocrats is aped by the coarse show of the bourgeois new-rich. But even in high society, the vein of coarseness native to Romans appears in the extreme elaborateness of the banquets and the pedantic overemphasis of the epicures upon costly dishes and cookery and gastronomy as a fine art, as in the previous period. The same coarseness is seen in the crassly physical emphasis of the love elegists, whose glorified mistresses are usually avaricious parasites of a very common origin.⁶²

The money-madness has infected all classes, who seek to gain wealth by hook or crook. Fawning parasites and petty scribblers seek the patronage of the great and strive to worm themselves into high society. The itch for writing, though devoid of genius or message, has become a disease.⁶³ The vicious practice of feathering one's own nest by legacy-hunting is already common enough to feel the gentle satire of Horace, who ironically gives elaborate rules for the profession.⁶⁴

To judge by the enervated poets of the elegies, sex is the supreme end of man. The world revolves around them and their illicit loves and related hates. Immorality, however, is no monopoly of a few lovelorn poets and gilded youth. It is apparently quite general in the leisure class among men and women alike.⁶⁵ The solidarity of the family is gone, and with it the old Roman respect for women, who, like the men, have lost their sense of family or social responsibility. Hence the rampant social evils of frequent divorce, illicit love, and childlessness against which Augustus legislated in vain.

This loss of serious purpose in social or civic life is a part of a new psychology born of the pampered luxury of a parasitic society, the prolonged anarchy of civil war, the breakdown of the old order, the passing of civic freedom, and the return of prosperity. It is marked by an undercurrent of ennui, pessimism, and melancholy in the elegists.⁶⁶ But it is not limited to these poets. Despite the seeming enthusiasm for the new era of peace and prosperity as an age of gold, in reality the golden age even for Virgil and Horace, as well as for Livy and the disillusioned Ovid, is far back in the good old days.⁶⁷ The Augustan age is, after all, only a poorly refurbished substitute. All the serious literature clearly reflects a pathetic nostalgia for the archaic past, as does the whole social, political, and religious program of Augustus himself. Even the genial Horace is essentially pessimistic and has little to offer in place of the old freedom but a gospel of passive submission. He well reflects the characteristic mood of the noble and well-to-do middle classes. Though at its best in

⁶² Luxury and money-madness, Tibullus, I, 1; II, 6; Propertius, I, 2; III, 13; Ovid, *Fasti*, I, 191-226; also repeatedly satirized by Horace, for example, *Satires*, II, 6; I, 1; *Odes*, III, 1; 16; 24. Banquets and cookery, Horace, *Satires*, II, 1; 4; his ironical lecture on gastronomy, 7, 102-15; 8; a picture of a dinner party, the vulgar display of wealth, and the pedantic erudition of the epicures, *Epistles*, I, 5; gold-digging mistresses, Ovid, *Amores*, I, 10; *Art of Love*, II, 271-286; Propertius, II, 16; Tibullus, II, 4; 6.

⁶³ Horace, *Satires*, I, 6; 9; *Epistles*, I, 17; 18; II, 1, 105 ff.

⁶⁴ *Satires*, II, 5. Augustus deprecated it as contributing to a lower birth rate.

⁶⁵ Propertius, II, 32, 29 ff.; I, 16, 9-14. Fidelity in a Roman matron is to be praised as unusual, IV, 11. Cf. III, 10, on how such women spend their day.

⁶⁶ For examples, Tibullus, II, 4; Propertius, I, 5, but this spirit broods over their entire elegies.

⁶⁷ Cf. *Fasti*, I, 247-254; 299 ff., but this is the dominant mood of the *Fasti*.

him, more refined, tempered with moderation, and stressing the more abiding pleasures of the mind, it is still a superficial Epicureanism. Life is trivial, ephemeral, self-centered, and devoid of meaning. Pluck its blossoms while they last. "While we live, let us live." "Enjoy the day," only with moderation. The best is a full purse and the pleasures it can purchase. The famous silver cup from the Boscoreale treasure found near Pompeii with its engraved skeletons and inscription well expresses the prevailing mood of futility. "Enjoy life while you live, for tomorrow is uncertain."⁶⁸

V. RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY

The Augustan revival of civic religion in intimate connection with the renewal of the ancient and long-neglected worship of the local shrines and the rise of the new imperial cult has been analyzed in the previous chapter. It remains to consider the characteristic tendencies in the personal religion and thought of the age. The Augustan era was far from being an age of faith, as is sometimes implied, for, apart from Virgil, the writers are largely non-religious in tone.⁶⁹ Yet the religious revival was by no means an artificial creation of Augustus and his poetic propagandists. It had its roots deep in the psychological needs and attitudes of the times. The anarchy and insecurity incident to the breakdown of the old order had induced a yearning for a way of life that would enable men to stand the pressure without moral collapse. The failure of reason to solve the pressing problems of the individual and society resulted in a growing despair of rationalism and a resort to romanticism and mystic faith.⁷⁰ The loss of civic liberty and responsible citizenship and the excessive cosmopolitanism resulting from vast imperial expansion and widening Stoic influence stimulated individualism in religion and life. It found expression not only in the luxury and self-indulgence of the age, but also in the new interest in personal salvation.

For the first time, the Roman people generally became conscious of a soul. There are no traces of this idea until the second century B.C., and only slight evidences of it in the age of Cicero. This new soul consciousness was associated with a growing belief in a life after death and the need of purification and salvation, ideas which were much more developed in Seneca, a generation later.

⁶⁸ Cf. M. I. Rostovtzeff, *Ancient World*, Vol. II, Plate XXXVIII, for cut and full description. The cup is now in the Louvre.

⁶⁹ The religious passages in Horace seem to be in the nature of lessons from Augustus rather than native beliefs. The religion of Ovid's *Fasts* and *Metamorphoses* is formal, literary, and antiquarian. Livy's interest in the old cults is essentially patriotic rather than religious.

⁷⁰ Similar reactions from rationalism occurred in the later Greek world, the early nineteenth century, and another such reaction seems to be under way today. Whether such recurrent tendencies are inevitably periodic or not and furnish the key to the interpretation of history, as P. A. Sorokin believes (*Social and Cultural Dynamics*, American Book Co., 1937, 4 vols.), is an interesting question. In any event, historically, the reactions from rationalism have regularly resulted from its shortcomings and failures. It has usually been too negative, abstract, and exclusive of the multitudinous demands of life. It has taken away without putting something better in the place. The solution, however, then, as now, was to be found neither in clinging to the old rationalism nor in a resort to mysticism and romantic humbug, but in a broadening of the basis of intelligence, in clearer thinking, and in making reason less abstract and more inclusive of the claims of life. Unfortunately, this type of rationalism is always rare.

The preceding decades of anarchy and the failure to solve the baffling social and political problems incident to the breakdown of the old order engendered a mental weariness and readiness to shift the responsibility to some superman or savior of society. Mystic prophecies of such a savior, whose advent would usher in a golden age, became common.⁷¹ Since to Greeks and Romans the line between divine and human was indistinct, the prosaic and very human Augustus was easily conceived of as a half-god or miracle man. His personality was surrounded with a mystic and romantic glamour.⁷² He was an incarnate Apollo, creator of light and peace, a second Mercury, bringer of prosperity and civilization. In him religion and the state were united, and the doctrine of a divine Genius in every man reached its climax. Thus did the social and individual psychology of the times furnish the essential mental and emotional setting for the success of the Augustan reforms.

The poets show a strong feeling for the cults of rural Italy.⁷³ Most serious intellectuals, however, sought their chief spiritual satisfaction in philosophy. But the temper of the times was making philosophy less rational, more immediately practical, and transforming it to a theological system. Stoicism was widely diffused among the cultivated classes. It had lost its old political emphasis and was now a gospel for the individual. Having assimilated much from the Greco-Oriental cults, it had become a dogmatic religion adapted to the needs of widely diverse people. Its theory of a monarchy under a wise and benevolent ruler as the government under which one may best win inner freedom accorded well with the trend of the times. It harmonized also with the Stoic conception of a world ruled by universal reason, by which the individual must guide his life to attain that inner calm which is freedom. Even the rational and materialistic Epicureanism also became an increasingly dogmatic system, serving as a practical religion or way of life to many of the more skeptical Romans.

There was, however, little attempt to develop any independent philosophy of life. An illogical eclecticism prevailed. Horace, though essentially an Epicurean of the higher type, boasts of his inconsistency and of having no definite philosophy but expediency. As we have seen, he repeatedly tempers his Epicurean Hedonism with Stoic principles.⁷⁴ Likewise, the profoundly religious Virgil, the poet of brooding mysticism and speculation on the life after death, is conscious of no contradiction in being also an Epicurean.⁷⁵

The masses, however, to whom philosophy meant little, sought their spiritual satisfaction in Neo-Pythagoreanism, with its emphasis upon a mystic supernaturalism, magic, a soul, salvation, rites of purification, and a life after death. Despite the attempt of Augustus to check them, the Hellenistic mystery reli-

⁷¹ Virgil, *Eclogues*, IV. Cf. also Horace, *Epodes*, XVI, 52 ff.

⁷² No strange phenomenon then, in view of its recurrence in this "enlightened" age.

⁷³ Cf. Virgil, *Georgics*, II, 490 ff.; Horace, *Odes*, III, 23, on Phidyle; Ovid, *Fasti*, the frequent prayers of Tibullus, and Propertius' picture of the old rite of Lanuvium. Livy also shows such a strong emotional attachment.

⁷⁴ His Epicureanism is everywhere evident. For his Stoicism, cf. *Odes*, I, 22, but probably the poem is a jest; 34; II, 2; 10; III, 1. For his confession of inconsistency, cf. *Epistles*, I, 15, 42-46; I, 1, 14 f., 94-105.

⁷⁵ Such attitudes, however, were neither new nor strange. Cf. E. R. Bevan in *The Hellenistic Age* (ed. Bury), Macmillan, 1923.

gions also became increasingly popular, as is evident from the decoration on the tombs of the Augustan age. This was due to the presence in Rome and Italy of multitudes of freedmen and immigrants from Greece and the East, rather than to extensive conversion of native Romans. But Chaldaean astrology had won widespread interest in all classes, who sought for security here and hereafter against inexorable fate. Evidences of belief in witchcraft, the magical powers of numbers, and other superstitions also appear even in the most frivolous and irreligious as well as in the supposedly rational.⁷⁶

In accord with the self-indulgence and skepticism of the age, less serious Romans, as the love elegists and the gilded youth, interpreted Epicureanism as emphasizing the physical pleasure of the moment. These had no real interest in either philosophy or religion. Their gospel of "Eat, drink, and be merry for tomorrow ye die" was widespread in this age of prosperity, and reached its climax of cynicism in the elegies of Ovid. Yet even the most frivolous of these pleasure seekers, whose only religion is sensual love, strive to reduce life to some set of religious rules and enlist superstition and magic to calm their fears and secure their ends.

⁷⁶ Tibullus, I, 5; Ovid, *Amores*, III, 13; I, 12; Horace, *Odes*, I, 11; II, 17, 17 ff.; III, 19; *Epodes*, V; XIV.

Part Six

THE JULIO-CLAUDIAN PERIOD

- 18. *Rome and the Empire Under the Julio-Claudians* (14-68 A.D.)
- 19. *Economy and Society in the Julio-Claudian Age* (14-70 A.D.)
- 20. *Culture and Religion in the Julio-Claudian Age*

Chapter Eighteen

ROME AND THE EMPIRE UNDER THE JULIO- CLAUDIANS (14-68 A.D.)

I. A PREVIEW OF ROMAN IMPERIAL HISTORY

As an aid to a comprehensive understanding of the history of the Roman Empire as a whole, in contrast to the history of the capital, or the personal or political biography of the emperors, it is necessary to keep constantly in mind certain great political, economic, social, cultural, and religious trends, which reach their climax in the later Empire. The more important of these are as follows:

1. The gradual decline of the senate and the development of the Principate toward military autocracy and Oriental absolutism.
2. The growth of centralized government, paternalism, and bureaucracy, and the resulting increase in the burden of taxation.
3. The gradual leveling of Rome and Italy to the provinces, and the expansion of Roman citizenship, culminating in the decree of universal citizenship for all freemen, and the final removal of the capital to Constantinople.
4. The growing degradation of the agricultural cultivators toward a state of serfdom culminating in the legalized Colonate.
5. The advance of the middle class in the municipalities, and its later gradual breakdown through the ever-increasing burden of taxation.
6. The gradual decline of the old Roman and Italian stock, and the growing foreignization of the citizenship, the army, the civil service, and even the imperial office itself.
7. The growing tendency toward military dictation in the settlement of the problem of succession.
8. The growing despair of reason and the expanding influence of mysticism and Oriental religions, culminating in the triumph of Christianity.
9. The gradual systematizing, rationalizing, and humanizing of Roman law, coincident with its evolution from a community product developed from within to the expressed will of an autocrat imposed from above.
10. The gradual Romanization and civilizing of the barbarian West and North.
11. The later decline of economic production, quantitatively and qualitatively, due to many factors, especially notable by the third century.
12. The decline of creative culture in literature, art, science, and thought, coincident with a growing expansion of civilization, literacy, and literary production.
13. The evolution of Christianity in the Roman Empire from the simple

religion of Jesus and the New Testament to the complexity of ritualism, creed, and hierarchical organization of the church of the fourth century.

These and other significant developments in the Roman Empire, some of them hardly perceptible at first, we shall trace to their culmination in the fourth century, which marks a clear transition from the Greco-Roman to the medieval Western European society.

II. TIBERIUS (14-37 A.D.)

I. THE HISTORIANS OF TIBERIUS

The problem of the personality and reign of Tiberius is one of the most baffling in Roman history. Tacitus says of the preceding histories of the Julio-Claudian emperors that they "were falsified through cowardice while they flourished, and composed, when they fell, under the influence of still rankling hatreds."¹ The latter is still largely true of his own account and those of his successors. He says he will write *sine ira et studio* ("without anger or partiality"). But like others of his class, he had a deep-seated prejudice against Tiberius as the emperor who represented the transition from the more liberal principate of Augustus to the despotism of his successors. His *Annals*, however, published about 116 A.D. and later, are by far the most complete and reliable ancient source for our knowledge of Tiberius.² He drew from several earlier historians whom he names, weighing their testimony and investigating further when they differed. In such cases, the official records of the senate and the daily journal, *Acta Diurna*, were also probably frequently consulted. He lacked political insight, however, and followed the superficial Roman method of explaining historic events by the personality of the actors. His partisan interpretations are enforced by brilliant rhetoric and epigram, in which he ascribes the most sinister motives to the simplest act of Tiberius.³ But though distinctly biased, he shows considerable critical sense, honestly records the facts as he sees them, and rarely exaggerates. We must separate his partisan interpretations from his honest factual record and judge Tiberius by his known acts rather than by the motives ascribed to him.

Suetonius and Dio (LVII-LVIII), though distinctly inferior to Tacitus, are valuable supplements, especially for the years between 29 and 32 A.D., where he fails us, and Dio is less partisan and has more political insight. Velleius Paterculus reflects the genuine admiration of a loyal imperial official, but his *History* extends only to 30 A.D. before the tyranny of the later years. Valerius Maximus is a fulsome flatterer. All the Roman historians emphasize unduly the history of the court and capital, to the neglect of the far-flung Empire.

¹ *Annals*, I, 1, Loeb Classical Library translation (H. J. Jackson), by permission of the Harvard University Press.

² Most of Bk. V, covering the years between 29 and 32 A.D., is lost.

³ On Tacitus' use of his sources, cf. Frank B. Marsh, *The Reign of Tiberius*, Oxford, 1931, Chap. I and Appendices I-III. For further detail on Tacitus and his works, cf. Chapter Twenty-six, Sec. II, 2. For further data on the sources for Tiberius, cf. *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. X, pp. 866 ff.

2. ACCESSION AND DIFFICULT POSITION OF TIBERIUS

On the death of Augustus, the succession of Tiberius, his heir, adopted son, and consort in the rule, was universally taken for granted. So well had Augustus built that there was apparently no thought of revolution or of return to the old order. As Tacitus bitterly says: "Few indeed were left who had seen the Republic. It was thus an altered world, and of the old, unspoilt Roman character, not a trace lingered."⁴ Tiberius, however, felt none too secure. He was already nearly fifty-five years of age and knew that he lacked the pleasing personal qualities by which Augustus had won popularity. He was related only by adoption, and the repeated disappointments as to the succession during his earlier life had made him morose and suspicious.⁵ The grandson of Augustus, Agrippa Postumus, still lived in exile, and the popular Germanicus had charge of the formidable army of the Rhine. Agrippa was immediately disposed of on the death of Augustus, doubtless by order of Tiberius and Livia, but Germanicus remained as a possible rival. Constitutionally, also, the succession to the Principate was in the hands of the senate and Roman people and was elective, not hereditary.

Tiberius left nothing to chance. On the strength of his previous proconsular *imperium*, he immediately took control of the praetorian cohorts, sent orders to the legions as if he were already emperor, and summoned the senate to arrange for his father's funeral and deification, to hear his will and his other state documents,⁶ and to settle the succession. The senate confirmed him in the proconsular *imperium*, which he had already exercised, and by one comprehensive law conferred on him all the powers previously held by Augustus. In theory, he was only an elective chief magistrate subject to the will of the senate and Roman people. Actually, however, as commander of the army and controller of elections, he was supreme, and the anomaly was now all the more glaring because of the unfortunate contrast between the personality of Tiberius and the founder.

Following the diplomatic methods of his father, therefore, Tiberius pretended great reluctance to undertake alone the vast responsibilities of empire in a state where there were "so many eminent men," and finally yielded only to the senate's "most abject supplications."⁷ The severe criticism of him by ancient historians for such transparent deceit was unjust, for it was an inevitable part of the stage play involved in the very theory of the Principate. The conferment of imperial powers, not gradually as before, but by one comprehensive law, and the abandonment by Tiberius of the Augustan policy of assuming the rule only for a definite period, however, were distinct steps from Principate to monarchy.

⁴ *Annals*, I, 3-4, Loeb Classical Library translation (H. J. Jackson), by permission of the Harvard University Press.

⁵ On the career of Tiberius before his accession, cf. Chapter Sixteen, Sec. III, IV, cf. Pl. XII for portrait.

⁶ Cf. Chapter Sixteen (end) for detail on these.

⁷ Tacitus, *Annals*, I, 11-14.

3. GERMANICUS: MUTINY ON THE RHINE AND CAMPAIGNS IN GERMANY (14-17 A.D.)

The accession of Tiberius was the signal for serious mutinies in the armies of the Rhine and Danube, due to long smoldering discontent at low wages and prolonging of the term of service beyond the regular limit. The three rebellious legions in Pannonia were finally won back to their allegiance by Drusus, son of Tiberius, but the revolt of the eight legions of the Rhine was far more dangerous. In the absence of their popular commander, Germanicus, the nephew and adopted son of Tiberius, the rebellious troops proclaimed their purpose to make him their emperor and dictate terms at Rome. He hastily returned to the frontier, but his appeals had little weight against their threat to ravage the cities of Gaul, and only by yielding to their immediate demands for relief was he able to quell the mutiny. Thus was ended the only dangerous military rebellion against Tiberius by the steadfast loyalty of Germanicus. The emperor's strong control of the army is revealed by his cold refusal to fulfill the promises of Germanicus to the legions. Instead, he even lengthened the term of service.

To restore discipline to his legions by action, and to finish the brilliant work of his father, Drusus, by the conquest of Germany to the Albis, he led his army across the Rhine, though without the authorization of Tiberius. After preliminary successes, he advanced in 15 A.D. against the formidable German coalition that had existed since the Varus disaster, whose brave leader was Arminius of the Cherusci. He succeeded in ravaging the land between the Rhine and the Weser, and even raised a mound over the whitened bones of the slain legions of Varus. But Arminius and his allies were far from subdued, and a division of the Roman army was almost trapped in the same region. On the whole, the gains of the campaign were only temporary and hardly balanced the dangers and losses. But though Tiberius probably had no enthusiasm for the campaign, he granted Germanicus a triumph and did not yet recall him.

The next year, 16 A.D., Germanicus undertook a more ambitious campaign thoroughly to subdue the formidable Arminius. The resulting battle on the right bank of the Weser was indecisive, and Arminius escaped to rally his scattered forces.⁸ Since the season was now far advanced, after raising a trophy claiming the conquest of all the land between the Rhine and the Elbe, Germanicus was obliged to return to the Rhine with little in permanent gains to balance the great cost. Further disaster was also met by a part of the force returning by sea.

Germanicus planned, the following year, to complete his conquest of Germany, but he was destined to disappointment, for Tiberius recalled him to settle a crisis in the East. Following the version of the Germanicus party at Rome, Tacitus, who was enthusiastic for Germanicus, and for the conquest of Germany, imputes jealousy of his nephew as the dominant motive of

⁸ Tacitus, *Annals*, II, 17-22, dramatizes this battle in his best style as an overwhelming victory, but the consensus of historical opinion is that it was not decisive.

Tiberius. But if this motive figured at all, it certainly was not the decisive one. The campaigns of Germanicus had been very costly and largely empty of abiding results. Even if Germany to the Albis could have been conquered within a reasonable time, which was quite problematical, it would have meant the future expense of keeping another large frontier force on the Albis as well as on the Rhine. But the astute Tiberius recognized the baffling problem of raising and supporting sufficient legions to hold the present far-flung boundaries, and he was thoroughly committed to the last advice of Augustus against further expansion. Furthermore, the situation in the East looked critical, and Germanicus was the logical man to settle it.

After 17 A.D. the government of Gaul and the command of the army of the Rhine were no longer vested in one man. The three Gauls were established as independent provinces, administered each by its own praetorian governor. Two new districts of Upper and Lower Germany were organized, each under a strictly military *legatus* of consular rank, though the financial administration was united with that of Belgic Gaul. Freed from Roman interference, Arminius now began a bitter war against Maroboduus, king of the Marcomanni, who finally had to seek refuge in Italy. Tiberius permitted him to settle at Ravenna, where he lived for eighteen years, and soon had the satisfaction of seeing his enemy, Arminius, struck down by one of his soldiers in 19 A.D. Both of these German leaders were remarkable personalities, and Tacitus recognizes Arminius as "undoubtedly the liberator of Germany, who lost battles, but was never conquered." On his return to Rome, Germanicus celebrated a brilliant triumph over the German tribes, amid the wild acclaim of the populace, and Tiberius distributed 300 sesterces each to the citizens, doing everything to glorify the occasion as if the conquest of Germany were complete.

4. GERMANICUS: EASTERN MISSION AND DEATH (17-19 A.D.)

In the East the situation demanded attention. The client kingdoms of Asia Minor, Cappadocia, Commagene, and Cilicia Tracheia were without rulers, Judaea and Syria were restive under heavy taxation, and Parthia was again threatening disturbance over the succession to the throne of Armenia. Though the situation was not critical, it could easily become so, if not handled with wisdom, and a Caesar rather than a legate would add prestige to the Roman name. Germanicus was therefore given superauthority over all lands beyond the Hellespont. He settled satisfactorily to all interests the Armenian succession and established friendly relations with the Parthian king which lasted through most of the reign of Tiberius. Cappadocia and Commagene were made provinces, so that direct Roman rule now extended to the Euphrates.

Tiberius had been careful not to permit the popular young Caesar such unlimited authority in the East as he had assumed in Germany. He therefore substituted for the governor of Syria, who was a personal friend of Germanicus, the proud noble, Cn. Calpurnius Piso, whose wife was on intimate terms with his mother, Livia. Here the troubles of Germanicus began, for he resented the haughty insubordination of Piso. Recognizing the probable pur-

pose of Tiberius in appointing Piso, Germanicus did not attempt to assert his authority in Syria, but took a trip to Egypt to see its antiquities. Thereby, he imprudently left Piso free rein in Syria and disregarded the Augustan law against entering Egypt without the authorization of the emperor. While there he even assumed authority to distribute grain from the public granaries because of famine. For this he was severely rebuked by Tiberius, who had real occasion to be disturbed at such irresponsible conduct. In Asia, also, he had shown the same independent attitude to the emperor as he had in Germany by issuing coins in his own image.

On his return to Syria, angered at Piso's disregard of his arrangements, he asserted his superior authority. But his sudden fatal illness caused probably unjust suspicion of foul play by Piso and his wife. On his death, Piso, who had been superseded in his province, returned and sought to regain control by force. Failing in this, he sailed for Rome, where prosecution for complicity in the death of Germanicus awaited him. Agrippina, with her children and the ashes of her husband, also set out on her sad journey to Rome. Intense grief at the death of the popular Germanicus was felt in Rome and throughout the Empire. Many triumphal arches, statues, and inscriptions were set up in his honor as one who "died for the Republic," and bitter anger was freely expressed against his suspected slayers. Tiberius also was suspected of being pleased at his nephew's death, especially as he and Livia failed to attend the funeral ceremonies, and he issued an edict calling for moderation in mourning.

Tiberius, however, by no means protected Piso, since besides being suspected of foul play, he had been guilty of attempting to retain his province after dismissal. Though the charge of poisoning failed of proof, therefore, his despair of acquittal drove him to suicide. His name was stricken from the *Fasti*, and his eldest son was banished for ten years, but by the intervention of Tiberius and Livia, his property was not confiscated, and his wife was saved from prosecution.

Whatever the truth about Piso and his wife, there are no grounds for believing the malicious hints involving Tiberius.⁹ But Agrippina believed he was responsible and openly showed her hostility by plotting to secure the succession for her sons, thereby encompassing their ruin and the growing suspicion and hate of the emperor. Thus the jealous suspicions and hatreds over the succession that embittered his last years were enormously enhanced by the untimely death of the popular and democratic young prince. On the dark background of the alleged tyrant, Tiberius, Tacitus has painted a glowing picture of him as a brilliant young hero of supreme virtue whose budding genius was lost to his country by the plots of his enemies. But both pictures are dramatically overdrawn. Germanicus was attractive, generous, democratic, and immensely popular, but a sober study of the bare facts of his career as recorded by Tacitus himself reveals little promise of exceptional genius in either war or statesmanship.¹⁰

⁹ Cf. *Annals*, III, 16.

¹⁰ *Annals*, I, 31-52; II, 17-26; 53-82; III, 1-16, on the career of Germanicus.

5. CHARACTER AND GOVERNMENT OF TIBERIUS IN ROME AND ITALY

Though never popular, Tiberius was at first respected for his proven integrity, ability, and years of successful experience as general and statesman. He took with the greatest seriousness his vast responsibility, for which his long public service under the astute Augustus had prepared him well. He was a rugged, old-fashioned Roman aristocrat, with the haughty reserve, stern sense of public duty, and reverence for law that once characterized that proud patrician class. Despite his unquestionably great military and political ability and ripe experience, however, his long subordination to Augustus had made him a hesitant leader, and his insecure situation, blunt lack of tact, naturally morose nature, indirection, and lack of personal charm had enhanced his unpopularity. These ungracious qualities had been stimulated by his unfortunate marriage with Julia and his later exile to Rhodes. His temperamental lack of adaptation aroused the growing dislike and suspicion of the senate from the first. His position was most difficult at best. Besides the necessary appearance of insincerity because of the anomaly of the Principate itself, he was the victim of bitter court factions, aggravated by the machinations of four imperial widows.¹¹

Yet his earlier administration was remarkably good. Never did a ruler seek more conscientiously to govern efficiently and justly. He was far less ready than Augustus to accept the externals of power and never used the titles *imperator*, or *Augustus*, except in foreign correspondence. He refused to be called "Father of his country" and permitted only slaves to address him as *Dominus*. The erection of temples and statues to him was also forbidden, and he refused to have a month named after him, asking what they would do when they had thirteen emperors. In accord with the theory of the Augustan Principate, he thoroughly upheld the traditional rights and dignity of the senate as an actual partner in the rule. He always treated it with the greatest deference, allowing liberty of debate, checking any tendency toward sycophancy, and even frequently referring to it matters naturally within his own province. His respect for the senate and dislike of popular government is seen in one of his initial acts, the transferring of elections of magistrates from the *comitia* to that body. The senate also now became practically the only legislative body, the chief criminal court, and theoretically retained its wide powers over its own provinces and treasury. Only two proposals were presented to the assembly during the entire reign, and about its only remaining reason for meeting was to confer the tribunician authority on a new princeps.

Another step towards more centralized power was the change of the temporary prefecture of Rome to a permanent office of special dignity, open only to senators of consular rank. With his three urban cohorts, the prefect superseded the senate in the control of the city, even exercising criminal jurisdiction. High senatorial officials were also appointed to other administrative duties, as the oversight of the banks of the Tiber. The imperial civil service, established by Augustus, was greatly improved by the care of Tiberius in choice

¹¹ His mother, Livia Augusta, his daughter-in-law, Livilla, Agrippina, the widow of Germanicus, and Antonia, the widow of his brother, Drusus.

of appointees and by indefinitely extending the term of those officials directly chosen by him. While making for efficiency, however, it was an added cause of complaint both by those officials who sought advancement and by the younger men who desired rotation in office.

Despite initial grave revolts, Tiberius maintained the thorough discipline, efficiency, and loyalty of the Roman legions, though refusing their demands for higher pay and a shorter term of service. The title *imperator* he reserved henceforth for victorious generals of the imperial family. He also consolidated his military resources at home by concentrating the entire nine cohorts of the Praetorian Guard at the Viminal gate of the city in 23 A.D., which before had been dispersed near Rome. Thus the praetorians became conscious of their power and exercised a sinister future influence in the imperial succession. The innovation also greatly increased the power of the praetorian prefect as seen in the case of L. Aelius Sejanus.

Especially successful was Tiberius in financial administration. Public taxation was efficiently and justly handled, and all possible precautions were taken against high grain prices due to bad seasons and stormy seas. Despite the increasing burden of the grain dole, he managed by strict economy always to have a state surplus for emergencies. Only two building projects are credited to him, the Temple to Augustus and the extensive repairs on the Theatre of Pompey. He repeatedly contributed most generously from his own property and the imperial treasury in special crises,¹² yet he never raised the rate of taxation and once even lowered the sales tax by half.

The somewhat harsh but honest legislation of Tiberius on a number of matters, counter to popular interest, added to his unpopularity. He excluded all from the equestrian class whose grandfathers were not freeborn and who had less than 400,000 sesterces. True to his dislike for games and in the interest of economy, he set a limit to the gladiatorial shows and once expelled disreputable players from the city. He vainly tried to banish soothsayers from Italy and Oriental deities, especially Isis, from Rome. Since Jewish citizens were evading military service as interfering with their religious observances, he forbade their religious rites in Italy and sent 4,000 of them to Sardinia to clear the island of robbers. Though simple and economical in his own life, and opposed to the prodigal luxury of the Roman aristocracy, he saw the futility of sumptuary legislation.¹³ Unlike Augustus, he had little interest in the state religion, though he and his mother, Livia, encouraged it for its moral and political value and formed a new college of leading nobles, the *Sodales Augustales*, to care for the cult of the divine Augustus.

Tiberius, like his father, showed a special interest in the welfare of Italy. Travel was made more secure by stationing military police at points throughout the peninsula. Measures were undertaken for the revival of declining agriculture, and the emperor sought to stimulate investment in land by revival

¹² Ten million sesterces and a remission of tribute for five years to Asia after a disastrous earthquake; 100,000,000 to relieve the financial panic of 33 A.D.; and another large sum in 36 A.D. to relieve the sufferers from a great fire in Rome.

¹³ For an exception, cf. Tacitus, *Annals*, II, 33, and Suetonius, *Tiberius*, 34. But cf. his statesmanlike letter to the senate opposing such legislation, cited by Tacitus, *Annals*, III, 53-54.

of the long defunct Julian law requiring a certain percentage of one's property to be invested in Italian real estate. In the resulting financial crisis of 33 A.D., he relieved the money stringency by a loan fund of 100,000,000 sesterces from which debtors, by offering double security, might borrow for three years without interest. Thus many were enabled to save their holdings.

To the efficient and fair administration of justice, Tiberius gave his closest personal attention, both in praetors' courts and the senate. He made the senate the supreme criminal court, though its decisions doubtless accorded with his own judgments. His new law requiring an interval of nine days between the condemnation of an accused person and his execution was a salient check on injustice. His law granting freedmen who had not been formally emancipated the rights of *conubium* and *commercium* also revealed his interest in the welfare of all his subjects.¹⁴

It is the irony of fate, however, that one who so honestly strove for fairness and justice should become hated by his contemporaries and go down to history as a cruel and unjust tyrant. Through his growing fears of treachery and the sinister influence of Sejanus,¹⁵ the old law of treason (*maiestas*), against the abstract majesty of the state, was expanded in its application to include alleged personal offenses or remarks against the emperor or his family as identified with the state. This tendency was inevitable with the fall of the Republic and was already far advanced in the last years of Augustus, but was little noticed under his more genial rule. Tiberius honestly tried at first to check its abuse and insisted that the trials be technically legal and just. But in the atmosphere of plotting and suspicion of his later years, condemnations for *lèse majesté* ominously multiplied, and the law became an engine of tyranny to cow the senate to submission.¹⁶

The evil was greatly enhanced by *delatores*, "informers." These had long existed even under the Republic, owing to the lack of regular prosecuting attorneys in Rome. They reported debtors to the state treasury and later other petty offenders, receiving as pay a percentage of the fine. Augustus had used them against transgressors of his marriage laws. Delation was therefore already a regular profession before the reign of Tiberius, but under him it became an accepted aid in his administration of justice, and amid the dark suspicions of his later years, it produced a noxious crop of venal spies on the most intimate private life and conversation of all prominent Romans. Men lived in constant dread of accusation on the flimsiest grounds, and each suspected even the members of his own household. On realizing the terrible abuse, Tiberius later tried to check it by establishing a special court of fifteen senators. But the lion cub had grown to a wild beast and could no longer be curbed.¹⁷

As a result, the picture of these years of Tiberius has been painted in unduly dark colors by the biting epigrams of Tacitus and the indiscriminate

¹⁴ Cf. the excellent summary of Tacitus, *Annals*, IV, 6, for the period before 23 A.D. Its fairness should not be overlooked in any evaluation of the historian. Cf. also Dio, LVII, 7 and 13.

¹⁵ Cf. below, *Sec. II*, 7.

¹⁶ For the names of the victims and the sordid detail, cf. Tacitus, *Annals*, IV, 7 ff.

¹⁷ Contemporary Europe has experienced a sinister recrudescence of this evil, the natural spawn of dictatorship, as are also fulsome flatterers and fawning yes men.

gossip of Suetonius, and they have been too uncritically followed by later historians. There was no "terror" in the sense of wholesale executions, nor was Tiberius in spirit a cruel tyrant, as a careful reading of Tacitus proves. He says that all laws except the law of treason were well administered until 23 A.D., and he gives little evidence that this was not so.¹⁸ Apparently, until that date, none were condemned except for actual conspiracy.¹⁹ Tacitus claims that the emperor later changed his attitude, but he presents no sufficient evidence of such change and names only two cases of actual punishment for slandering the emperor during his entire reign. While in Rome he guarded against all irregularities in trials, checked rather than encouraged the straining of the law of treason, and refused to use it merely for his own protection. The growth of treason cases after 23 A.D. was partially warranted in the rank growth of actual conspiracies. Even in these bitter years of his old age at Capreae (Capri)²⁰ he never relaxed his minute attention to good administration either of Rome or the provinces. Yet he must bear his part of the blame for the extension of the law of treason, the encouragement of delation, and the rule of the unprincipled Sejanus. In any event, the last fourteen years of his reign represent, as Tacitus records, a distinct transition from the Augustan idea of the Principate toward tyranny.

6. THE EMPIRE UNDER TIBERIUS

In his government of the Empire, Tiberius proved himself no hated tyrant, but a wise, broad-minded statesman, ruling for the larger welfare of his subjects. He adhered consistently to the idea of Augustus to hold intact the present boundaries and not attempt further expansion. He recruited his army solely from Roman citizens and maintained it by a policy of peace and diplomacy on the frontiers and strict economy at home. Gaul developed steadily under his enlightened rule. The thoroughly Romanized Transalpine province was transferred to the senate under the name Narbonensis. In the other three provinces honest and wise administration, peace, and active road-building fostered trade, industry, and the growth of cities. The widespread but brief revolt of 21 A.D. was due, according to Tacitus, to tribute and the burden of debt to Roman creditors. An added grievance may have been the attempt of Tiberius to curb the power of the Druid priests, but there is no evidence of oppressive or dishonest government.

As to the German frontier, the sequel proved the wisdom of Tiberius in preferring diplomacy to force and conquest, for in a few years both the great German leaders, Arminius and Maroboduus, were dead, and both their kingdoms had disintegrated. Not for a half a century would Rome have any serious trouble from German tribes. His settlement of large numbers of Suebi and Marcomanni on the further banks of the upper Danube also, as a client state under a native chief to protect against possible invasion, proved wise and became a permanent Roman policy. After the successful revolt of the northern Frisians beyond the Rhine, Tiberius determined to make the Rhine the limit

¹⁸ Cf., however, Tacitus, *Annals*, II, 27-32, the notorious case of Libo Drusus in 16 A.D.

¹⁹ For an excellent reconsideration of the whole problem, cf. F. B. Marsh, *op. cit.*, pp. 105-115.

²⁰ Cf. below, Sec. II, 7

of the Empire. He strengthened the Danube frontier from Noricum to the Black Sea and undertook the pacification and final settlement of these frontier provinces by extensive road-building. The more settled parts of Thrace were also brought under direct Roman rule, but a revolt of the brave mountaineers of western Thrace in 21 A.D. persisted intermittently until it was finally crushed five years later.

The most serious revolt broke out in Africa in 17 A.D., led by a clever Numidian who had learned military science from service in the Roman army. At first a mere insurrection of a band of freebooters, his discipline made it a formidable and widespread rebellion, which was not finally ended until 24 A.D. by the death of its leader. The same year, by a fortunate accident, a serious slave uprising in southern Italy was quelled in its inception. That the critical slave conditions in southern Italy in Republican times still persisted is clear from the emphasis of Tacitus upon the "huge and ever increasing slave population, while the freeborn population daily diminished."

Tiberius administered the Empire with real statesmanship, as even Tacitus admits.²¹ To the provincial subjects his reign was a period of exceptional happiness and prosperity, during which they enjoyed peace, protection of the frontiers, internal development by road-building and new settlements, and honest, economical government. While keeping a sharp oversight on the senatorial provinces, he studiously avoided interfering in their administration in so far as possible. His interest in the welfare of his provincial subjects continued throughout his reign, even in his last bitter years at Capri. He gave special attention to the choice of his governors, and his policy of retaining imperial officials and governors at their posts indefinitely made for efficient administration. Such a policy was criticized by the selfish nobles, however, who were unaccustomed to placing good provincial government above their own narrow interests.

Tiberius also kept careful oversight of his governors and protected their subjects from oppression. Under no reign were the prosecutions of governors and procurators for extortion so numerous, and the plundering of the provinces by equestrian capitalist companies was largely ended. He was even careful to protect Egypt from undue taxation. To its prefect, who sent him an amount in excess of the regular tribute, he curtly answered that it was "the part of a good shepherd to shear his sheep, not to shave them."²² The provincial assemblies were also given a larger autonomy and were used to further the aim of good government.

The new spirit in Roman imperial government especially appears in the liberality of the emperor to the sufferers from the grave earthquake disaster which destroyed many of the cities of Asia. Besides generous gifts and loans, taxes were remitted for three years. Henceforth, imperial Rome must recognize her responsibility for provincial welfare as well as her privilege. Thus Tiberius, the "cruel tyrant" in the eyes of the Roman aristocracy, was especially notable for his liberal and humane government of his provincial subjects. The imperial provinces were far better administered than the senatorial,

²¹ *Annals*, IV, 6.

²² Dio, LVII, 10; Suetonius, *Tiberius*, 32.

so that the subjects of the latter were glad to be transferred to the direct administration of the emperor. It is an anomalous fact, however, that a ruler who showed such deep concern for provincial welfare should never have traveled more than a few miles from Rome during his entire reign.

7. SEJANUS AND THE STRUGGLE FOR SUCCESSION: TIBERIUS AT CAPREAE (CAPRI)

A fatal weakness of the Principate was the lack of any regular method of succession. Had it not been for this the name of Tiberius would probably have come down to history as one of the best of Roman emperors. The death of Germanicus in 19 A.D. was doubtless welcomed by Tiberius, since it removed the immediate obstacle to the succession of his own son, Drusus. But it greatly embittered the Germanicus faction in Rome led by Agrippina and her sons. The emperor had studiously sought to hold the balance between his two heirs, as is clear from a coin of Sardis, where both are represented as of practically the same status. He now aimed to secure the succession for his son, making him imperial consort with tribunician authority in 22 A.D.

The plots of Sejanus, however, doomed him to disappointment. This handsome and capable equestrian prefect of the guards had won the implicit confidence of Tiberius as his almost indispensable counselor and unofficial minister. Suspecting his ambitions, Drusus objected to his ascendancy over him, and on one occasion even struck him. Sejanus now prepared to remove Drusus as the first obstacle to his own royal ambition. He seduced Livilla, the beautiful and unprincipled wife of his victim, to poison her husband, promising her marriage and the imperial throne with himself. Drusus died suddenly in 23 A.D., but the criminals had so covered their tracks that they were not suspected. The loss of his son and heir was a terrible blow to Tiberius from which he never recovered. It was, as Tacitus states, a turning point in his life.

Tiberius now presented the two elder sons of Germanicus, Nero and Drusus, as the future rulers, to the joy of the populace. But they were to be the next victims of Sejanus' ambition. The court had also become the scene of constant plots and jealousies of the ambitious imperial widows, Livia, Livilla, and Agrippina. Livia had been willed a part in the imperial power and insisted on having her name on the imperial rescripts with that of her son. She supported Livilla against Agrippina, a strong woman of violent temper and sharp tongue, and bitter at Tiberius since the death of her husband. Her tactless talk and open ambition to advance the interests of her sons unwittingly aided Sejanus in his object to prejudice Tiberius against them.

After the death of Drusus in 23 A.D., Tiberius leaned ever more on Sejanus, and the government in Rome grew constantly worse. The growing tyranny of the emperor was stimulated by his probably correct belief that Agrippina and a large party in the senate were plotting for the early succession of her sons. Urged on by Sejanus and the *delatores*, he determined to crush this party, and the victims were many. One of the least deserving of his fate was Cremutius Cordus, a Stoic philosopher and historian of the civil wars, whose only crime was to have called Cassius "the last of the Romans." The attack

on Claudia Pulcher, a cousin of Agrippina, as a conspirator against the life of the emperor greatly embittered Agrippina, as did also his ironical reference to her own ambition to be queen and disregard of her request for permission to marry. Fostered by Sejanus, the breach between the two ever widened, until it came to a complete break.

Embittered by his unpopularity and fearful of the plotting factions, Tiberius now withdrew to the rocky isle of Capri²³ near Naples in 26 A.D. Probably Sejanus also urged his retirement, so as to open the way for his own schemes. In any case, it was a grave mistake, for it gave Sejanus practically supreme power in Rome. Tiberius made his island retreat his center of government, and, contrary to popular belief, he in no way relaxed his strong hand on the administration of the Empire. He ceased, however, to check the evils of delation, and his dark suspicions increased with his age and the influence of Sejanus. The victims now multiplied rapidly, mostly the friends of Agrippina, and the senators were in constant fear of their lives, for no man knew when he would be trapped by an agent of Sejanus into an incriminating word.

The death of Livia in 29 A.D., at the age of eighty-six, probably removed the last check on the schemes of Sejanus against Agrippina and her sons. Her memory has been unduly blackened in history as the mother of the "tyrant," Tiberius, and because of her imperious ambition. Even her son showed no regret at her passing and forbade elaborate ceremonies or divine honors.²⁴ Soon after her death, Tiberius sent a letter to the senate definitely charging Agrippina with insolence and Nero with licentiousness. When the senate delayed, he sent a second letter urging action, and the two were banished to barren islands. Sejanus had accomplished his end by playing upon the jealousies of Nero's brother, Drusus. He now rid himself of Drusus by persuading his wife to accuse him. Thus Drusus was sent from Capri to Rome in disgrace and was imprisoned in the palace as a public enemy.

Sejanus was now at his height. As the active ruler in control of the army and the senate, he was feared and flattered even more than the emperor. Altars and statues were erected to him, and games were established in his honor. Suspicions were already being aroused in the mind of Tiberius, but his method was first to load his prefect with more honors, even betrothing him to his own granddaughter, Julia, making him his colleague in the consulship and granting him proconsular power. But he forbade his return to Capri and began putting forward Gaius (Caligula), the third son of Germanicus, who lived with him there. Sejanus saw the handwriting on the wall and laid a plot to kill Tiberius, but his plot was revealed to the emperor by Antonia, his sister-in-law. Tiberius sent a trusted official to summon the senate and supersede Sejanus as prefect. When the stage was set, the long, wordy (*verbosa et grandis*) letter of Tiberius was read to the senate, which sealed the doom of his ex-favorite. He was then seized by the lictors and soon after sentenced to death by strangling. His fall

²³ One who has enjoyed the salubrious climate, splendid outlooks, and restful solitariness of this scenic isle will appreciate its appeal to a disillusioned old man, who sought refuge from the oppressive atmosphere of court intrigue and suspicion. Some remains of his villas have survived, the best preserved being at the east end.

²⁴ For an estimate of her character, cf. Chapter Sixteen (end).

was hailed with mad delight by the Roman populace who cast down his statues wherever found. The senate ordered the erection of a statue of liberty in the Forum and declared the anniversary of his death a day of deliverance. Thus in a few hours did Sejanus fall from his proud position of awaiting formal recognition as heir to the imperial crown to disgrace and death, his body outraged by the urban mob. The sudden destruction of his house of cards was later a fit subject for Juvenal's *Satire* on "*The Vanity of Human Wishes*."²⁵

The true story of the poisoning of his son, Drusus, now revealed to Tiberius by the divorced wife of Sejanus, embittered him all the more. His continued hatred of Agrippina and her son, Drusus, leaving them to die of starvation, and even refusing to admit their bodies to the family Mausoleum of Augustus, is best explained as the madness of an embittered old age. The prosecutions against the friends of Sejanus continued for over a year, but in 33 A.D. the emperor ended his revenge by ordering immediate execution of all prisoners. The story of a so-called "Terror" in these years, however, is based chiefly on the loose rumors of Suetonius and Dio, and the rhetoric of Tacitus. The number of victims was apparently not large, and Tiberius, even at this stage, sought only simple justice, secured by formally legal methods.

The aged Tiberius, wearied with plots, took no formal steps to designate Gaius as his successor. He escaped from his misery in 37 A.D., probably dying a natural death. Not even in his last bitter years was he the monster and ruthless tyrant pictured by Tacitus. Throughout his life he was the victim of circumstances. A blunt soldier, a poor judge of character, a suspicious, repellent nature, lacking in sympathy and tact, his faults of personality were intensified in his later years by repeated disappointment and the evil atmosphere of plot and suspicion that enveloped him. His unpopularity was enhanced also by his wise policies. His strict economy in public expenditures angered the urban mob, and his opposition to further expansion and to exploitation of the provinces, and his policy of permanent tenure for imperial officials, alienated the senatorial nobility. All this was enhanced by his later seclusion and alleged orgies at Capri and the repeated executions following the fall of Sejanus. He therefore lived in senatorial tradition as an odious tyrant who transformed the liberal Principate to undisguised despotism. The later-hated Domitian was primarily responsible for the change, but the tendency began in the reign of Tiberius, and the evil tradition of Domitian was later transferred to him.

Whatever his shortcomings, he was an exceptionally conscientious, courageous, and efficient administrator of the Empire to the last, always considerate of the welfare of his provincial subjects, and their vigorous protector against oppression by imperial officials. He gave the Roman world over twenty years of peace and prosperity and established a permanent reform of provincial government in theory and practice, so that the provinces were later well administered even under a Caligula or a Nero. Only to the senatorial nobility and the Roman rabble was he a tyrant. To the subjects of the Empire as a whole he was one of its greatest and most beneficent rulers. Most unjust was the closing epigram of Tacitus that all the good of his earlier years was feigned and all the evil of his later years was true to his character.²⁶

²⁵ X, 62-90.

²⁶ For a discussion of the crucifixion of Jesus under Tiberius, cf. Chapter Twenty, Sec. IV, 1.

III. GAIUS CALIGULA

(37-41 A.D.)²⁷

I. ACCESSION AND EARLY POPULARITY

Tiberius had made his adopted grandson Gaius, the only surviving son of Germanicus, and his own young grandson, Tiberius Gemellus, co-heirs of his private fortune, thereby recommending them to the senate and people as his joint successors in the rule. Gaius, the elder, now twenty-five years of age and already in public life, took the initiative. He sent the will to the senate by the captain of the praetorians, requesting a public funeral and deification for Tiberius and confirmation of his acts, but demanding that his will be annulled. Though Tiberius had not invested him with the tribunician power or made him his consort, as the son of the beloved Germanicus, and supported by both populace and praetorians, his right to the succession was accepted without question. The senate conferred on him as Gaius Caesar Augustus Germanicus all the functions of the emperor, and Gaius, in turn, adopted Gemellus. A public funeral was granted Tiberius and his will annulled, but the senate refused him deification or the confirmation of his acts. His ashes, however, were placed in the Augustan mausoleum.

The young emperor was hailed with joyous relief as the initiator of a new Augustan era. Italy celebrated his accession with thousands of victims, and in the provincial cities, as Philo of Alexandria tells us, the streets were thronged with happy men and women in gala attire, and altars and sacrifices were everywhere. The first months of his rule seemed most auspicious. So pleased were the senators with his speech criticizing the acts of Tiberius that they decreed its annual reading. By his banishment of delators, abolition of the law of *maiestas*, release of political prisoners, recall of exiles, annulment of the right of appeal from the tribunals to himself, ending of censorship of books, and repeal of the sales tax in Italy, he won universal acclaim. He restored the Augustan division of powers between the princeps and the senate, renewed the publication of the state records, neglected by Tiberius, and modestly refused the title *pater patriae*. The elective functions of the assembly were also restored,²⁸ justice was expedited by an increase in the number of jurymen, and the depleted equestrian order was strengthened by many new appointments.

Gaius also showed a pleasing filial regard for the wronged members of his own household. He brought, in person, the ashes of his mother and brother to the family mausoleum, granted his grandmother, Antonia, all the honors once held by Livia, named the month of September after Germanicus, consecrated the now completed temple of Augustus, and even made his neglected uncle, Claudius, his colleague in the consulship. He also won the populace and

²⁷ The nickname Caligula, "little boots," was acquired as a child with the legions on the Rhine. Since the books between XXXVII and XLVII of the *Annals* of Tacitus are lost, the only continuous accounts of Caligula's reign are those of Suetonius and Dio (LIX), both extremely hostile and emphasizing the sensational, though in large measure giving a true picture. Other sources are the Jewish writers, Philo and Josephus, and Seneca and Pliny the Elder. The distinction of Josephus between the earlier and later years of Gaius is a good corrective to Suetonius and Dio. For a portrait of Caligula, cf. Pl. XII.

²⁸ They were abolished again in two years as futile.

gained a name for generous munificence by his lavish public entertainments and donations from the rich state treasury left by the economical Tiberius. All the legacies of Tiberius and even of Livia were now paid in full, and donations of his own added.²⁹ To the shortsighted public of Rome and the provinces alike, the future seemed bright for a long and happy reign.

2. TYRANNY

They were soon disillusioned, as they might easily have foreseen. His remoter ancestry from Julia and Antony gave little promise of mental balance. Reared among the rough troops on the German frontier, poisoned by the hates and suspicions instilled into him by his widowed mother, embittered by the destruction of his mother and brothers, repressed and forced to flatter and deceive a disillusioned old man in the deadly atmosphere of intrigue at Capri, he was especially fitted to become an irresponsible tyrant. With not even the usual training of sons of noble houses and without experience either in magistracy or military command, he suddenly found thrust upon him vast responsibilities, boundless wealth, practically absolute power, and universal adoration. Such extreme power might well have turned the head of a man of great strength and wide experience. For one of Caligula's neurotic constitution and lack of discipline, the result was inevitable disaster. The hollow cheeks, empty stare, and expression of cunning and cruelty in his extant busts³⁰ may well reflect the man who was probably insane in his last years.

After the celebration of his birthday at the end of August, the popular emperor fell dangerously ill to the great consternation of the whole Empire. But on his recovery he seemed henceforth a changed man. He ceased to take interest in political duties and gave himself up to the wildest dissipation and the mad exploitation of his power and wealth. He first disposed of his adopted heir, Tiberius Gemellus, and rid himself of all restraining influences, his father-in-law, his wife, and the prefect of the Praetorian Guard. Whereas he had before severely criticized Tiberius for his treason trials, he now praised him. He recalled the delators, revived the law of *maiestas*, and began a régime of cruel executions and unreasoning tyranny that made the last years of Tiberius seem bright in comparison.

His profligate spending on pleasure and lavish entertainments soon drained the treasury of its huge surplus, so that within a year he was openly seeking to finance himself by every arbitrary and tyrannical means. Many rich senators and knights were executed for their wealth. During the winter of 39-40 A.D. at Lugdunum in Gaul, he exhausted every means of extortion, daily executions, confiscations, and auctions, at which the people were forced to bid at extreme prices.³¹ If we can believe Suetonius, even the jewels, furnishings, and Augustan

²⁹ According to Dio, the praetorians each received 1,000 sesterces, the populace 45,000,000 by will and 300 each in addition, the city troops 500 each, and legionaries each a donation. He found in the treasury 2,700,000,000 sesterces (Suetonius, *Gaius*, 37). Dio says 2,300,000,000.

³⁰ Cf. Hekler, *op. cit.*, Pl. 182b, for the Copenhagen bust; another example is in the Capitoline Museum at Rome. Cf. Pl. XII.

³¹ The story of Suetonius, *Gaius*, 38, that he had thirteen gladiators at 9,000,000 sesterces knocked down to a sleeping praetorian gentleman who kept nodding at the auctioneer is good enough to be true.

heirlooms of the imperial palace were brought from Rome to Gaul and auctioned off by Caligula himself.

The most arbitrary despotism replaced his previous liberal attitude. He insisted on being saluted as *dominus*, "lord," and reduced the senate and magistrates to the worst obsequiousness by his studied insolence. Through his previous association with Herod Agrippa and other Eastern princes in the home of Antonia, he conceived of the Principate as a Hellenistic divine autocracy. But his mental unbalance led him to the most absurd lengths in realizing it. Unlike Augustus and Tiberius, he claimed deification for himself and his sisters even in life and posed as the incarnation, not of one god, but of the whole pantheon, both gods and goddesses. He appeared before the crowds in the temples dressed as Bacchus, Hercules, and even Venus. He connected the Palatine with the Capitoline by a high bridge, so that he could commune directly with his brother, Jupiter, built a corridor through the temple of Castor and Pollux to his Palatine residence, ordered that his own portrait replace the heads on the statues of the gods, and established two temples in Rome with priests and sacrifices for his worship. He was even accused of following the Ptolemaic custom of sister marriage. To such depths of absurdity had the cult of the divine Julius and Augustus descended.

Zealous to be above both gods and men, he took a sadistic delight in human suffering and expressed the wish in his executions that "all Rome had but one neck." His appalling cruelty is well expressed in his frequent phrase: "Kill him so that he can feel he's dying." He delighted in impossible stunts like driving his chariot across the Gulf of Baiae over an improvised bridge of ships and building colossal and bizarre structures. In jealousy he had the statues of famous men of the Republic, which had been set up in the Campus by Augustus, destroyed and ordered the works of Virgil and Livy removed from the libraries. His intimates were gladiators, actors, and dancers, and he shamelessly degraded the imperial dignity by exhibiting himself as a gladiator and public dancer. Knights and senators were compelled to enter the chariot races, and it was from his day that the races became associated with political partisanship and distinguished by the four colors, green, blue, red, and white.

Late in the year 39 A.D. Gaius had made a pompous expedition to the Rhine to quell an alleged uprising of German tribes, and may have won a small victory. A plot to kill him was discovered, in which his sisters and the general of the Rhine army were implicated, but L. Galba, afterward emperor, was given the command and restored order. After spending the winter in Gaul at Lugdunum, Gaius led a large army to Bononia (Boulogne) on the north coast as if to invade Britain, but halted at the shores. Perhaps he feared rebellion at Rome.³² On his return to Rome as a great conqueror, he cast off all vestiges of constitutional pretense and completely unmasked himself as an Oriental despot. He demanded the most Oriental abasement, even to graciously offering his foot to be kissed. The Stoic philosophers, who were naturally opposed to despotism, were attacked, and two were put to death. Here began the hostile attitude of

³² Probably the stories of Dio and Suetonius about the farcical performances of Gaius on the Rhine and at Boulogne are much exaggerated; otherwise the Rhine legions would surely have revolted.

the emperors to the Stoics, which was to continue throughout the century. His outrages and new taxes on every class and activity, even on the wages of porters and prostitutes, aroused the bitter hatred of senators, soldiers, and finally even the city plebs whose loyalty he had long held by his elaborate shows. The resulting conspiracies against his life only increased his cruel tyranny and the servility of the senate. Finally, in January, 41 A.D., through a plot of praetorian officers, he was struck down, with his wife and daughter, at the age of thirty, as he was preparing for an expedition to Egypt. Here he would doubtless have filled his treasury and celebrated his triumph in divine glory. His corpse was hastily interred, but was later removed and cremated by his sisters, whom he had wronged and banished. He was the first in a long line of Roman emperors to meet the fate of assassination.

The four years of Gaius can be credited with no great military success, no important undertaking, and no constructive act in imperial administration. His pompous schemes all died at birth. On the other hand, he had emptied the treasury by his follies, greatly increased the tax burden, brought Rome almost to famine, and made Italy and the provinces the victims of his despotic pleasure and power. To such a pass had the Augustan theory of rule by the "first citizen" been brought by this scion of the Julian house.

3. PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT: THE EMPIRE

To Gaius the provinces existed only as a stage for the demonstration of his autocratic power and the source of supply for his profligate spending. In so far as his disordered mind had any provincial policy, it was exactly opposite to that of Tiberius. Undoing the constructive work of his predecessor, he returned to the discarded method of using client kings in Asia Minor, Palestine, and Thrace, thereby weakening the imperial defense. In Mauretania, on the contrary, he executed the client king, Ptolemy, so as to confiscate his wealth, and made the territory a Roman province. The result was a heritage of rebellion to his successor. The legion in the province of Africa was transferred from the senatorial governor to an imperial legate, who was also given the civil authority in Numidia.

In Judaea and Alexandria the attempt of his overzealous prefect of Egypt to require the Jews to set up statues in their synagogues and to cease observing the Sabbath aroused such a disturbance that Gaius removed him from office. But soon the irrational emperor insisted that the Jews bow, like all other imperial subjects, to his cult, admitting his image to all their synagogues. The Alexandrian Jews sent an embassy to Rome to appeal to him in person, and this was opposed by a counter-embassy of Alexandrians. As the eminent philosopher, Philo, the leader of the Jewish embassy, narrates, before the arrival of the embassy in Italy, orders had already been issued to the governor of Judaea to set up a colossal statue of the emperor in the Holy of Holies of the Jerusalem temple. Gaius received the delegates with a supercilious indifference and later confirmed his order. Only the assassination of the madman saved Judaea from a bloody rebellion, but his policy was a prelude to the final rebellion and destruction of Jerusalem a generation later. Had he lived to tyrannize

over the world another thirty years, much of the constructive work of Augustus and Tiberius would have been lost. That the provinces continued to be, on the whole, so prosperous and well administered under such a mad régime as Caligula's is a splendid tribute to their solid building. The Jewish Philo himself testifies with rhetorical enthusiasm to this universal prosperity, well-being, and good government during the first months of Caligula's reign and the unanimous anxiety at his illness.³³

IV. CLAUDIUS

(41-54 A.D.)³⁴

I. ACCESSION AND PERSONALITY

Since the assassins of Gaius had made no plans for the future and Gaius had left no provision for the succession, the senate and consuls suddenly found themselves faced with the responsibilities of the state. A strong party wished to restore the Republic, having had their fill of tyranny, but others urged the continuance of the Principate in a different family, and several were ambitious to serve the state as princeps. Immediate united action for the Republic might possibly have succeeded, since the senate had the support of the four urban cohorts. But the indecision removed this possibility. The praetorians naturally preferred an emperor, since the return of the Republic would mean their dissolution. They were therefore delighted to find the neglected Claudius, son of the popular Drusus and brother of their idol, Germanicus, hiding in the palace, fearful for his life. Bearing their trembling prize to the camp, they hailed him emperor despite his protests. The next day, encouraged by his friend, Herod Agrippa, and by the shouts of the populace for a princeps, he yielded, receiving from the praetorians their oath of allegiance and promising them 5,000 sesterces each. He was the first of the Caesars, according to Suetonius, to win the support of his troops by bribery. It was also the first, but by no means the last, clear demonstration of the power of the Praetorian Guard in determining the succession. The urban cohorts shifted their support to the praetorians, and the senate was forced to acquiesce, conferring upon Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus by one act all the powers and titles of the princeps.

Claudius was already in his fiftieth year when a strange fortune suddenly raised him from obscurity to supreme power. Blighted in infancy by some form of paralysis, he had been despised and neglected as a physical and mental weakling from his childhood by his mother and family alike. His blank countenance, shaking head, wobbly gait, ungainly form, mumbling speech, timidity, and lack of personal force were the butt of general ridicule,³⁵ and neither he

³³ For the passage, cf. J. B. Bury, *Students' Roman Empire*, American Book Co., p. 219.

³⁴ The prejudiced literary sources all stress the evil phases of the reign of Claudius to the neglect of his great constructive accomplishments. Tacitus, *Annals*, XI (fragment) and XII, is good, but partisan, and his account of the first six years is lost. Dio, LX-LXI, and Suetonius add some valuable information on these years. The dark picture of the historians can now be corrected by the extensive inscriptions and papyri.

³⁵ The face of his statue as Jupiter, in the Vatican, has a certain refined idealism, but it has a blank and weary expression. Cf. Hekler, *op. cit.*, Pls. 180a and b. Cf. Pl. XII.

nor his family had dreamed of his elevation to the throne of the world. He therefore came to his enormous responsibility lacking practically all experience in administration and public affairs.

Yet he was anything but half-witted. Hopeless of a public career, he had buried himself in books and in writing bulky tomes under the guidance of Livy. His voluminous works include histories of Carthage in eight books, of the Etruscans in twenty books, and of Rome since Actium in forty-one books, an autobiography in eight books, a defense of Cicero, a pamphlet on dice-playing, and a Greek comedy. A master of Greek studies, he was crammed with antiquarian and grammatical lore, and added three new letters to the Latin alphabet, two of which appear in the inscriptions of his reign.³⁶ His erudition, though pedantic, was profound, and his work on Etruscan antiquities was later highly valued. Though uncouth in private utterance, also, he was moderately effective in public address, but his speeches were usually prolix and discursive. The shrewd Augustus had discerned his "nobility of character" and potential talents,³⁷ but also his inherent weaknesses. His profound historical studies had given him a superior appreciation of Rome's great past and imperial mission, and though a "pedant on a throne," like James I of England, he was both a profounder scholar and a far more constructive statesman than James. Utterly contrary to the expectation of his contemporaries, his reign was to be epochal for constructive empire-building, second only to that of Augustus.

2. ADMINISTRATION IN ROME

Strictly, Claudius did not belong to the dynasty of the Caesars, since he had not been adopted by Tiberius, as the latter had been by Augustus. With him, therefore, Caesar became an imperial title of the princeps rather than a family name. Ever since the marriage of Augustus and Livia, however, the Julian and Claudian houses had been so intimately related as to seem practically one. To secure his position, Claudius sought by every means to associate himself with Augustus and to continue his policies in contrast to those of Gaius. Though the two chief conspirators against Gaius were put to death, he did everything to blot out the memory of his reign. He proclaimed a general amnesty, abolished the law of treason, pardoned political prisoners, recalled the exiles, including the two sisters of Caligula, Julia and Agrippina, restored the confiscated estates, and returned the statues plundered from the cities of Asia. The tax burden was relieved, and legacies to the princeps were not accepted from anyone who had relatives.

Claudius delighted the Roman populace with plenty of gladiatorial shows, games, and imposing spectacles of which he himself was inordinately fond. Especially brilliant occasions were his triumph for Britain, his opening of the Fucine Tunnel, and his celebration of the *Ludi Saeculares* in 47 A.D., only sixty-four years after their celebration by Augustus. This was in accord both with his antiquarian interests and his desire to follow the Augustan policies. Such motives also appear in his support of the state religion. He attempted to curb

³⁶ Cf. Tacitus, *Annals*, XI, 13-14, on these letters and the history of the alphabet.

³⁷ Cf. the quotations from his letters in Suetonius, *Deified Claudius*, IV.

the Oriental rites including the public Jewish worship in Rome³⁸ and ordered the suppression of Druidism in Gaul. On the other hand, he established a college of sixty *haruspices* for ancient Etruscan auguries.

To the legions, both officers and soldiers, the aggressive military policies of Claudius were a most agreeable change from the fiasco of Caligula. He chose capable generals and developed a contented and well-disciplined army whose successful campaigning inspired it with a new morale. In recognition of the victories of his generals he himself took the title of *imperator* twenty-seven times.

Instead of the absurd and fantastic buildings of Caligula, Claudius was notable for his great works of public utility and large engineering projects which contributed to the welfare of the state and furnished labor for thousands of workmen. Road-building was very extensive both in Italy and the provinces. The imposing Aqua Claudia, the finest of Roman aqueducts, with its splendid double arches, begun by Caligula, was now completed and carried water at so high a level as to supply all the hills of the city. Two of its great arches still stand, as the Porta Maggiore on the east side of Rome. The reign of Claudius was a time of rapid development in vaulted and arched construction, as seen in the remarkable *hypogeum* in Rome, with its narthex, nave, aisles, and apse, the precursor of the Christian basilica.³⁹ The most practically important of the public works of Claudius was the new harbor for grain ships near Ostia to the right of the mouth of the Tiber, protected by three great walls and a lighthouse at the entrance. The excavations at Ostia have revealed the resulting importance of this port town whose remains have been called "a second Pompeii." Another vast engineering project was the cutting of a three-mile tunnel to drain the periodic flood water from the Fucine Lake (Lago Fucino) so as to reclaim valuable agricultural land. The work is said to have required the labor of 30,000 men for eleven years, but was not a practical success, since the channel was easily blocked.⁴⁰ The food supply was also insured by legislation providing for the building of larger grain transports and transferring the authority over the supply to an imperial procurator. Claudius also sought to rehabilitate Italian agriculture by decreasing absentee landlordism and stimulating a return to the land.

In accord with his imitation of Augustus and his antiquarianism, Claudius showed great deference to the senate and regard for constitutional legality; the former he strengthened by the addition of many new patrician families. But he aroused its scorn and opposition by unnecessarily assuming the out-of-date censorship and by the extension of senatorial privileges to the Aedui.⁴¹ Seneca,

³⁸ He first tolerated the Jews in Rome until their seditions caused him to expel them from the city, as Tiberius had done.

³⁹ Cf. *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. X, pp. 568, 582, and Vol. IV of Plates, Pl. 180a. This hall is now forty feet below the surface and was probably built and destroyed between 41 and 54 A.D. It was probably a hall for initiation into religious mysteries.

⁴⁰ Neglected by Nero, it was reopened by Hadrian in the second century, but was soon again choked. It was reopened in 1874 and now serves to reclaim about 40,000 acres.

⁴¹ This was natural for one born in Gaul, the son of Drusus, brother of Germanicus, and conqueror of Britain. Cf. Tacitus, *Annals*, XI, 24, for his broad and sensible speech to meet the senate's objections.

in his bitter satire on the emperor's deification, has Mercury urging one of the Fates to keep him on earth a little longer until he has made the rest of the barbarians citizens, since it was his intent soon to have all the Greeks, Gauls, Spaniards, and Britons wearing togas. But in this policy of broadening the citizenship, it was he rather than the senate who had the statesmanlike vision.

Like Augustus, Claudius gave much personal attention to the administration of justice, often listening for hours to the tedious suits in the Forum. Theoretically the emperor had the right to try important criminal cases, especially if they concerned his own procurators, but usually they had been turned over to the senate. Claudius, however, devoted himself increasingly to hearing such cases and did not hesitate to encroach on senatorial jurisdiction. He even had it vote full jurisdiction in financial cases in the provinces to his imperial procurators also, so that they would be independent of the governors, thereby uniting prosecutor and judge in one person. Much of his judicial legislation showed practical common sense and a readiness for progressive reform in the interest of order, efficiency, and justice. He suppressed holidays that interfered with court procedure, increased the number of jurymen by lowering the age limit for service, decreased the fees of the advocates, and made other salient reforms in judicial administration, such as prohibiting torture of a Roman citizen and the testimony of slaves against their masters. Citizenship was dignified, but false pretenses to the franchise were severely punished, and the marriage of freewomen with slaves strictly regulated. The children of such marriages were given a slave status.

A far more significant encroachment on the sphere of the senate was the rapid development under Claudius of an imperial civil service. As a result, the senate began to lose its importance as a partner in the government, and the power was gradually centered in the hand of the princeps and his official family. This was not due primarily to his ambition for autocratic power or the domination of him by his freedmen. As inscriptions and papyri prove, many of the state documents of his reign bore his royal seal and were distinctly Claudian in thought and style, showing his personal attention to the details of government. The chief cause was rather the vast increase in the private patrimony of the princeps and the revenues from the imperial provinces, which entailed an enormous growth in the complexity of imperial business. Since the princeps was in theory only a private citizen entrusted with special powers, freeborn Romans could not with dignity be employed by him at Rome in the administration of what was theoretically only his private business. The natural resort was to make imperial freedmen his official family. According to Tacitus, this imperial civil service was still small under Tiberius,⁴² but under Claudius it was rapidly expanded and specialized. He had no fear of innovation in the interest of greater efficiency, and must be credited with choosing men of ability. Thus there developed a number of administrative departments headed by freedmen as the stewards or secretaries of his household, each with a staff of clerical

⁴² *Annals*, IV, 6.

assistants. These now became practically high state officials with immense power.

Naturally, the proud senatorial aristocracy was much embittered by all this. It was bad enough to be ruled by an emperor whom they had scorned as a weakling. But to be dominated by arrogant and able Greek and Asiatic freedmen who took increasing advantage of him and of their high position to enrich themselves beyond the dreams of avarice was doubly outrageous. Early in his reign the nobles had conspired with the general of Dalmatia to destroy him and set up one of their own number, but the plan had miscarried.

Though an imperial civil service was developing before Claudius, the establishment of separate departments under specialized freedmen secretaries was certainly due to his initiative. The chief of these bureaus were the *ab epistulis*, in charge of imperial correspondence, headed by Narcissus as secretary general, the *ā rationibus*, headed by Pallas as secretary of the imperial *fiscus* and private patrimony, the *ā libellis*, to handle all petitions, the *ā cognitionibus*, controlling all correspondence on judicial cases, and the *ā studiis*, the librarian and counselor of the princeps in the preparation of speeches and edicts.

Thus under Claudius, a new official nobility, responsible only to the princeps, was rising to compete with the senatorial aristocracy.⁴³ Even in Rome, many of the administrative functions once in the hands of the senate, such as the care of the roads, streets, aqueducts, and the grain supply, were shifted to the direct supervision of the princeps. In at least one instance, also, Claudius even nominated a governor of a senatorial province, Galba, to Africa. Perhaps there were other instances, as Dio asserts. In accord with this whole trend toward centralization was his increasing personal control of the senate. He strictly enforced regular attendance and seriousness in debate and voting. Yet he strove to make it a dignified body. In revising its personnel, he sought to include in it the best political talent of both Rome and the Empire and *senatus consulta* were numerous during his reign.

3. IMPERIAL POLICY, PROVINCIAL ADMINISTRATION, AND EXPANSION

In imperial policy and provincial administration, Claudius showed the same progressive energy and readiness for innovation as in home affairs. His reign is notable for imperial expansion, military aggressiveness, active regard for the welfare of the provinces, and broad statesmanship in readiness to grant Roman citizenship to provincial communities. His extension of the *jus honorum* to the Gauls was a significant step toward the gradual elevation of the provinces to an equal status with Italy. Changes were freely made in the administration of subject territories. Many of the older client kingdoms were made provinces and others were brought under closer imperial supervision. More new provinces were added to the Empire than by any other Roman emperor after Augustus.

⁴³ Somewhat analogous was the use of the rising middle class by the Tudors and Stuarts to break the power of the nobility, and the use of favorites and members of the royal household as councilors by the kings of medieval England to free themselves from the dictation of the feudal lords in Parliament.

The military functions of the princeps were more emphasized, the army was increased by two new legions, and the Praetorian Guard by three cohorts.

Caligula had left to Claudius the heritage of a rebellion in Mauretania. After four years it was pacified by his generals C. Suetonius Paulinus and L. Galba in 45 A.D. and divided into two provinces, each under an imperial procurator. In Spain extensive road-building was carried on in the northwest to aid the growing exploitation of the mines. In Gaul, his natal land, Claudius showed a far more vital interest. New roads were constructed in the north and west, and trading centers and colonies were planted. In accord with his broad policy as previously emphasized, Latin rights were granted to whole communities, worthy individuals were given full Roman citizenship, and Gallic notables who were Roman citizens were made eligible to the senate.⁴⁴

Especially gratifying to Claudius was his conquest of Britain, for it made him worthy of Drusus and Germanicus and won for him the respect of his generals and legions. Ever since Julius Caesar's subjugation of Britain, the project had been considered necessary. Augustus had prepared for such an expedition on two occasions, and the imagination of Virgil was stirred by the prospect of his subjection of *ultima Thule* to Rome.⁴⁵ Tiberius saw its importance, and Gaius made an absurd demonstration at the Gallic shore. But it remained for the reputed weakling, Claudius, to consummate the dream. Additional reasons for the expedition were probably the stories of the island's great wealth and the impossibility of suppressing Druid worship in Gaul because of its constant relations with Britain. Early in the year 43 A.D. an army of four legions and a great transport fleet under the capable general Aulus Plautius⁴⁶ landed on the shores of Sussex and Kent. In two battles they decisively defeated the league of Britons north of the Thames under Caratacus and his brother. Consolidating these gains, they awaited the arrival of Claudius, so that he might have a part in the final victory.

On his arrival with fresh forces, all effective resistance was futile, and he was saluted as *imperator* by the troops. Camulodunum (Colchester), instead of the more important Londinium, was made the capital of the new province. Leaving Plautius to finish the conquest, Claudius returned to Rome, where he celebrated a magnificent triumph, to which were invited representatives from the whole Empire. The senate decreed him the title *Britannicus*, but he reserved it for his young son. He formally decreed an advance in the bounds of the city (*pomerium*), symbolic of his enlargement of the limits of the Empire. Two triumphal arches were erected in his honor, one in the Campus Martius at Rome. A naval celebration was also enacted at the mouth of the Po in recognition of the important part taken by the fleet in the expedition, and epigrams and poems were written in honor of the conquest. Aulus Plautius remained in Britain as governor until 47 A.D. and extended the Roman power in west and south.⁴⁷ Plautius was succeeded by other generals who pushed the

⁴⁴ Cf. his wise oration before the senate on that occasion, partly preserved in a bronze fragment at Lyons, and in Tacitus, *Annals*, XI, 23-25.

⁴⁵ *Georgics*, I, 30; cf. also Horace, *Epodes*, VII, 7, and *Odes*, I, 35, 29.

⁴⁶ Other strong generals were L. Galba and Flavius Vespasianus, both destined to be emperors.

⁴⁷ Cf. W. R. Shepherd, *Atlas of Medieval and Modern History*, p. 3, and *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. X, opposite p. 790 for maps of Roman Britain.

conquest into the mountainous regions of Wales. The brave Caratacus defied the Roman armies in guerrilla warfare for nine years, but was finally captured and brought to Italy with his family to grace another great triumph.

Claudius did not follow up the conquest of Britain with an attempt to realize the ambition of his father and brother for the conquest of Germany. His able general, Domitius Corbulo, legate of Lower Germany, crossed the Rhine and punished the Frisians and Chauci, but the emperor, true to his Augustan model, ordered him not to undertake the conquest. The disgusted Corbulo used his soldiers to cut a canal, which still serves as a means of communication between modern Rotterdam and Leiden. Colonia Claudia Agrippinensis (Cologne), named after the fourth wife of Claudius, who was born there, was made a military colony and became a chief outpost of Roman civilization. It is possible also that another famous northern colony, Augusta Treverorum (modern Trier or Trèves) on the Moselle, traces its origin to Claudius.

No attempt was made to change the frontier from the Atlantic to the Black Sea, though Claudius gave careful attention to the military protection of the boundary and kept two fleets patrolling the Danube. He completed the great Via Claudia, 350 miles long, connecting northern Italy with the upper Danube, invaluable both for trade and for the rapid movement of troops to the frontier. Noricum was so thoroughly Romanized that no garrison was stationed there, and several of its towns received municipal rights. Pannonia and Moesia were much less advanced, and repeated intervention by Claudius and his military governors was necessary to settle boundary problems. The troublesome client kingdom of Thrace was pacified, and constituted a province under an equestrian procurator in 46 B.C., and a center of Caesar worship was established there.

In the East as in the West the aggressive policy of Claudius was felt. Macedonia and Achaia were restored to the senate, since they were now protected by a line of frontier provinces. In Asia Minor Lycia was united to the province of Pamphylia (43 A.D.) and was now rapidly Hellenized, and many cities adopted the name of the emperor in appreciation of his generous interest in their welfare.

In Syria a veteran colony was established at Ptolemäis, but the most significant change was the restoration of the kingdom of Herod. Judaea, previously under a procurator, and Samaria were given by Claudius to Herod's grandson, Agrippa, who had aided him in securing the succession, so that practically the old realm of Herod the Great was restored. Agrippa was especially popular with both factions in his kingdom, since he was a Greek in Caesarea and a Jew in Jerusalem. By two edicts of Claudius, freedom of worship was accorded to the Jews of Alexandria and of the whole Empire. He confirmed the privileges of the Alexandrian Jews and sent a statesmanlike letter warning both Jews and Greeks to keep the peace. In Palestine Agrippa became overambitious and was only prevented from fortifying Jerusalem and organizing the client kings under his leadership by the intervention of the governor of Syria. On the death of Agrippa in 44 A.D., therefore, Judaea was not given to his son, a hostage in Rome, but was again placed under a Roman procurator. This was unfortunate, since the sensitive Jews resented a too direct Roman domination, and the

procurators chosen were not of a high type. The danger from brigands and the constant danger of sedition from the fanatical hatred between Jews and Gentiles made repeated intervention of the Syrian governor necessary. The error of Rome was therefore not to have stationed a strong military force in Palestine.

Though Macedonia and Achaëa were returned to the senate, the addition of five or six new imperial provinces⁴⁸ during Claudius' reign destroyed the balance between the two. Governors of senatorial rank were chosen for Britain and Lycia, but the others were equestrian. Several of the client kingdoms were also brought into closer relation to the princeps by Claudius through making their rulers practically imperial officials instead of being loosely bound to Rome by treaty.

Throughout his expanded Empire the energetic administration of Claudius appears in his extensive road-building, improvement of communications, stern suppression of brigandage and sedition, and protection of the frontiers. He was especially careful to bring the guilty to justice, and generously aided cities, in case of earthquakes or other disasters, by special grants or temporary relief from tribute. Like Augustus and Tiberius, he felt a deep sense of responsibility for equitable government and the welfare of his subjects, and was notable for his liberality in extension of the citizenship. Like many Roman emperors, he was, therefore, far more highly appreciated by his provincial subjects than by the senate at home, as many inscriptions of their communities testify.

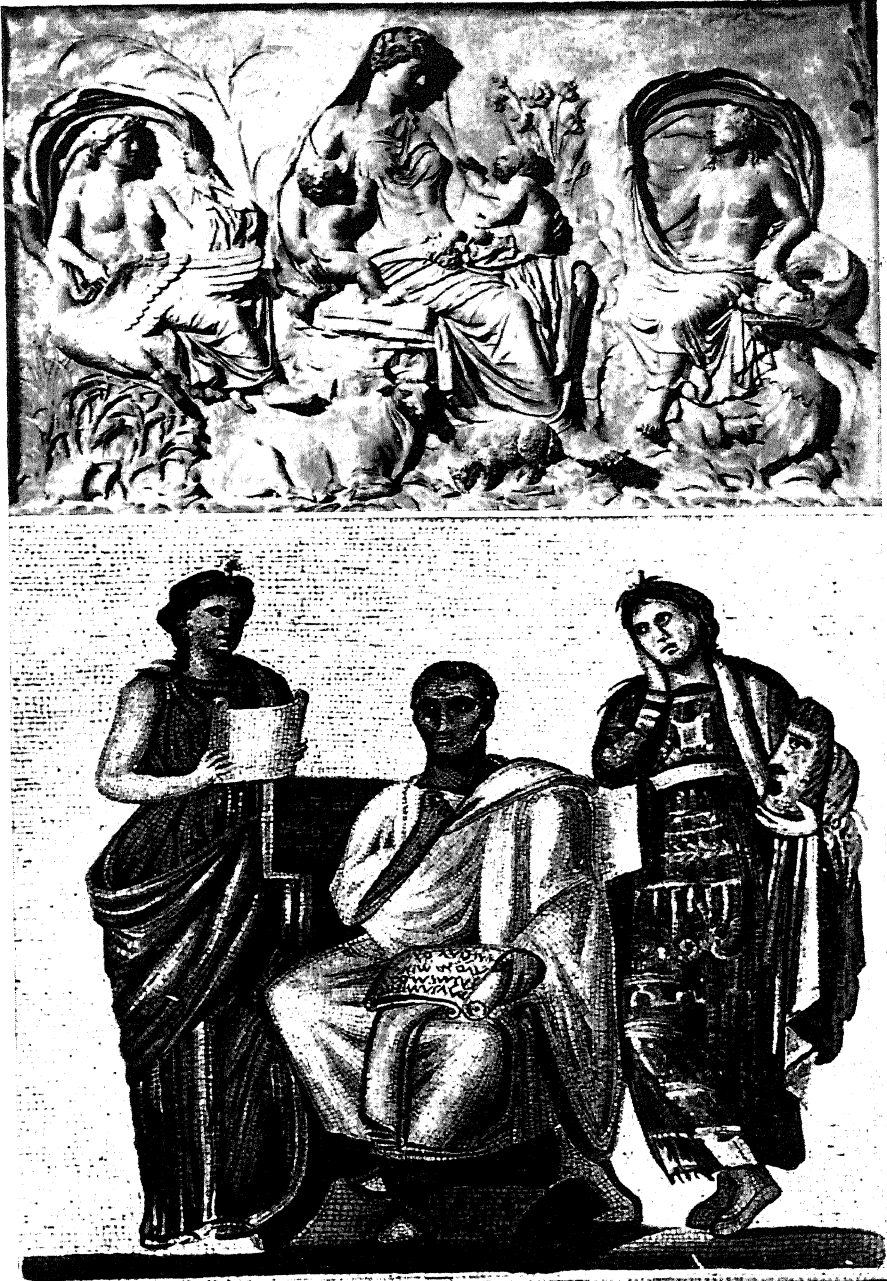
To what extent his wise and constructive administration was due to his talented freedmen counselors will never be known. But many of his best measures bear unquestionably his individual stamp. His mistake was to give his ministers too free a rein and to admit them into his confidence, as his predecessors had not done. They therefore grew arrogant and avaricious, seeking to compensate for their low social status by amassing vast wealth.⁴⁹

4. THE EVILS OF IMPERIAL AUTOCRACY UNDER CLAUDIUS

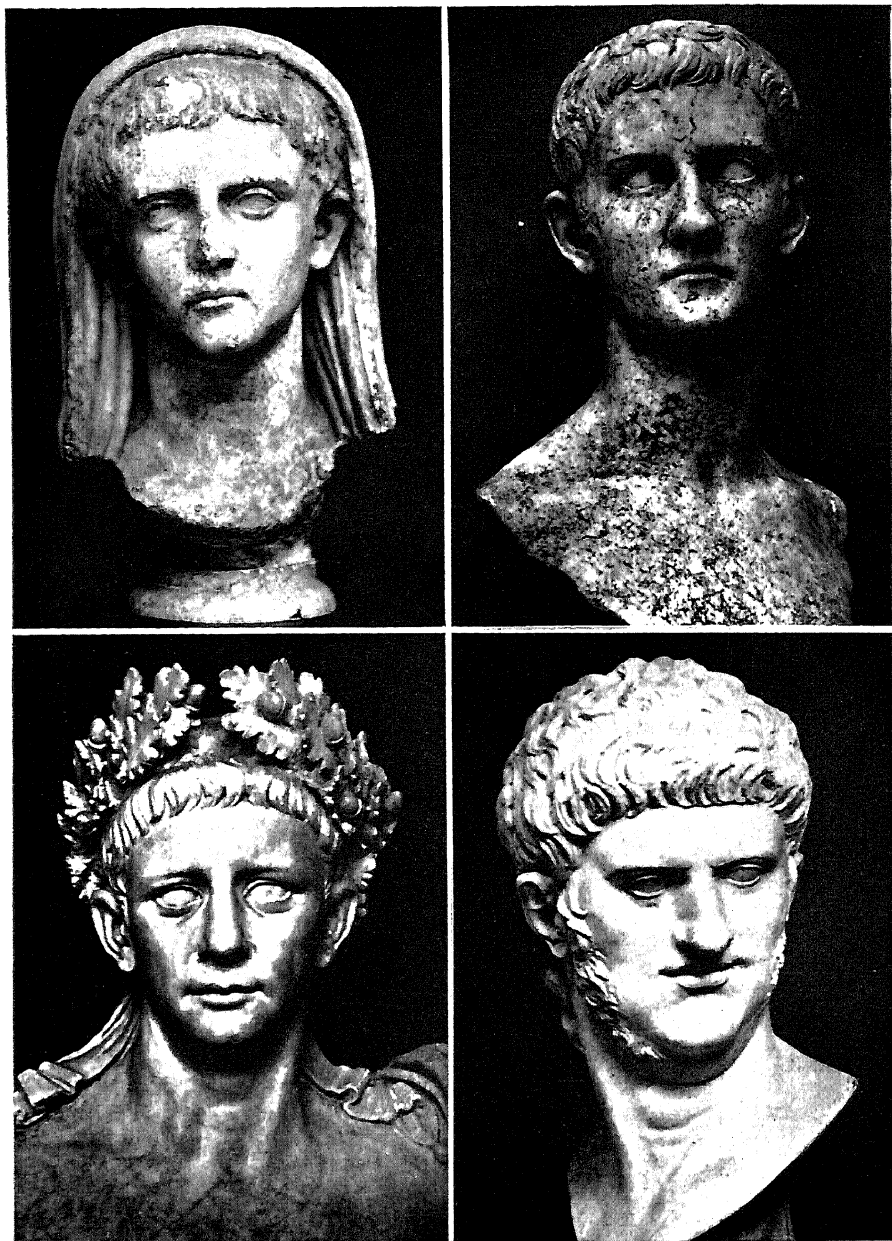
The centralization of power in an imperial autocracy was sure to develop its evil side. Especially was this true under a ruler with the personal weaknesses of Claudius, who was so dominated by his freedmen and wives. To entrust such vast power in the hands of servants of the imperial family who held no specific office of state and hence were largely irresponsible was fatal to the liberties of Rome, as Tacitus later emphasized. This evil was enhanced by raising the wife of the princeps to a practically equal status with himself. Thus the Principate moved a step nearer absolute monarchy, and a royal family developed above the citizenship. Still worse, the natural fears of Claudius, arising from his inherent weakness and his experience of at least two plots to overthrow him in the first years of his reign, were played upon by his scheming freedmen and wives to win their ends. As the years passed, he was wheedled into delegating more and more of the state business to them. Thus they were left free to enrich themselves by sale of offices and confiscation, and easily

⁴⁸ The two Mauretaniae, Britain, Judaea, Thrace, and Lycia.

⁴⁹ The wealth of Pallas was a byword long after, as appears in Juvenal, *Satires*, I, 108.



Upper: *Terra Mater* (or *Italia?*), bas-relief from the *Ara Pacis*, a beautiful portrayal of the ideals of Augustus for Italy. About 13 A.D. Uffizi, Florence. Lower: Floor Mosaic from Uthina near Carthage, representing Virgil with Clio (Muse of History) on the left and Melpomene (Muse of Tragedy) on the right. Early second century A.D. Bardo Museum, Tunis.



THE JULIO-CLAUDIANS. These portraits faithfully portray the spiritual degeneration of these successors of Augustus. *Upper left:* Head of a Statue of Tiberius as Pontifex Maximus. (*Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*) *Upper right:* Head of a Member of the Julio-Claudian Family, probably Caligula. (*Metropolitan Museum of Art*) *Lower left:* Head of a Statue of Claudius as Jupiter, first century A.D. Vatican, Rome. (*Anderson*) *Lower right:* Head of Nero, first century A.D. Musco Vaticano, Rome.

secured from him the condemnation of many victims on the flimsiest of evidence.

An evil influence during the first part of his reign was his third wife Messalina, the mother of his young son, Britannicus. She was insanelly jealous of any possible female rival and was instrumental in securing the death of many. She used her lofty position as an opportunity to gratify her unrestrained passions, and her name became a byword for shameless debauchery. Through her influence over Claudius and his freedmen, she gained her every desire and struck down all who opposed her. According to Suetonius, 35 senators and 300 knights lost their lives during these years, though the numbers may well be exaggerated, and many were probably guilty of real conspiracy. Her amour with C. Silius, a prominent and wealthy noble, for which both met their death, may well have been a plot to be rid of her husband and establish herself as the real empress.⁵⁰

During the last six years of his reign, Claudius was increasingly the minion of his freedmen and his fourth wife, the strong-minded Agrippina the Younger, the daughter of Germanicus, and mother of young Domitius Ahenobarbus, who as Nero was to succeed to the throne.⁵¹ Henceforth, his two chief ministers were mortal enemies, each heading a strong court faction, Narcissus espousing the cause of Britannicus and Pallas plotting with Agrippina to secure the succession for her son. Under the new empress the court was at least formally dignified and free from the disgraceful scandals of Messalina, but she completely dominated Claudius, and, as Augusta, placed herself practically on an equality with him, sharing in the political power and sitting on a throne beside him in dazzling splendor at great public functions, as if a consort in the rule. She was the first Roman empress while in life to have her image on the coins by decree of the state.

Meanwhile, to secure her son's position, she obscured Britannicus in every way, treating him as a child. Seneca was recalled from his exile in Corsica to act as tutor for Nero and was made praetor. The two praetorian prefects were replaced by her confidant, Afranius Burrus. Judicial executions were again multiplied and treason trials and delation returned.

In 50 A.D. Agrippina and Pallas persuaded Claudius to adopt her son, Nero, as a guardian to Britannicus, though he was only five years his senior. At thirteen he was chosen to hold the consulship in his twentieth year and was granted the proconsular *imperium* with the title "Prince of the Youth." At fifteen he made his first plea before the senate and was betrothed to Octavia, his cousin, the daughter of Claudius. Meanwhile, the two court factions grew ever more bitter. Finally in 54 A.D., when the stage was all set for her son's succession, and she was dreading a reaction of Claudius to Britannicus, the emperor died suddenly in his sixty-fourth year. It was generally believed that

⁵⁰ Cf. the whole sordid story of Messalina, as told in detail by Tacitus, *Annals*, XI, 27 ff. He claims his account is based on the witness of contemporaries, but probably his chief source was the prejudiced Agrippina, who published her own personal memoirs revealing the secrets of the court.

⁵¹ Since she was his niece, a special act of the senate was required to validate the marriage.

he died by poison administered by her in a dish of mushrooms.⁵² Another tradition has it that when the poison failed to take sufficient effect, her chief physician finished the job by passing a poisoned feather down his throat ostensibly to stimulate vomiting.

As the preferred heir of Claudius, already holding proconsular power, supported by the praetorian prefect, Burrus, and by the powerful Agrippina, Nero was in a strong position. But Agrippina made assurance doubly sure by concealing the death of the emperor for some hours until the stage was all set for her son's succession. The doors of the palace were then thrown open, and Nero ushered forth and was hailed by the prefect and his soldiers. From there he was borne to their praetorian camp and saluted as *imperator*. Thus for the second time an emperor was made by the Praetorian Guard.

Partly through Agrippina's influence, but also because Claudius was not so hated as Tiberius and Gaius by the senate, his memory was not condemned and all his acts were decreed valid. He was also the first emperor since Augustus to receive divine honors at the hands of the senate. Agrippina arranged for him a magnificent funeral modeled after that of Augustus, and the young emperor, Nero, pronounced the funeral eulogy composed by Seneca. She was careful, however, not to have the will read publicly, in order not to call attention to Britannicus.

In revenge for his earlier exile, and doubtless in accord with the sentiment of many of the senatorial nobility, Seneca cleverly satirized the deification of the deceased emperor in a farce entitled the *Apocolocyntosis*, "Pumpkinification," of Claudius, a play on the word "apotheosis." The gods jested at his ridiculous figure and inarticulate mumbling, but would have admitted him to heaven had not the divine Augustus opposed. He recounted his crimes and exclaimed, "Was it for this that I secured peace on land and sea?" Claudius was then dragged by Mercury to the realms below whence no man returns. On the way through the Via Sacra, he saw his own funeral in process and realized that he was dead. His arrival in Hades was heralded by Narcissus with "Claudius is coming!" Seeing the victims of his cruelty on every side, he said, "I see friends all about me." He was tried by Aeacus, the judge of the lower world, and condemned to gamble forever with a bottomless dice box.⁵³

The satire reflects well, not only the scornful attitude of the nobility to Claudius, but how lightly they took the whole idea of deification. The apotheosis of such an absurd person as Claudius must have removed much of the glamour of deification from Augustus and from all future emperors who should join him among the celestials. The satire was bitterly unfair to Claudius, however, for, despite the unquestioned evils of his régime in Rome, in its larger and more significant phases, his was one of the most constructive and important reigns in the history of the Roman Principate.

⁵² Juvenal, *Satires*, V, 147-148:

*Boletus domino sed quales Claudius edit,
Ante illum uxoris, post quem nil amplius edit.*

Cf. Tacitus, *Annals*, XII, 66 ff.

⁵³ Cf. Allan P. Ball, Seneca's *Apocolocyntosis*, Latin text, translation, and comments, Columbia University Press, 1902. Citations by permission of the publishers.

V. NERO (54-68 A.D.)⁵⁴

I. THE FIRST PHASE

Like Claudius, Nero owed his succession to the praetorians who had been won to his cause by their captain, Burrus. The senate accepted the inevitable and formally conferred on him the imperial powers. In his initial speech to that body, prepared by Seneca, he promised to end the abuses of Claudius, such as star-chamber methods of trial, the sale of favors and offices, interference of imperial freedmen in state affairs, and encroachment on the authority of the senate. In accord with Republican usage, the consuls should preside over the senate, and cases concerning Italy or the senatorial provinces should be tried in the consular courts. Nero dismissed charges by delators, and refused the erection of gold and silver statues in his honor, and the change of the new year to December, his birth month. He also refused the honorary title "Father of his country."

Until the death of Burrus and retirement of Seneca in 62 A.D., the promises of good government were largely fulfilled. Trajan, the great emperor of the second century, is said to have considered the first five years of Nero as a "far better period than that under any other emperor." This should probably not be credited to any large degree to Nero, however,⁵⁵ but rather to his two ministers. He was only a youth of seventeen at his accession, badly conditioned by both ancestry and environment, and chiefly interested in pleasure, horseplay, and artistic expression. Seneca, his tutor, was overindulgent and seems to have exerted little influence on him except to imbue him with an enthusiasm for the arts and an extreme vanity about his musical ability.

From the first there was a distinct struggle for power between Nero's mother, Agrippina, and his two advisers. Having risked everything to secure his succession, his mother was determined to dominate him at all costs. Nero was at first devoted to her. Her image appeared on the coins with his, and she was practically regent of the Empire, even receiving foreign envoys. Burrus and Seneca undermined her influence with Nero by indulging his weaknesses and secured the disgrace of her ally, Pallas. When anger and indulgence failed, she espoused the cause of Britannicus. But this resulted only in securing his poisoning, which Nero pretended to lament. Finally he removed her guard and forced her retirement from politics. For the next three years she remained in obscurity. Having failed to secure her drowning on a ship so constructed as to be easily sunk without arousing suspicion, he had her dispatched by assassins in 59 A.D., on the pretense that she was plotting against his life. He wrote a letter to the senate falsely explaining the cause of her death, which was gen-

⁵⁴ Tacitus, *Annals*, XIII-XVI, is our chief literary source for Nero, except for his last two years. His chief source was probably Pliny the Elder, as was also Dio's. The accounts of Tacitus, Suetonius, and Dio are distinctly one-sided, but inscriptions and coins give some check. Josephus is valuable on Judaea during his reign, and Plutarch, *Galba*, for his last years.

⁵⁵ Aurelius Victor, *Caesares*, 5. For a more favorable view of Nero's part in it, cf. B. W. Henderson, *op. cit.*, Chap. III.

erally believed. Flattering messages poured in upon him, and the senate even decreed a thanksgiving, public games, and the erection of gold statues of Minerva and the emperor in the Senate House. He even rode in triumphal procession to the Capitoline to offer thanks for his escape. But, according to Suetonius, he was later haunted by his mother's ghost and Furies with blazing torches.⁵⁶

Meanwhile, Nero had probably left the administration of the Empire largely to his two ministers, giving himself to a life of pleasure. Like the profligate young bloods, he loved to haunt the streets, taverns, and dives at night, incognito, playing highwayman and gangster even against the notables in Rome. He was once beaten up as a result, the scars of which he bore on his face, and henceforth he had a guard of soldiers and gladiators. Entangled in the net of the scheming but beautiful Poppaea Sabina, who is described by Tacitus as having "everything except a worthy mind,"⁵⁷ he rid himself of her husband by appointing him governor of Lusitania. His mother's opposition was silenced by her murder, and finally in 62 A.D. he divorced and banished his wife, Octavia, to an island, where she was later assassinated. Poppaea then realized her ambition by becoming the empress.

Government under Seneca and Burrus

In striking contrast to this sordid story stands the good and vigorous government, both at home and abroad, of these earlier years of Nero under the wise guidance of Burrus and Seneca. The bankrupt senatorial treasury was replenished by a grant of 40,000,000 sesterces from the emperor's private funds and placed under imperial prefects instead of senatorial quaestors, a step toward its domination by the princeps. A new bronze coinage was added to the Augustan, and the minting was greatly improved in artistic technique, so that the finest Roman coins date from this period. The gold aureus and silver denarius were somewhat reduced in weight and fineness to adjust them to their actual purchasing power and retain the ratio between gold and silver. This was the precursor of repeated debasing of the coinage in the next two centuries, with disastrous results, but Nero's reform was more technical in nature and neither he nor his ministers should be blamed for the evil effects of the later debasements.

The welfare of the capital was carefully considered. The grain supply was excellently administered. Plans were laid for enlarging the new Claudian harbor. The port of Antium was improved, a navigation canal from Lake Avernus was actually begun, and the Claudian aqueduct system in the city was extended. Provision was made for more accommodations and better order at the games. A humane attitude toward slaves now also appeared in a law, allowing them to bring complaints against their masters to the city prefect. Justice was carefully supervised at Rome, and the promise not to encroach on senatorial jurisdiction upheld. Measures were taken to check disorder and depopulation in

⁵⁶ The whole sordid story of the conflict, told in lurid detail by Tacitus, *Annals*, XIV, 1-14, is worth reading as a masterpiece of dramatic narrative of crime. What part, if any, Seneca and Burrus had in the plot to be rid of Agrippina will never be known.

⁵⁷ *Annals*, XIII, 45.

Italy, veteran and other colonies were established there, and aid was extended by Nero to the Campanian cities that suffered in the earthquake of 63 A.D.

On the whole, the provinces were efficiently administered during these years, and the activities of the *publicani* were further curbed. Even a progressive free-trade measure to abolish all harbor dues in the Empire was proposed. While it would have placed the whole burden of taxation on the provincials who alone paid the *tributum*, it would have aided their prosperity by stimulating trade, but the proposal was blocked by the senate.⁵⁸ An imperial edict of 57 A.D. forbade any governor to give gladiatorial or wild-beast shows in his province, and a decree of the senate in 62 A.D., with Nero's sanction, forbade votes of thanks from provincials at the close of the governor's term. During the first seven years of Nero's reign, twelve governors were tried for malfeasance in office, half of whom were condemned. Attempts were made to relieve the *latifundia* evil in Africa, and peace, prosperity, internal order, and protection of the frontiers were strongly emphasized.

2. THE SECOND PHASE

Poppaea and Tigellinus (62-68 A.D.)

Freed from the restraint of his mother, who, despite her faults, had a high conception of the dignity of the imperial office, Nero now assumed the reins of government. He was passionately fond of chariot racing and insisted upon entering the contests in Greek fashion. He had previously introduced the Greek Games into Rome and, to the great scandal of cultivated Romans, had insisted that men of the senatorial and equestrian classes, instead of slaves, criminals, and professionals, should compete. He organized groups of youth, *Augustiani*, for practice and established regular contests to be held every five years. He publicly competed in the musical contests, appearing on the stage in tragic costume, singing, playing the lyre, or dancing, despite all the attempts of Seneca and Burrus to restrain his childish vanity. Had he used his power to indulge only such whims, he might have done little harm. Though puerile, they were at least far less brutal than the gladiatorial and wild-beast shows for which he had no taste.

Unfortunately, however, the death of Burrus in 62 A.D. and the retirement of Seneca marked a distinct turn for the worse in his government. Their place was taken by his mistress, Poppaea, and the worthless and low-born praetorian prefect, Tigellinus. Poppaea aroused the jealousies and suspicions of Nero against Seneca, who had long blocked her ambitions to take the place of Octavia as empress. Tigellinus joined him in his debaucheries and influenced him to cruelties. The senate lost all influence and became utterly servile from fear. His profligate extravagance to gratify his childish whims passed all bounds. The most prodigal banquets, coarse gluttony, and shameless debaucheries were openly exhibited to the public gaze under his auspices. Dignified Romans, like Seneca, Annaeus Cornutus, and other Stoics, felt deeply the disgrace of the Principate, and the puerility, coarse show, and outrage to all decency of Neronian Rome are reflected in the satires of Aulus Persius Flaccus, who died in

⁵⁸ Tacitus, *Annals*, XIII, 50.

62 A.D., and the satirical novel of Nero's refined arbiter of fashion, Petronius.

Poppaea now undertook to realize her ambition. Octavia was tried on a trumped-up charge which failed of proof, divorced, banished from Rome, and soon after put to death. Poppaea became empress. The servile senate celebrated the murder of Octavia by a decree of thanksgiving, of which Tacitus bitterly remarks: "The ceremonies which once celebrated auspicious events were now signs of some public calamity." Poppaea lived only two years to enjoy her ill-gotten supremacy, dying, as was said, of a kick administered by her imperial husband. The prodigal expenditures of Nero soon drained the treasury dry, and impelled by Tigellinus, he now turned to tyranny, delation, murder, and confiscation to replenish it. One of his victims was the wealthy freedman, Pallas, who had helped him to the throne. The senate was even deprived of its right of coining copper so that the emperor might reap the profit from it.

3. THE GREAT FIRE AND THE FIRST PERSECUTION OF THE CHRISTIANS

Rome was subject to frequent fires, but in 64 A.D. a conflagration broke out far more disastrous than anything yet experienced. Starting among the inflammable materials in the shops near the Circus Maximus, it raged unchecked for over a week, and afterward broke out again with fresh violence, devastating a large part of the city. Of the fourteen regions, only four were spared. Three were practically destroyed, and all suffered.⁵⁹ Many ancient monuments and memorials of early Rome, numerous splendid public buildings, especially the palace of Augustus and the temple of Apollo on the Palatine, and multitudes of priceless Greek sculptures were forever destroyed.

As one who was thought capable of such a crime, Nero was later accused of having deliberately started the fire and of having enjoyed the spectacle from the Tower of Maecenas, while singing his own "Sack of Troy." But there is no real basis for believing such a rumor, though all the sources except Tacitus dogmatically assert it. It was natural to seek a scapegoat and to accuse him in view of his character and the opportunity the fire gave him for self-glorification in rebuilding.⁶⁰ On the other hand, he hastened home from Antium and, on Tacitus' admission, gave himself to the utmost to quell the flames and to relieve the homeless thousands, opening the public buildings and his own imperial gardens to them and erecting temporary quarters in the Campus Martius. He also levied contributions in aid of the sufferers and lowered the price of grain to only three sesterces a modius (peck).

After the fire Nero began the rebuilding of the devastated city on a more healthful plan and more grandiose scale, with wider streets, more open spaces and parks, and lower houses partly of stone, having arcades outside to protect them from sun and rain. In place of the ugly slum districts, in the region of the Caelian and Esquiline, he built his famous "Golden House," a magnificent palace and park with long colonnades, lakes, and wooded retreats. Within

⁵⁹ The tradition that seven were completely destroyed and four partially is now known to be exaggerated. The Forum, a part of the Palatine, and the Capitol escaped.

⁶⁰ Cf. the dramatic description of Tacitus, *Annals*, XV, 38.

the vestibule of the palace stood a colossal statue of Nero, 120 feet in height.⁶¹ The resulting tremendous drain on the treasury drove Nero to levy oppressive special taxes on Italy and the provinces, and Greek cities and temples were robbed of their precious art treasures to replace those lost in the fire. Political condemnations and confiscations of private wealth began on a new scale. Six owners of half the estates of Africa were put to death, and their lands taken over. Thus new hatred of the tyrant was aroused throughout the Empire.

Sensitive to popular opinion, he sought to turn suspicion of incendiarism from himself and win back the favor of the mob by persecuting the Christians, who were already distinct from the Jews and unpopular with the Roman masses. According to Tacitus, however, they were persecuted chiefly as Christians rather than as guilty of arson.⁶² Some were thrown to the wild beasts of the arena, crucified, covered with hides of wild beasts, and done to death by dogs. Others were made living torches to illumine the imperial gardens at night. Among the victims, according to a highly uncertain tradition which has perhaps given the Neronian persecution an undue prominence in history, were St. Peter and St. Paul. Except for a few sporadic examples in the provinces, the persecution was probably limited to Rome and quite temporary.⁶³

The remarkable passage of Tacitus, which gives the earliest detailed account of this first Roman persecution of the Christians, the first reference to the crucifixion of Jesus in a classical author, and the only reference to Pontius Pilate in a Roman historian, reveals the general execration in which the already numerous (*multitudo ingens*) sect was held among Romans, including the historian himself. It deserves to be quoted in full.

Hence to suppress the rumor, Nero falsely shifted the guilt on those people commonly called "Christians" who were hated for their abominations, and inflicted on them the most exquisite tortures. Christus, the source of the name, had suffered death as a criminal at the hands of Pontius Pilate, the procurator of Judaea under Tiberius. Temporarily repressed, the pernicious religion broke out again, not only in Judaea, the home of the pest, but also in Rome whither flow as to a common center and are encouraged all horrible and iniquitous practises. At first, then, those who confessed their faith were seized, next, on their testimony a great multitude of others were convicted, by no means so much on the charge of incendiarism as for being haters of the human race.

Finally the brutality of Nero moved even the populace to pity for the victims, "though they were guilty and deserving of extreme penalties, for they seemed to be suffering to gratify the emperor's ferocity rather than for the public good."⁶⁴

⁶¹ Nothing has survived of all this magnificence but a few subterranean remains and the lovely *Volta Dorata*. Cf. Platner-Ashby, *Topographical Dictionary of Rome*, p. 170, Pl. 22.

⁶² Cf. *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. X, pp. 725, 887 f., for the plausible theory that no direct charge of burning Rome was made against the Christians, and that they were persecuted as Christians rather than as Jews. Tacitus alone connects the persecution with the fire, though he emphasizes the persecution of the Christians as Christians. Cf. Suetonius, *Nero*, 16.

⁶³ *Revelation*, especially II, 13, refers to the Neronian persecution and to isolated cases in the East. To the Christians Nero became the symbol of Antichrist.

⁶⁴ *Annals*, XV, 44. By Tacitus' day, evidently "Christian" was the regularly accepted name for the worshipers of Jesus. Probably there were few if any in Rome from the upper classes of

4. THE FRONTIERS: ARMENIA AND BRITAIN

Despite the playboy and tyrannical character of Nero in Rome, a vigorous foreign policy was still pursued, thanks to his able ministers and generals. Previous to his accession the Armenian problem had again arisen, since the strong Parthian ruler had set his brother on the throne of that troubled country. Nero sent the able general, Cn. Domitius Corbulo, to reassert the Roman control. In two campaigns between 58 and 60 A.D., he expelled the Parthian and set up a nominee of Rome as king. But soon after, the new king was overthrown by the Parthian king, who inflicted a disgraceful defeat on the new, incompetent Roman commander and forced him to sign a pact favorable to Parthia.⁶⁵

Corbulo, then legate of Syria, was again given the sole command in Armenia, and imposed terms on the enemy in 63 A.D. The Parthian Tiridates was permitted to retain the Armenian throne, but he laid down his crown before the statue of the emperor in the Roman camp, and in 67 A.D. recognized Rome's suzerainty by coming to Rome and receiving it from Nero himself. He was lavishly entertained by the emperor and presented with a princely gift variously estimated at from one to two hundred million sesterces. For fifty years there was peace between Rome and Parthia, but it was purchased at the price of virtual abandonment of Armenia to Parthia, since Rome's suzerainty was largely a form. Nero was planning another Eastern expedition, not against Parthia, but against the Sarmatians of the Caucasus, who were pressing on the Bosporan kingdom and the Danube frontier, but his plans were cut short by a serious rebellion in Judaea and finally by the storm in Rome that resulted in his overthrow.

The other chief foreign disturbance during Nero's reign was on the far Western frontier. The Roman occupation of Britain under Claudius had extended to the Humber on the north and to the west as far as Cornwall and Wales. But little advance had been made between 51 and 59 A.D. In 58 an able and aggressive commander was sent, Suetonius Paulinus, who took the island of Mona (Anglesea), the chief center of Druidism, aiming to end the stubborn resistance of the Britons by striking at the heart of their national religion. Meanwhile, a serious revolt broke out in eastern England, due to the heavy exaction of the Roman officials and individual exploiters. The chiefs of the Iceni had been dispossessed of their lands, and their queen Boudicca (Boadicea), the leader of the rebellion, outrageously treated. The enraged Britons defeated a Roman legion, razed the three chief Roman towns of Camulodunum (Colchester), Verulamium (St. Albans), and Londinium (London), and are said to have massacred 70,000 Romans and allies.⁶⁶ On the return of Paulinus, the rebels were decisively crushed, with an alleged loss

society. Paul mentions none. In popular belief, they practiced in their secret assemblies such horrors as cannibalism and incest. Cf. Juvenal, *Satires*, I, 155 ff., on their use as torches, dressed in the *tunica molesta*, though he does not use the word "Christians."

⁶⁵ Suetonius, *Nero*, 39, states that the legions suffered the humiliation of passing under the yoke, and Tacitus, *Annals*, XV, 15, refers to such a rumor.

⁶⁶ Tacitus records that the Druid altars were found reeking with human sacrifices. Traces of destruction by fire have often been found in the earliest strata of Roman London.

of 80,000, and their heroic leader, Boudicca, took her own life. She was later dramatized in Dio's account, and, strangely, has been romanticized in modern popular British tradition, being honored with a statue in the London that she laid waste, and glorified in English poetry as the ancestress of the English nation.

5. THE CONSPIRACY OF PISO (65 A.D.)

The numerous treason trials beginning about 62 A.D., occasioned by the inevitable suspicions that tyranny always engenders and by the desire to confiscate the property of the wealthy, aroused a growing feeling of insecurity and hate in the senatorial class. This was greatly enhanced by the fire of 64 A.D. and Nero's rebuilding of Rome, with his resulting exactions and confiscations. The large number of Oriental and Greek freedmen holding the highest positions in the Empire and responsible only to the emperor was also a source of irritation to the senators. The result was a new and widespread conspiracy the next year to assassinate Nero and make C. Calpurnius Piso, a weak but wealthy and popular senator, emperor. The plot involved a praetorian prefect and many notables of the senatorial class, forty-one in all, including Seneca's nephew, Lucan, the poet, and probably Seneca himself. The chief impelling motive, however, was probably hate of Nero rather than genuine love for the Republic.

The plot finally proved abortive, however, due to the weak vacillation, cowardice, and treachery of the leaders as bitterly recounted by Tacitus.⁶⁷ Of the forty-one accused of participation in the plot, at least twenty were unquestionably guilty, and sixteen of these suffered death. Although the alleged "terror" after the conspiracy has doubtless been exaggerated, Nero now completely changed from his previously mild attitude towards the senate. Among the victims of his vengeance were the aged Seneca, his nephew, Lucan, the poet, and, as Tacitus says, "Virtue herself," in the two high-minded Stoic senators, Thrasea Paetus and Barea Soranus, who, though not actively involved, were clearly antagonistic to the tyrant. Seneca dictated an elaborate speech to his secretary as his life slowly ebbed away, and Lucan repeated his own lines of a dying soldier from his *Pharsalia* (III, 635-641).

Seneca believed that the principles of Stoicism should be applied to government and was far above the ordinary philosopher and flattering courtier of his time. As the outstanding writer and thinker of his day and the fashionable Stoic preacher of quotable wisdom for the guidance of life, he seems to have been popular in Rome. With some reason, Tacitus scorned him for his artificial style, superficiality, and failure to live up to his own preachments. He wrote elegantly on self-control and the "wise man's" scorn of wealth, but, according to Tacitus, he amassed a fortune of 300,000,000 sesterces, and his moral life was not above reproach. His elegant sentences are platitudinous and lack the ring of sincerity. He was certainly not a great man either in

⁶⁷ Piso weakly committed suicide and the prefect, Faenius Rufus, vainly tried to save his own neck by treachery. Tacitus draws a strong contrast between such leaders and the freedwoman, Epicharis, who refused to divulge the names of the conspirators even under extreme torture. Lucan and Seneca, however, died bravely.

character or ability. But he had been a wise administrator and was far beyond his age in his enlightened and humane attitude on slavery and gladiatorial shows. A kindly spirit with an almost Christian idea of God, he died bravely.

Thrasea had courageously refused to vote for the decree of the senate congratulating Nero on the murder of his mother and, after 63 A.D., had largely absented himself from its meetings. He was accused of being, like Cato of Utica, a "model of ostentatious virtue."⁶⁸ The Stoics were opposed to deification, and from Nero's reign to the close of the century, their antagonism to the Empire is reflected in the literature, and was considered significant politically. Even from Tiberius on there was some evidence of opposition, but since the Stoic doctrine was to accept the established order as determined by the divine will, the real hostility was not so much to the principle of monarchy as to the outrageous acts of the emperors. The moral posing of the Stoic philosophers as being different from other men made them unpopular, and this was enhanced by their hypocritical imitators with the externals of the coarse cloak and long beard. Though not necessarily disloyal as a body to the Empire at first, their heroes were such anti-Caesarians as Cato and Brutus, and their persecution by the despotic emperors made them increasingly hostile.⁶⁹

In the years following the conspiracy of Piso, Nero's expressions of vengeance grew steadily worse. Henceforth no man of wealth or prominence felt secure from his avarice or revenge, and the cringing flattery of the senate reached its lowest depths in the deification of the deceased Poppaea and her infant daughter. Delators and spies were everywhere, and the prefect, Tigellinus, had full authority to purge the state of all alleged disloyalty without even a pretense of trial. Thus was aroused against the tyrant the hatred of all decent men in Rome. Even Corbulo, his famous general, was suspected (perhaps justly) and ordered to end his life in Greece in 67 A.D. Another prominent victim was Nero's own intimate in refined vice, the wealthy and cultured epicure, Petronius, the "arbiter of elegance" and "glass of fashion" in Roman high society. On receiving the order to end his life, the voluptuary opened his veins at an elaborate banquet, prolonging the agony by repeatedly having them bound up and meanwhile regaling his guests with wanton verses.⁷⁰

6. NERO'S VISIT TO GREECE (67 A.D.)

Toward the close of the year 66 the imperial tyrant set out for Greece to win fresh laurels as an artist in the very citadel of artistry. There he appeared, without restraint, as a dancer and singer at public spectacles. The four great game festivals were crowded into one year so that he could have the glory of being the victor at all, and a special Olympic musical contest was held in his honor. He also competed in a chariot race and was proclaimed victor despite his failure. His genuine admiration for the Greeks was expressed in the climax of absurdity, his pompous re-enactment of the famous proclamation of Flaminius at Corinth declaring their "freedom and exemption from

⁶⁸ For the charges against him, cf. Tacitus, *Annals*, XVI, 21-22.

⁶⁹ Cf. Tacitus, *Annals*, XVI, 22, on the moral pose of Thrasea and his imitators.

⁷⁰ For his *Satyricon*, or satirical novel, cf. Chapter Twenty, Sec. I, 1.

tribute," and ending in the naïve self-praise: "Other princes have freed individual cities, Nero alone has bestowed liberty on a whole province."⁷¹ Of course, this by no means meant separation from the Empire, but only a limited local autonomy and exemption from tribute, which latter was a distinct boon to a poor country like Greece. The Greek emotional enthusiasm, however, was again doomed to disappointment, for the emperor Vespasian soon revoked the decree.

Nero also actually began the project, dreamed of by Gaius, of cutting a canal through the Isthmus of Corinth. But it was only a grandiose scheme to him and was abandoned on his return to Rome. He toured Greece, visiting its famous places and collecting objects of art, but by some strange whim avoided Athens and Sparta. It was during this year in Greece that Corbulo and the two consular legates of the Germanies were made the victims of his probably well-founded suspicions. His plan had included a visit to Alexandria, and extensive military campaigns for expansion toward the Caspian and perhaps in Ethiopia, for which he is said to have assembled a new legion of Italian six-footers, which he called the "Phalanx of Alexander the Great." But a Jewish revolt and the menace to his throne in the West ended such grandiose schemes.

Meanwhile, in his absence, the signs of a gathering storm at home and in the provincial armies called him back to Rome to save his throne. He entered the city in an Augustan triumphal chariot, crowned with his Olympic wreath, and was hailed by his flatterers as Apollo and Hercules. His return was celebrated by a new vintage of coins portraying him as a lyre-player.

7. REVOLT OF VINDEK AND DEATH OF NERO (68 A.D.)

The régime of the tyrant and playboy was nearing an end, however. His return to Greece had been hastened by a serious rebellion. In Gaul the revolt was led by C. Julius Vindex, a Romanized Celt, legate of the province of Lugdunensis. Taking advantage of the discontent of the Gauls at Nero's oppressive taxation, he raised a Gallic army of 100,000 men, with the probable purpose of making himself the independent ruler of the three provinces. The revolt was by no means general, and even Lugdunum, the capital of the three provinces, did not join. But it received the formidable support of Sulpicius Galba, the veteran governor of Hither Spain, and of other imperial legates there. Verginius Rufus, the governor of Upper Germany, remained loyal, and his German legions were glad to attack the Gallic rebels. In a great battle at Vesonio, Vindex was defeated and slain, but the troops of the victorious general were prevented from proclaiming him emperor only by his loyalty to Nero.

The day was now saved for Galba and the Spanish rebels only by the weak irresolution of Nero, the treachery of Sabinus, his praetorian prefect,⁷² and the active hostility of the senate and Roman masses, angered at the high price of grain. Rumors were also afloat that he intended to desert Rome and make

⁷¹ The speech has been preserved in the so-called Acraephiae inscription, discovered in 1888.

⁷² We hear no more of Tigellinus, except in Tacitus, *Histories*, I, 72.

Alexandria his capital. Courage and strong action might have saved him, but he had no heart for either. Instead, he fled the city and, on receiving the message of the senate's action condemning him, he ended his life by the aid of a faithful freedman. His last reported words were: "What an artist perishes in me!" His ashes received honorable burial with those of his Domitian gens on the Pincian Hill, and with his passing ended the tragedy of the Julio-Claudian Caesars.⁷³

Nero's death was at first the signal for universal rejoicing. The senate condemned his memory and ordered his statues to be overthrown. But the masses soon reacted in his favor. They annually commemorated his death and superstitiously looked for his return, which accounts for the appearance of three such pretenders in later reigns. The Christians, on the other hand, looked to his reappearance as Antichrist.

His somewhat handsome features, as portrayed by his busts, were spoiled by his habitual scowl, which gave him a repulsive mien, and his physique was far from imposing.⁷⁴ Though he was not guilty of the divine aspirations and fantastic absurdities of Gaius, in capricious tyranny, extravagant luxury, and puerile vanity, he was a full match for that imperial madman. Yet, despite the tyranny and oppressive taxation of his later years, the general imperial administration, civil and military, continued to be, on the whole, good, so well had the founders of the Principate built.

VI. THE CIVIL WAR, OR THE YEAR OF THE FOUR EMPERORS

(68-69 A.D.)

The end of the Julio-Claudian dynasty was the signal for civil war, resulting in the accession of four emperors in one year, but now at the dictation of the frontier legions rather than of the praetorians.⁷⁵ In the pregnant phrase of Tacitus: "The secret of Empire was now disclosed, that an emperor could be made elsewhere than at Rome."⁷⁶ This was a natural development, since the authority of the Principate, though theoretically dependent upon the acceptance of the senate and the Roman people, was actually based on military power. The civil war merely drew aside the veil. Thus far, the Principate had been practically the "inheritance of one family," but now the way was open to all competitors. It was therefore seven days after the death of Nero before Galba was established as his successor.

I. GALBA (68 A.D.)

Servius Sulpicius Galba was already seventy-three years of age when he was first set up as emperor by his Spanish legions. He was later accepted by the

⁷³ Nero belonged to both lines, being the adopted son of Claudius and the great-great-grandson of Augustus through his mother.

⁷⁴ Cf. Hekler, *op. cit.*, Pl. 183. Cf. Pl. XII.

⁷⁵ The story for the years 69-70 is excellently told by Tacitus, *Histories*. The lives of Galba by Plutarch and Suetonius supplement Tacitus for the year 68. Plutarch's *Otho* and Suetonius' *Otho*, *Vitellius*, and *Vespasian* add little to Tacitus except some personal detail.

⁷⁶ *Histories*, I, 4, Loeb Classical Library translation (C. H. Moore), by permission of the Harvard University Press.

praetorians at Rome on the promise of a large donative, and finally by the senate which hoped for the return of constitutional government. According to Tacitus, even Galba considered a return to a republic desirable had it been possible.⁷⁷ He was of an ancient noble family of great wealth and had won some repute as a general and a just governor in Africa and Spain. But his age and his rather mediocre ability made it impossible for him to control the troubled situation. He angered the praetorians by refusing the promised donative, and the populace by his extreme parsimony. In the epigrammatic language of Tacitus, he was "free from faults rather than possessing virtues."⁷⁸ His harsh measures for the restoration of the finances and his failure to condemn the hated Tigellinus alienated many Romans, and he was utterly tactless in handling the delicate situation with the legions in Gaul and Germany. He had never had more than the halfhearted support of the praetorians, and the army of the Rhine resented the leading part of the Spanish army in making him emperor.

Early in the year 69 word came to Rome that the troops of Upper and Lower Germany had refused to renew their oath to him, espousing the cause of Aulus Vitellius, their general. Galba then sought to strengthen his position by adopting as son and heir in the rule Lucius Calpurnius Piso, a young noble of good ability and character, but without experience. But the act was received coldly by the praetorians and alienated Salvius Otho, who had strongly supported Galba and hoped to succeed him. Backed by the disgruntled praetorians, Otho secured the assassination of the aged ruler and his young heir and had himself proclaimed as emperor. The senate accepted the decision of the praetorians. Thus passed the honest but incompetent Galba, whose epitaph is bitingly expressed by the inimitable Tacitus: "In the opinion of all, he would have been held capable of ruling, had he not ruled."⁷⁹

2. OTHO VERSUS VITELLIUS (69 A.D.)

Otho had not reckoned with the Rhine legions, which had declared for Vitellius, however. Already they were on the march to Italy under his generals, Valens and Caecina, over 100,000 strong, while Vitellius was preparing to advance later with additional forces from Gaul and Britain. Prompt and decisive action might have won for Otho. He had the praetorians, the four Danubian legions, and the support of Egypt and Africa. But he had little ability in handling men and permitted the Vitellians to pass the Alps without opposition. They left a trail of devastation in their wake and imposed heavy exactions on the cities, especially on those which had been loyal to Galba. Finally Otho faced the invaders near Cremona and was disastrously defeated. The result need not have been decisive, however, in view of the approach of his Illyrian legions, but, weary of the conflict, he ended his life by suicide, which Tacitus calls his "most glorious deed." The senate hailed his death with

⁷⁷ *Histories*, I, 16.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 49.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.* *Omnium consensu capax imperii, nisi imperasset*, a phrase which might serve as the epitaph of many a later executive or ruler.

joy and recognized Vitellius as princeps, while the troops of his generals dominated Rome.

The result was due to their aggressive leadership, for Vitellius himself was an indolent sensualist and epicure devoid of either energy or character. When the news of the death of Otho reached him, he was still in Gaul, about to advance into Italy with 60,000 men. At Cremona he found the country noisome with the unburied corpses from the previous slaughter. Marching through Italy, as through a foreign land, his rough soldiers were given free rein to ravage and plunder, thereby alienating all from his cause. He entered Rome as a conqueror escorted by his legions, cavalry, and auxiliary troops, treating it as a captive city. The capital swarmed with soldiers, who were quartered everywhere, even in the temples, with full license for loot or violence, and the Praetorian Guard was increased from nine to sixteen cohorts. Meanwhile, Vitellius wasted his time in feasting and entertainments, while his army became undisciplined, and his Gauls and Germans were decimated by the heat of an Italian summer.

The brief rule of the conqueror had some points in its favor, however. He employed equestrians rather than freedmen, respected the prerogatives of the senate, stopped trials for *maiestas*, and forbade Roman knights to fight in the arena. He did not adopt the title of Caesar or even of Augustus until he reached Rome, and dated his reign from his acceptance by the senate rather than from the time when he was hailed as emperor by his legions. But Caecina and Valens were the real administrators. They encouraged him in his indolent self-indulgence, while they impoverished the state for their own enrichment and debased the coinage to meet their prodigal expenditures. Vitellius made no military preparations against his enemies and, as Tacitus says, remained in the shade of his luxurious gardens, "like those lazy animals that lie inactive and never move so long as you give them abundant food."⁸⁰

3. VITELLIUS VERSUS VESPASIAN (69-70 A.D.)

The legions of the East had at first recognized Vitellius as they had previously recognized Galba and Otho. But when they learned that he had been made emperor by the German legions, they jealously insisted on setting up their own candidate. Their first choice was C. Licinius Mucianus, legate of Syria, a noble both experienced and popular. But he refused on the plea of having no heir and encouraged the choice of Titus Flavius Vespasianus, legate of Judaea. Though of obscure equestrian origin, he had gained admission to the senate, had seen creditable service in Britain and Africa, and had been sent by Nero to Judaea to crush a revolt of the rebellious Jews.

Leaving his son, Titus, in charge of the campaign in Judaea, he proceeded to Egypt to cut off the grain supply from Rome. Here at Alexandria he was proclaimed *imperator* and later reckoned the beginning of his reign from this date. Meanwhile Mucianus, his chief officer, started his march westward. The Danubian and Illyrian legions, who had resented the overthrow of Otho,

⁸⁰ *Histories*, III, 36, Loeb Classical Library translation (C. H. Moore), by permission of the Harvard University Press.

readily espoused his cause and, under their independent leader, Antonius Primus, marched on Italy. The fleet at Ravenna also joined the revolt. In a stubborn and bloody battle near Cremona, Primus won over the Vitellians under Caecina, thereby opening the way to Rome. The unfortunate city had already repeatedly suffered severely at the hands of both Othonians and Vitellians. Now it was given up to the most shameless looting and destruction for four days by the rough Illyrian troops of Primus. Vitellius had sent for reinforcements from Spain, Gaul, and Germany, but their generals made excuses for delay. On being offered a safe and luxurious retirement by Primus, he was ready to abdicate, but his loyal soldiers prevented him and prepared to withstand the attack. The city was therefore stormed and taken by Primus, who turned it over as a conquered city to be ravished and sacked by his troops. Sixty thousand people are said to have been slain, and the Capitol was burned, an act termed by Tacitus as the "sorriest and most outrageous crime" ever suffered by the Roman state. The worthless Vitellius was among the victims.⁸¹

Though still in Alexandria, Vespasian was now accepted as emperor by the Western legions and the Roman senate, but, as Tacitus sadly says, the death of Vitellius and victory of Vespasian "was rather the end of war than the beginning of peace,"⁸² for the Flavian generals were now unable to control the victorious legions. Their violence and hatred continued to rage throughout the city, and the streets, fora, and temples reeked with slaughter. Unsated by attacking their victims on the streets, they invaded the privacy of the homes, supplementing their ferocity by lust and greed, so that now even the license of Otho's and Vitellius' soldiers seemed desirable in comparison.⁸³ The final arrival of Vespasian's general, Mucianus, early in January, however, brought peace. He sternly suppressed the military violence, dismissed the Illyrian legions, and ended the license of Primus. During the next six months he was practically the ruler of Rome, until the final arrival of Vespasian in the summer of 70 A.D.

Throughout the civil wars, the chief factor was the jealous patriotism of the several frontier armies for their respective generals instead of for Rome. Even Galba, though claiming to be a senatorial choice, was first set up by his Spanish legion. Yet each candidate pretended to champion the victim of his immediate rival, and though created by their legions, the candidates still recognized the necessity of securing Rome and the recognition of the senate, to legalize their rule. All except Vitellius felt the necessity of attaching themselves legally to the Julio-Claudian line by assuming the title "Caesar," and Vitellius also finally yielded. The hard dilemma of the succession, inherent in the Principate, was made all the more clear by the experience of the Julio-Claudian emperors and its sequel. Succession by heredity meant bad emperors, but when a legal heir failed the dread alternative was civil war.

⁸¹ Cf. Tacitus, *Histories*, III, 84-85, on his death.

⁸² *Histories*, IV, 1. Loeb Classical Library translation (C. H. Moore), by permission of the Harvard University Press.

⁸³ Cf. *ibid.*, 1 ff., on the evil conditions in Rome before the final arrival of Mucianus.

Chapter Nineteen

ECONOMY AND SOCIETY IN THE JULIO- CLAUDIAN AGE (14-70 A.D.)

It is the usual practice not to attempt a separate picture of Roman society and culture for the half century or more after Augustus, but to include it either in the preceding or, more generally, in the following period. But though the Augustan conditions continued to a large extent, the spirit of the age was essentially different, and the time of Nero, especially, is in many respects a turning point, when the old order was passing and the new was coming to birth. In this chapter, therefore, we shall emphasize the distinctive features of the period, while also describing certain social customs and conditions that characterized Roman imperial society in general.

I. ECONOMY¹

I. AGRICULTURE

In agriculture the period was marked by the rapid growth of vast imperial domains and large estates of wealthy Romans in the provinces, especially in Africa and Egypt. Pliny's assertion that six Romans owned half the territory of Africa in Nero's day, though perhaps overstated, reveals the condition there.² In Egypt, also, the great imperial domains of Augustus were increased under Claudius and Nero, and large estates were granted to the family or favorites of the emperors. Some provinces, such as Spain and Gaul, however, still showed little evidence of this tendency. The growth of *latifundia* by the gradual absorption of medium-sized and peasant plots probably continued in Italy, but moderate estates still existed in many sections, especially in Campania. Though the complaint of contemporary literary and scientific writers about the evil dominance of large estates in Italy was partly rhetorical, their unanimous verdict unquestionably reveals the trend. Pliny complains that the *latifundia* were the curse of Italy and Columella paints a similar picture, emphasizing the evil of absentee ownership, as does also the younger Seneca, who was himself one of the richest proprietors both in Italy and the provinces. The satire of Petronius on the vast estates of the wealthy freedman, Trimalchio, who owns almost imperial domains as "far as the kites can fly," would be pointless

¹ The chief ancient data for the economic, as for other, phases of life of the period come, not from the historians, but from contemporary moralists and satirists (the two Senecas, Persius, Lucan, and Petronius), scientific writers (Pliny, *Natural History*, and L. Junius Columella, *On Agriculture*), inscriptions, and especially Pompeii.

² *Natural History*, XVIII, 35. These estates were taken over by Nero.

were he not all too typical of the age.³ The continued growth of large estates and the increase in the number of tenants swelled the city and rural proletariat. At first many entered the army, but provincials were preferred as better soldiers after Nero.

Aside from the overgrowth of *latifundia*, Italian agriculture was probably fairly prosperous, since the emperors would hardly have repeatedly organized colonies if they had no chance of succeeding and if the condition of the small farmer was uniformly bad. Columella assures a fair profit to the landlord who will attend to business. Pliny's *Letters* also, in the next generation, show clearly that his estates in different parts of Italy brought a reasonable return.⁴

One of the most significant tendencies already under way which was later destined to transform Italian agriculture was for landlords to let out their lands to free tenants, or *coloni*, instead of cultivating them directly through slave labor. As a result, grain-farming was beginning to replace viticulture, but the old method is still dominant. Though Columella deems it necessary to discuss thoroughly the proper handling of tenants and recognizes the evils of slave labor, he still prefers the latter, except for poorer tracts and lands too distant for the owner's personal oversight. He practically ignores free hired labor, and slave cultivation is still the basis of his system.⁵ The reasons usually given for the tendency toward tenant-farming are the decreasing supply of slaves either from war or piracy since Augustus and the growing recognition of the uneconomic character of slave labor, especially under a system of increasing absentee ownership. But slaves were probably still abundant in all fields of labor, though the problem of shortage was beginning to arise, as is evident from Columella's primary emphasis upon slave-breeding. Grain-raising was still profitable in Italy, but that competition with the vineyards of Spain and Gaul was as yet a primary factor in the tendency toward tenantry and grain-farming seems doubtful, since the experts, Pliny the Elder and Columella, emphasize viticulture so strongly as the safest and most profitable investment. In view of Columella's constant emphasis upon the evil results of absentee ownership, probably this was a greater factor in the tendency than is usually recognized.⁶

Some evidences of a more humane attitude toward slaves on the *latifundia* appear. Writers of Stoic tendency, such as the two Senecas, naturally urge a more humanitarian treatment and even question slavery as an institution. The practical Pliny and Columella, however, show no definite repugnance to slavery

³ Pliny, *N. H.*, XVIII, 35; Columella, I, 3, 6-13; I, 20, etc.; Seneca, *Epistles*, 87, 7; 90, 39. For full citations from these and from the elder Seneca, Lucan, and Petronius, cf. Heitland, *Agricola*, Cambridge, 1921, pp. 241 ff., 281 ff. Cf. also M. I. Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*, pp. 95, 516, n. 24. For an opposite view, cf. M. Cary, *History of Rome*, Macmillan, 1935, p. 561.

⁴ Columella, I, 3, 9; Pliny, *Letters*, II, 4, 3. *Sum quidem prope totus in praediis* ("Nearly all my property is in land"). Cf. Heitland, *op. cit.*, pp. 272-74, 299-300, for a more pessimistic view.

⁵ Cf. Seneca, *Epistles*, 114, 26, probably "tenants"; 123, 2; *On Benefits*, VI, 4, 4; Columella, I, 7-9. Tenantry also has its difficulties, however. The word *colonus* still usually meant cultivator, not tenant.

⁶ Cf. Columella, I, 7-9, on the uneconomic character of slave labor unless under personal oversight; cf. Rostovtzeff, *op. cit.*, pp. 93 f., 515, n. 22. Columella, III, 3, 3, and Pliny, *N. H.*, XIV, 48-51. On the new emphasis upon slave-breeding, cf. Heitland, *op. cit.*, p. 257.

as a system. Pliny complained of its abuses in wealthy homes and its inefficiency in the great slave gangs, but he included the supply of slave labor among the advantages of Italy listed at the close of his work. Columella advises kindly treatment of farm hands, but his attitude is one of enlightened self-interest rather than humanitarianism. Like Pliny, he still thinks of the slave much as a domestic animal. While recognizing the uneconomic character of agricultural slavery in its usual form, he seems not to have questioned the system.

Some slight advances were made in agricultural methods. Wheeled plows with convex molding-boards had appeared which cut deeper and turned the sod. Fertility was improved by crop rotation, by the use of leguminous plants as soil restorers, and by marling, which had been introduced from Spain. There was more emphasis upon selective breeding, and a valuable new forage plant (*herba medica*) was introduced from the Orient. The finer wines for the tables of the rich, equal to the choicest Greek brands, were now being raised in Campania and some other sections of Italy.

In the provinces, besides the rapid concentration of land in the hands of the emperors and wealthy Romans, some other developments deserve mention. Sicily had ceased to be a primary source of grain for Rome and was changing from a land of moderate-sized wheat farms owned by natives to a country of large ranches held by Roman proprietors. In Africa the vast estates of wealthy Romans confiscated by Nero as imperial domains were run by *conductores*, who rented the lands in smaller plots to imperial tenants. In return for his service to the state the conductor retained a "home farm" for his own use, which was worked by the tenants. An extensive system of irrigation, based on the careful conservation of the water supply in immense cisterns, was already well developed, making North Africa one of the most prosperous sections of the Empire. Next to Egypt, it was Rome's chief grain center, and olive, vine, and fruits were also widely cultivated.

Egyptian agriculture, restored by Augustus, was now fully up to the early Ptolemaic standard in extent of cultivation. Besides wheat, the chief products were flax, oil-producing plants, wine, dates, and wool. Cotton, though cultivated, was not yet a significant crop.⁷ Western European agriculture still produced largely for its local needs, but Spain and southern Gaul were soon to rival Italy in the production of wine and oil. The land was cultivated in medium-sized farms by free native tenants, supervised by a Roman proprietor. An evidence of the initiative of Roman colonists is their introduction of the peach into Belgic Gaul and the cherry into Britain.

2. INDUSTRY AND TRADE

Security of travel by sea and land, and the Augustan policies of free intercourse, minimum customs duties, and freedom of trade, gave a great impetus to industry and commerce.⁸ Roads were rapidly extended in the provinces,

⁷ On agriculture in Roman Egypt in the first century A.D., cf. A. C. Johnson, *Roman Egypt (An Economic Survey of Rome, Vol. II)*, Chap. I.

⁸ The only restriction on freedom of travel from the Thames to the Euphrates was Egypt. A striking example of the Augustan policy of freedom of trade was his abolition of monopoly there.

colonies were established, and new markets developed about the frontier camps of the legions. River systems, such as the Rhine and Danube, and the rivers of Spain and Gaul were now used more for commercial purposes. Paris (Lutetia) became an important river port and Lugdunum (Lyons) an outstanding trade center, as well as a political capital. Regular sailings were established from Puteoli, Ostia, and Brundisium. Urbanization of the Empire was advancing both through natural development and through the activity of the emperors in creating new cities from tribes and villages, conscious that their power was dependent largely on city residents. Roman economic organization was becoming an organic system instead of a congeries of loose units. Old industries of Italy were winning expanding markets and new ones, such as glass manufacture, were rapidly advancing. The glass industry had received a new impetus through the invention of the blowpipe by Sidonius in the reign of Augustus, by which a lighter and more transparent product for tableware or windows was now possible.

The industry of a second-rate Italian city of the period is well illustrated from the shops, inscriptions, murals, and articles for use and ornament found at Pompeii. Especially revealing are the shop advertisements and other discoveries in the more recent excavation of the great commercial and industrial street, Strada dell' Abbondanza. The streets were lined with small shops, with the residence in the rear, and the ruins show traces of counters for the display of wares. The petty craftsmen made and sold their own products, combining workshop and salesroom in one. The frieze of cupids that adorns the Black Room of the House of the Vettii portrays, besides its chief subject, the production and sale of oil and wine, perfumers, fullers, and goldsmiths at work. Other typical industries were woolen manufacture and the making of fish sauces. The Pompeian remains, especially in the Strada dell' Abbondanza, reveal a gradual change, during the half century after the death of Augustus, from a residence town of landowners to an industrial city. In this respect Pompeii is an example of what was happening in many parts of Italy during the first century A.D.

Though the predominating type was still the small-shop industry, and though no factories or wholesale houses have been discovered in Pompeii, articles bearing Pompeian trademarks now in European museums indicate that even here there was some wholesale trade in factory-made goods.⁹ Italian industry was now much more widespread, not limited to Campania, but extending to many sections, as Aquileia and Mutina, producers of the coarser pottery, and Mediolanum (Milan) and Patavium (Padua), where an extensive woolen industry had developed. Rome also began to supply its own market for paper and metalwork. Italian industry now reached its zenith, for before the close of the century it began to suffer from competition with the growing industries of Gaul and other Western provinces.

The first century is marked by a notable industrial and commercial prosperity in the provinces, as well as in Italy. Extreme individual fortunes from exploitation of the provinces or from the loot of war were no more the rule.

⁹ On Pompeian industry, cf. T. Frank, *Economic History of Rome*, 190 ff., and M. I. Rostovtzeff, *op. cit.*, pp. 513-15, n. 19. Cf. Pls. XV and XVI.

Wealth was now more diffused throughout the Empire, and the provinces shared with Italy in the general prosperity. In the East economic activities took on a new life, as appears from the remains of the cities, the inscriptions of Asia Minor, and the papyri of Egypt; old industries of the Levant thrived anew, producing luxuries of all sorts for Rome and the farther East. Glass manufacture prospered in Alexandria and Phoenicia, and the textile industry, producing a new mixture of silk and linen, brought prosperity to the cities of Asia Minor.

In the Western provinces, especially in Spain, Gaul, and Africa, new towns arose rapidly, and an urban class of traders and manufacturers, as well as land-owners, developed as a solid basis of the emperor's power. A capitalistic industry and agriculture was arising in Gaul, similar to that in Italy and the East, which was supplying its own needs in pottery and textiles and would later exclude Italian products from Gallic and German markets. A striking example is the Gallic *terra sigillata*, or "sealing-wax" ware, red-glazed with reliefs, a cheaper substitute for the finer Arretine ware from Italy. The mines of the Western provinces were exploited with a new energy, producing silver, lead, and tin in Spain and iron in Gaul, Noricum, and Illyricum.

The foreign trade of the Roman Empire reached its height of expansion in the first century A.D. In faraway Britain Roman merchants had preceded the standards of the legions, and though the emperors discouraged trade with the Germans on the Rhine and Upper Danube, except at special points, it inevitably developed. In Nero's day a new route for amber was followed from Carnuntum on the Danube to the eastern Baltic. Exploration of the North Sea by Roman fleets had also opened a route by which the bronze ware of Capua and other Italian metalwork reached northern Germany and the Scandinavian lands.¹⁰

The first century is also one of the historic periods of active commercial contact between Rome and the Far East. Owing to the Parthians, the route from the Persian Gulf and the transcontinental route via Seleucia to the East were difficult of access to Mediterranean traders. The silk industry of Asia Minor was therefore probably supplied by a native product inferior to the Chinese. But the Arabian expedition sponsored by Augustus had opened the way to Greek merchants who traded with India through the medium of Arabs or Hindus. Already in his reign, according to Strabo, as many as 120 ships in a single year made the trip from the ports of the Red Sea to North-east Africa and India, and some sailed even to the mouth of the Ganges. Under Augustus embassies also passed between India and Rome, which doubtless stimulated trade, so that Tiberius was disturbed by the drain of Roman money to India for gems and silks.¹¹ Through the discovery of the Indian monsoons by Hippalus, probably an Alexandrian Greek in the time of Tiberius, however, a direct open sea route from Aden at the mouth of the Red Sea to India was made safe for Mediterranean merchants, thereby freeing them from the Arab middlemen. The outward trip was made with the summer mon-

¹⁰ Cf. M. Cary, *History of Rome*, p. 567 and n. 24.

¹¹ *Geography*, II, 1118; XV, 686; XVII, 798, 815.

soons and the return with the antitrade winds of winter. In the time of Claudius and Nero, Western traders visited Ceylon and even rounded the point into the Bay of Bengal on the eastern shore.¹² The voyage from Italy to India, including the land or river journey through Egypt, required about four months. The active concern of Tiberius and other thoughtful Romans at the drain of gold and silver eastward to pay for Indian luxuries seems to have been in vain, for in Nero's day the adverse balance of trade for Rome is estimated at 100,000,000 sesterces. The demand of the wealthy Roman ladies for Indian silks and jewelry was too strong and the profit to the merchants too great to be stopped by any mere regulation, since the price of these Indian goods in Rome was probably a hundred times that in India.¹³

The chief trade center for Far Eastern commerce now shifted from Arabian ports to Alexandria, which exchanged glass, metalware, and probably linen for Indian products. The rapid development of Indian trade and the extent of Greek travels in the East are revealed by the handbook of an Alexandrian merchant, the *Periplus maris erythraei*, written in the last decades of the century. It describes each of the coast regions of India to which the Greek traders sailed, shows a good knowledge of Somaliland as far as the Cape of Spices (Guardafui), and corrects the earlier false notion that the African coast beyond the Cape turned abruptly westward. It recounts also visits of Greek merchants to the court of the Abyssinian king, some of whom even reached Zanzibar.

The coast of Arabia was also thoroughly explored, except the Gulf of Oman and the west shore of the Persian Gulf, which were controlled by Parthia. Indirectly, however, Mediterranean merchants had contact with these ports through Semitic and Palmyrene traders.¹⁴ No serious attempt was made to explore the interior of Africa in this period, though some praetorian troops of Nero penetrated to the Upper Nile as far as Khartoum, perhaps aiming to attack Abyssinia. If so, the project ended with Nero's death. A general of Claudius also, in routing tribal invaders, pushed through the Atlas passes to the borders of Sahara, but there was no attempt to advance the boundaries to the desert, or to resume the Carthaginian trade with the West African coast from Mauretania. Seneca's bold prediction that Spain would soon be joined to the Indies by transoceanic shipping remained only a dream.

The century was also marked by a rapid growth of interprovincial trade. Merchants followed in the track of the legions and even preceded them. Campanian oil and wines penetrated throughout the Roman West and to India. Capuan bronze ware found a market from northern Britain and Spain to the shores of the Black Sea. Campanian and Alexandrian glass products reached Gaul, the Rhine provinces, and Britain. The fine Arretine pottery was shipped to Gaul, Spain, Britain, the Rhine, Mauretania, and east to the Caucasus. Factory-made terra-cotta lamps from Mutina in northern Italy had a wide sale in the West, and even in the isolated villages of North Africa. Rare

¹² M. Cary and E. H. Warmington, *Ancient Explorers*, Dodd, Mead, 1929, pp. 73 ff.

¹³ Cf. M. Cary, *op. cit.*, pp. 567, 591, n. 18, for the ancient and modern data.

¹⁴ On all the above account of Eastern exploration and trade, cf. Cary and Warmington, *op. cit.*, pp. 73-80.

foods, fine textiles, and art products from the Levant and Asia Minor satisfied the jaded palates and luxurious tastes of the imperial court, wealthy nobles, and new-rich of Rome and other larger cities.¹⁵ New species of animals, plants, and fruits were introduced from the East, through which Western living standards were raised. Though Roman imports were chiefly in grain and luxuries, interprovincial trade included a regular exchange in many common necessities, such as common tableware, cooking utensils, tiles, lamps, coarse woolens, and the cheaper brands of wine and oil. Compared with modern Mediterranean commerce, however, the trade of the Roman Empire at its height was slight and the market for Asiatic luxuries in the entire Roman Empire was limited. Trade was still predominantly in the hands of the Greeks, Syrians, and Jews, though Gallic merchants were numerous in the Western provinces.

Though the massacres of Roman traders in the Gallic revolt of 21 and the revolt of the Britons in 61 indicate that the old activities of money speculators and loan sharks still persisted, they had been much curbed by the emperors. Tax farming, with its abuses, was steadily reduced in scope. The new prosperity also freed the provincial cities from dependence on the cutthroat methods of the Roman capitalists, and loans for consumption gave place to productive loans at lower interest rates of four to six per cent to finance business ventures.

Slavery still dominated in the trade and industry of Rome and other cities. But free wage laborers and freedmen and lower middle-class shop owners and workers were numerous. Probably the greater part of the business of the capital was carried on by freedmen, who were a constant reinforcement from below to the middle class and played an extremely important part in the life of the Empire. They were admitted to the *collegia* on an equal basis with free artisans and were honored as *Augustales* and in priesthoods of foreign cults. They were frequently given a start in business by their emancipators and often became grain merchants, builders, moneylenders, shop owners, professionals, or even slave dealers. The wealthy Trimalchio had lost by shipwreck in his first mercantile venture, but boasts that he more than recouped himself in the second with a cargo of wine, bacon, beans, perfumes, and slaves at a profit of 10,000,000 sesterces. As a true bourgeois, he then turned to money-lending and sought respectability by investment in vast estates. The vulgar extravagance and show of his dinner party, with the ill-bred and illiterate chatter of himself and his guests as portrayed by Petronius, well reflects an increasingly common type in imperial Roman society. In their colloquialisms also we have revealed the already changing Latin language as spoken by the common people of non-Roman stock in the early Roman Empire.

3. TRAVEL IN THE EARLY EMPIRE

Throughout the Empire travel was easy, relatively rapid, and secure. The network of excellent Roman highways extending straight to their goal over

¹⁵ Many of the costly sea foods and other table delicacies, however, were now Italian products.

hills and valleys, with bridges and viaducts across rivers and ravines, and the milestones and charts giving lists of stations, directions, distances, inns, and worth-while sights, served the wayfarer.¹⁶ There were, however, many handicaps and discomforts. Travel was interminably slow from the standpoint of today. For the ordinary land traveler fifty to sixty miles was a good day's journey, or double this for courier or imperial post. The tollkeepers were proverbially dishonest. Inns were usually third-rate and far from clean, and the company was often unsavory. Yet there were good hotels in the larger cities and resorts. The slave philosopher, Epictetus, refers to "many fine half-way houses," and Strabo emphasizes the excellent hotels at Berenice and Canopus in Egypt. But, on the whole, the inns were uninviting to the well-to-do traveler, who usually trusted to the hospitality of his friends or to his own luxurious equipage.

The common wayfarer traveled on foot or astride an ass with his small belongings, though even he was usually accompanied by at least one slave. But the rich man journeyed in great pomp with a large retinue of slaves and attendants to minister to his every whim, loads of luggage, and a splendid equipage drawn by horses or mules. Moorish or Numidian outriders cleared the way before him. Meanwhile, he might read, write, attend to his business affairs, or sleep at his ease. He had no need of inns, for, like the devotee of the modern trailer, he took his palace with him. Especially elaborate were the traveling equipages of the emperors. Nero is said to have had a suite of 1,000 carriages whose horses were shod with silver and equipped with gold-decorated harness. Such luxury was imitated on a lower scale by senators and wealthy Romans.

Travel by sea, largely from March to November, involved some discomforts, even for the rich. Sailings were irregular; ships were always overcrowded and frequently in danger of storms. An illuminating example is St. Paul's experience, which was probably no exception.¹⁷ Good-sized ships were 200 by 50 feet and of 500 to 1,100 tons' burden. We know of one ship that brought to Rome the great obelisk which now stands in the square of St. Peter's. Another brought an obelisk, 400,000 bushels of wheat, and other cargo, besides many passengers. Ships are mentioned as carrying 1,200 and 600 passengers. That of Paul had only 276, which is probably the more usual number. With favorable winds, they might make 100 to 150 sea miles in twenty-four hours. The usual reckoning from Puteoli to Alexandria was eight to twelve days, Ostia to Gades (Cadiz) seven, and Puteoli to Carthage two. There had been little increase in speed since the fifth century B.C.

Occasions for travel, by land or sea, and types of travelers were many. The army drew at least 20,000 new recruits each year, and the legions were still frequently shifted. Merchants and traders of all sorts found travel much more necessary than now. Retired veterans and other colonists were constantly moving to new settlements. The state post, private couriers, and imperial officials with their elaborate equipages were sure to be found on every important

¹⁶ Cf. L. Friedländer, *Roman Life and Manners* (tr. from the 7th German ed. by L. A. Magnus), London, Vol. I, pp. 271-278, for an analysis of the whole Roman road system.

¹⁷ *Acts*, XXVII f., which deserves a careful reading.

highway. Teachers, philosophers, musicians, artists, gladiators, athletes, professionals of all kinds, including peddlers and fakirs, came seeking their fortune at the capital. All towns had their foreigners, and Greeks and Jews were everywhere. Even the unattractive and barbarous Corsica had, according to Seneca, more aliens than natives. Pilgrims to sacred spots or to the feasts and festivals of Rome or Jerusalem, Christian propagandists like Paul, multitudes of health-seekers, traveling philosophers and teachers, curious tourists, and sightseers seeking recreation, education, and knowledge, crowded the highways on land and sea. The tourists, as now, sought out the art centers, ruins, temples, historic spots, scenic places, health and recreation resorts, and strange phenomena, especially in Italy, Sicily, Greece, Asia Minor, and Egypt. To Egypt annually came crowds from Italy and Greece to view the marvels of a past civilization.¹⁸ Yet the Romans showed little interest in discovery. Few travelers except traders or soldiers ventured beyond the established frontiers or off the beaten tracks. Even Strabo, who states that few geographers had traveled further than he, had stayed within Roman frontiers, and Pausanias, the great tourist of the next century, knew no person who had seen Babylon or Susa. The exploratory spirit was not in the blood of the matter-of-fact Roman.

II. SOCIETY

I. URBAN CONDITIONS IN THE EARLY EMPIRE: ROME

The early Empire is especially notable for the rapid growth in the size and number of its cities. Though partly due to the imperial policy of colonization and urbanization, it was largely the natural result of a more general prosperity and the expansion of trade and industry under the favoring *Pax Romana*. Rich Campania had many flourishing towns. Puteoli was still the principal port of entry in Italy, though Ostia was beginning to rival it before the death of Nero. Many cities of the northern Po Valley, such as Patavium (Padua), Aquileia, and Mediolanum (Milan), thrived on their rapidly expanding trade with the developing Danube lands. In Africa the new Carthage was soon to replace Utica as the chief port. Thriving cities multiplied in Spain and southern Gaul. Gades (Cadiz) prospered as the center of export from southern Spain to Rome and, like Patavium, could boast its five hundred burghers of Roman equestrian status. Arelate had long displaced Massilia and Narbo as the center for trade with the interior and had now yielded to Lugdunum (Lyons), whose site especially fitted it to be the commercial as well as the political capital of all Gaul. In distant Britain and about the legionary camps of Rhine and Danube, many new towns were arising. By the close of the century, Londinium (London) had become the chief center for trade with Gaul and already nearly equaled its medieval successor in area. In the effete East resurgent Corinth, the intermediary between Rome and the Levant, and the cities of Asia, especially Ephesus, a center for the transit trade of the whole East Mediterranean, took on a new prosperity. Both of these strategic centers

¹⁸ On "Touring Under the Empire," cf. Friedländer, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 322-395.

St. Paul wisely chose as his missionary headquarters for extensive periods, and he was impressed with their wealth and brilliant but corrupt life. Antioch on the Orontes, the brilliant capital of Syria and third in population in the whole Empire, still held its place as the trade center for the transcontinental commerce of inner Asia with Syria and the West. Alexandria, the second city of the Empire, with its 300,000 free inhabitants, though no longer the royal capital of the Ptolemies, profited by the economic revival of Egypt and freedom of trade since Augustus. With the opening of direct commerce with the Far East also, it displaced the Arabian ports as the intermediary between the Far East and the whole Empire.¹⁹

Rome had now well over a million inhabitants and a circuit of about twelve miles. Though a brilliant city of splendid public buildings and imposing private palaces on the hills, it had not yet reached its zenith of architectural splendor. The great height of the houses and the narrow, tortuous streets allowed little protection against fire. The enormous extent of the disastrous fire of 64 A.D. was mainly due to this condition. In the new Rome rebuilt by Nero and his successors, the houses were of stone in lower stories and not so high. The streets also were somewhat straighter, with more open spaces, and arcaded. Yet the old conditions continued, and the danger of fires was little abated. Trajan reduced the legitimate frontage to six or seven stories, but this, like previous building regulations, was largely disregarded, as is evident from the testimony of later Roman writers. The courtyards and rear of the houses were often built still higher. Martial, in the next generation, tells of a poor wretch who had to climb two hundred steps to his attic. Juvenal complains that the objects in the streets are seen with difficulty from the upper windows, and Pliny the Elder boasts that if one adds to the area of Rome the height of its houses, no city in the world can equal it in size.²⁰ Most of the streets also remained very narrow and tortuous; even the largest had a width of only sixteen to nineteen feet. There were some long, straight streets, but the hills and valleys largely militated against this, especially as the valleys were used chiefly for fora and public places. Ancient Rome had no streets like some in Alexandria and Antioch, extending for miles straight ahead. The jutting upper stories, irregular frontages, and unequal heights of different parts of the houses were further disadvantages.

There were many discomforts and dangers also. The streets were unlighted at night, and one had to depend on his own meager rush light. Despite the 7,000 urban police established by Augustus, one was in danger of being beaten up by some footpad or drunken bully if he ventured out late unattended. One might consider himself lucky also if only the slops from the upper stories fronting the narrow streets hit him and not their containers. Many of the streets must have been unpaved, to judge by Juvenal's complaint of the "mud-caked" legs of the poor pedestrian. What with the elbowing throng in the narrow streets, the driving wagons, and the litters of the rich, he seems to have been in an even worse plight than he is in this age of the automobile.

¹⁹ For a more detailed discussion of the cities of the Empire, cf. Chapter Twenty-four, Sec. V.

²⁰ Alexandria was greater in circuit by over 3,000 paces in 74 A.D.

The noise and bustle of a crowded, busy city, with its hawking hucksters and creaking wagons on the grinding pavements at night,²¹ was also a cause of complaint to the more refined, but Rome must have been a quiet retreat compared with even an average American city in this industrialized age. Especially hard was the life of the teeming poor in their one dingy room of the lofty jerry-built tenements, which protected neither from heat nor cold and were ever in danger of collapse and fires. They could not escape the unhealthy city in the heat of summer and were always the first victims of the frequent floods, famines, fires, or epidemics.²²

The cosmopolitan population must have been most colorful. Juvenal later complained that the Nile and the Orontes had emptied into the Tiber, and in the next century the Greek Lucian satirized it as containing the "dregs of all the nations." Especially at the great festivals did foreigners of every race and clime fill the city. Martial, in the next generation, lists among others in the new Flavian amphitheatre, Sarmatians, Arabians, Sigambrians, Sabaeans, and Ethiopians. But Rome was always thronged with strangers, all seeking to make their fortune or gain a handout by hook or crook. Both Martial and Juvenal complain exaggeratedly that no one can make an honest living in Rome. The advantage is all to the pimps, seducers, informers, legacy-hunters, will-forgers, perjurers, and fakirs of every sort. Especially difficult was life for the lower middle class, for prices, especially rents, were high in Rome compared with those in the Italian and provincial towns. The rich lived luxuriously. The poor, comprising the vast majority of the free population, lived in part or wholly at the expense of the state and could spend their days lounging in the open spaces and enjoying the frequent shows. The slaves also were sure of a living. It was the honest free worker in Rome whose position was especially precarious.

Yet the Rome of Nero was a brilliant world metropolis in the number and magnificence of its splendid public places, buildings, temples, monuments, colonnades, and arcades, its gleaming white and colored marbles, and its pretentious residences with their fine gardens on the hills. Especially remarkable was its system of aqueducts and underground pipes by which an abundance of pure water was brought to the city for houses and public baths. After the first century the supply was almost doubled. Pliny considered the mass of water used by the Roman public the most wonderful thing in his world. A vast amount was needed for the many splendid *thermae*, or public baths, which were one of the most striking characteristics of Roman civilization in all towns of any importance throughout the Empire. The *Thermae* of Nero are said to have had 1,600 marble seats, and later emperors far outdid him.

2. HIGH SOCIETY UNDER THE EARLY CAESARS:

FROM ARISTOCRACY TO PLUTOCRACY

In imperial Rome the emperors rather than the senatorial aristocracy set the social fashion. The old Roman nobility, weakened by civil war, execution,

²¹ They were barred from Roman streets in the daytime.

²² Cf. Juvenal, *Satires*, III, on the dangers and discomforts of Rome in the summertime, written in the next century when conditions were certainly no worse.

and race suicide, was now sadly depleted, and even some surviving old families were greatly reduced in fortune. The new senatorial aristocracy was a far more bourgeois body largely of Roman equestrian, Italian, or even provincial origin. The tone of Roman society was also lowered by the number and prominence of the ostentatious new-rich, especially freedmen, who sought to compensate for lack of breeding and culture by coarse show. Like the Trimalchio of Petronius, they had been set up in business by their patron and had grown rich by shrewd trading and other "not very dainty practices," even slave-dealing. Trimalchio, though only a freedman, who recently "carried wood on his shoulders," is now respected for his cool 30,000,000 sesterces and vast estates. No questions are asked as to his origin, his ill-breeding, or how he came by his wealth. The fact that he has it stamps him in the eyes of the commercialized Italian society of his class as a respected and eminently successful man. As all the contemporary satirists agree, plutocracy rather than aristocracy had now become dominant. Probably many of these new-rich could buy out two of the older senatorial families. A freedman of Nero is reported to have called a man worth only about \$3,000,000 pitifully poor!

The mad scramble for wealth, already a marked characteristic of Roman society in the late Republic, probably reached its height under the early Caesars. To Pliny the Elder, the last century of the Republic was an age of penury in comparison with his own time. Capital was more abundant, prosperity more general, trade and industry more active, money circulated more freely, and fortunes were larger and far more common. The younger Seneca's was one of the greatest of the day, but his fortune of many million sesterces was by no means unique. The largest private fortunes on record are 300,000,000 and 400,000,000 sesterces, owned by Cn. Lentulus, whom Tiberius forced to bequeath to himself his fortune, and Narcissus, the freedman of Claudius. There was now far less opportunity for a few to make great fortunes by booty of war, loot of the provinces, speculation in money, or tax farming. But the *latifundia* still paid good dividends, if properly supervised, and vast wealth was gained through inheritance, endowment by emperors, and world trade. The Julio-Claudian period was the paradise for the informer, the legacy-hunter, and the fawning parasite. In this more bourgeois age also, the traditional Roman prejudice against trade and direct money-making for the aristocracy was breaking down. The older aristocracy were under intense social pressure to put up as big a show as the new-rich, and among the well-to-do all, whether in Rome or the municipalities, sought, each on his own scale, to ape the lavish example set by the imperial court. The poorer urban classes were infected with the same virus, a scramble to get something for nothing, in order to join the ranks of the high living. Never in history was there a time when money was more the measure of the man than in the Rome of Claudius and Nero.

3. LUXURY AND PRODIGAL SPENDING ²³

The drive for wealth in early imperial Rome was equaled by the lavish luxury and prodigal spending. For this, the Rome of Caligula to Nero has

²³ Much of the material in Chapter Thirteen, Sec. III, 1, also applies here.

always been especially notorious. Contemporary Stoic critics, satirists, and realists, like Seneca, Persius, Pliny the Elder, and Petronius, are unanimous in this verdict, and their witness is fully supported by Martial, Tacitus, Suetonius, Juvenal, and the younger Pliny in the generations immediately following. On this basis modern historians have painted highly colored pictures of wholesale squandering of wealth. Bizarre stories of vast palaces built at enormous expense into the sea, Nero's Golden House having whole rooms decorated with pearls, his horses shod with silver and harnessed with gold, his wife Poppaea's baths in asses' milk, profligate expenditures for gigantic spectacles, the gluttony of Apicius, the notorious gourmand, who squandered nearly 90,000,000 sesterces on his debaucheries and killed himself in despair when he had only 10,000,000 left, Agrippina's dress of woven gold, Lollia Paulina's²⁴ 40,000,000 sesterces' worth of gems worn at one banquet, the bizarre mixed dish of Vitellius, whose ingredients were brought by the Roman fleet out of many lands from Spain to Parthia, 100,000 sesterces squandered for one meal of speaking and singing birds, prodigal waste of the most costly perfumes, Trimalchio's purple pillows, the prostitution of the precious metals to the most vulgar uses, bids of one or two hundred thousand sesterces each for pretty slave boys to sate the lust, and other such extreme examples have shaped our conception of Roman society in the early Empire.

It is a mistake, however, to draw too general and sweeping conclusions from such bizarre and isolated examples drawn largely from the imperial court. Caligula, Nero, and Vitellius were striking exceptions even among emperors, and no society should be judged by its lunatic fringe. The contemporary Roman critics of luxury also cannot be taken at their face value. We must make large allowances for rhetoric, Stoic prejudice, and the exaggerations of satire. Martial alone, of all the Roman critics of luxury, was not a devotee of the simple life. Luxury is a relative term, depending upon the standards of the critic and his general environment. Seneca and Pliny idealized the past and unduly decried the present. Much that they criticize as luxury was merely indicative of an advance in economic prosperity, world trade, and living standards. Roman society should not be judged only by the imperial capital either. The general citizenship in Italy and the provinces lived a far healthier life, and the critics of luxury themselves, such as Pliny and Seneca, are evidence of a strong sentiment against it among the more serious-minded.

Yet prodigal expenditure was not uncommon, and Tacitus is probably right in his judgment that it reached its zenith in the period from Actium to the accession of Vespasian.²⁵ The luxury of the table was now even more extreme and less refined than under the late Republic. The 200,000 sesterces of Lucullus for a dinner are now a modest amount, especially for an emperor. The gourmand, Apicius, squandered fortunes on dinners. Gluttony became an art with such men, who bid thousands of sesterces for a single rare fish and prided themselves on their connoisseurship in distinguishing the origin of oysters by their taste. Prodigal sums were also expended for the silver service, decorations, perfumes, and costly presents for the guests. The banquets were not only

²⁴ A wife of Caligula.

²⁵ Cf. L. Friedländer, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 131-230.

more lavish in expense, however, but also more disgustingly coarse and lacking in refined taste. There was a nauseating plethora of meats, especially pork in a great variety of forms. Tickling the jaded palate with every kind of bizarre dainty was common among the wealthy in high and low society and the disgusting use of emetics to enable the banqueter to repeat the process was a recognized practice. Seneca's *vomunt ut edant, edunt ut vomant* is by no means all rhetoric. Physicians even prescribed correct rules for the process. Lavish expenditure on imported table luxuries is a relative matter, however. One wonders what Seneca and Pliny would have thought could they have sat down to the average middle-class American meal, with viands drawn from the ends of the earth.

Extravagance in dress, especially for women, was also attacked by the critics. Fancy prices were paid for costly Oriental silks and Tyrian purple wool, which was especially prized by both sexes. But, on the whole, Roman dress was much simpler than modern and far less extravagant. The most expensive luxury was the lavish use of costly jewels and perfumes. Pliny the Elder rants at the annual payment of millions on millions of sesterces to China, India, and Arabia for pearls, perfumes, and silks, "a high price to pay for our extravagant women." He complains especially of the lavish waste on perfumes.

One of the most costly extravagances of wealth was in houses and villas. Already highly developed in the age of Cicero, it probably reached its climax by the death of Nero. Seneca's hyperbole that city palaces were as large as towns or country estates had some color of truth. Such bizarre extravagances as Caligula's palace and Nero's Golden House which Pliny said embraced a whole city²⁶ are, of course, exceptions. Valerius Maximus said rhetorically that palaces which covered only four acres were distinctly cramped in size. For the multimillionaires, also, one city mansion was by no means enough. Enormous amounts were also spent on decoration, with mosaics and many varieties of colored marbles imported from all sections of the Mediterranean world. Pliny the Elder saw in the dining room of Callistus, a freedman of Caligula, thirty columns of Oriental alabaster. Especially lavish was the expenditure for marbles in private baths. In the extant Roman remains marbles have been found from forty different sources. Expenditure for elaborate country villas, gardens, and artificial lakes, already extreme in Cicero's day, was also doubtless more general and more extreme now. Statius, writing in the generation after Nero, exhausts rhetoric in his description of one near Sorrento, with its porticoes, gilded beams, magnificent marble halls, decorated with costly paintings and statues, luxurious baths gleaming with many-colored marbles, and outbuildings and gardens extending over a great stretch of coast. This was one of many such villas on the beautiful Bay of Naples.²⁷

One of the most extravagant and useless luxuries incurred by wealthy households was the vast number of slaves. The division of labor was extremely minute, so that many had ridiculously little to do. Seneca tells of an ignorant new-rich who paid 100,000 sesterces apiece for cultivated slaves who were re-

²⁶ For a description of this, cf. Friedländer, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 192.

²⁷ *Silvae*, II, 2.

quired to memorize the Greek poets in order to stand behind him and prompt him at dinner.

Roman furniture was very simple compared to modern, but no expense was saved in decoration and costly materials. Too often, also, the impelling motive was not comfort or taste so much as parade of the owner's wealth and position. Costly citrus-wood tables with ivory legs; sofas inlaid with tortoiseshell and ornamented with gold and silver, Babylonian carpets, Corinthian bronzes, a priceless ware called murrha,²⁸ sideboards with rare old silver, and costly candelabra were the rule in the homes of the well-to-do. A great item of expense in furnishing was the profusion of costly art products. Statius describes rhetorically the art treasures of Vindex as "a thousand beauties of bronze and ancient ivory."²⁹ He was a connoisseur of the masters, but a profusion of art in ivory and the precious metals, bronzes, marbles, and pictures was almost a necessity in any well-to-do home. The parade of silver plate and even gold was greatly overdone. A classic example is Seneca's father-in-law, a general, who, according to Pliny, carried about with him on the German frontier 12,000 pounds of silver. The extensive use of silver was quite common even in the middle and uncultivated classes, as Pliny and Petronius testify, and the many silver dishes from Pompeii bear witness. Trimalchio's heavy plate of solid silver, each piece marked with its weight in pounds, was probably no exception among the new-rich. A slave of Claudius had a silver dish weighing five hundred pounds, and others are named of half this weight. The ninety-seven silver articles, mostly for table use, found at a villa of Boscoreale near Pompeii are a sample of what probably existed in a multitude of well-to-do homes, both in Italy and many of the provinces.

A phase of extremely lavish expenditure, far greater than the modern, was for the disposal of the dead. Showy funeral processions, costly frankincense, and other priceless perfumes were the vogue. Nero is said to have used a whole year's crop of Arabian incense for the deceased Poppaea, and still greater extravagance is reported for a wife of a freedman of Domitian. On the funeral pyre were frequently burned some of the finest carpets and objects of art that the deceased had prized in life. Cinerary urns were often of rarest stone and finely carved. Elaborate banquets, gladiatorial shows, and other expensive affairs multiplied the expense for the rich. In the inscriptions funeral costs vary from a modest 2,000 sesterces to 100,000, but Pliny records one which he considers exorbitant, costing 1,100,000. The most expensive known was Hadrian's in the next century. The monuments that lined the roads to Rome and other cities all over Italy have now largely disappeared. But such imposing ones as those of Caecilia Metella on the Via Appia and Plautius on the Tibur road, and the Pyramid of Cestius near the Porta Ostiensis suggest what was the cost of dignity to the best families. The burial plot of the new-rich Trimalchio was to be 100 by 200 feet and planted with "lots of vines, and all kinds of fruit trees."

²⁸ Perhaps a Chinese porcelain. Vessels of this material cost as high as 300,000 sesterces, and Nero had one cup worth 1,000,000.

²⁹ *Silvae*, IV, 6, 20, *Loeb Classical Library* translation (J. H. Mozley), by permission of Harvard University Press.

Luxury in the early Empire went to ridiculous extremes in the case of some individuals and in certain items. There was in it much of the bizarre, coarse, and vulgar show. But in most respects, and in complexity and vastness of scale, it fell immeasurably short of modern luxury.

4. WOMAN AND MORALS IN THE EARLY EMPIRE

Practically all our ancient literary material on woman and social morality in the early Empire applies only to a limited wealthy circle in the high society of the capital. Of the great mass of women in the middle and lower classes no record has survived save the usual conventional list of virtues carved on their tombstones. Naturally, also, the darker and more extreme phases of life are emphasized in the literature, since the everyday virtues did not make better copy then than they do now. Furthermore, we see woman and high society portrayed, not in the language of the social analyst, but reflected through a distorted medium of the declamatory rhetoric and Stoic prejudice of Seneca, the prurient satire of the cynical Petronius, the fierce invective of Juvenal, the clever epigram of the unmoral Martial, and the biting sentences of Tacitus. The striking contrast between their appalling revelations of moral license and the practically contemporary sober and refined society reflected in Pliny's *Letters* should warn us against conceiving the conditions too darkly. Both types of high society existed then as always. With all due allowance for rhetoric, prejudice, pruriency, and puritanism in the contemporary writers, however, their portrayal of the seamy side of life in Roman high society of the early Empire must be accepted as substantially correct. Otherwise their satires and criticisms would have been utterly pointless.³⁰

The usual age of marriage for girls was twelve to sixteen years, and though those of good families were still secluded, they were suddenly thrust upon marriage into a dazzling social world and complete freedom both legally and economically. The matron controlled her own property through her freedman, or lawyer. If she was rich, she often lorded it over her husband. Martial would avoid a rich wife, since he does not care to be her "maid." She was also practically unrestrained socially. She accompanied her husband to banquets even at the emperor's palace and had free access to the theatre, amphitheatre, and circus. Seneca complains that wives appear at social functions dressed in their finery and in high honor, while their husbands are nobodies. They lived in an atmosphere where intrigue, vanity, passion, and moral license had free play, and according to the record, many of them succeeded in living down to their environment.

Despite the Augustan regulations, divorce was now probably even more prevalent. Seneca says women counted their years, not by the consuls, but by their husbands. According to Juvenal, some had eight in five years. Martial congratulated Phileros on having enriched himself by the burial of seven wives, and women remarried as often as men. That such extreme statements had a large modicum of truth is suggested by the epitaph in praise of a rare wife in

³⁰ Though some of the above writers lived a generation after Nero, their verdict may safely be accepted for his day, since conditions at court were then certainly worse rather than better.

the Augustan age who lived with her husband forty-one years, though marriages seldom lasted until death.

There were several reasons in the social environment for the moral laxity besides the sudden step of mere girls from seclusion to complete freedom after marriage. One of the most far-reaching was the curse of an overgrown slavery. The vast number of slaves in luxurious households made possible an enervated idle rich, with nothing to do but pamper their overindulged appetites. The wealthy Roman matron found no wholesome field of activity, but boundless opportunity for self-indulgence. She lived in a stifling, unhealthy atmosphere of scandal and seduction. She was always sure of a willing lover among her slaves, and according to Martial, such relations were by no means uncommon. Cruelty to household slaves reacted badly on the character of master and mistress, who had the power of life and death in their hands until the emperor Hadrian forbade slave murder. The cruel enormities of a Caligula or a Nero were the direct fruits of a system of absolutism over the household slaves.

The extent of the evil influence of immoral suggestion in literature and art is problematical, but it was probably itself more a result than a cause of the prevailing moral laxity. Far more vicious influences were doubtless the gross cruelties, tortures, and slaughter over which the most delicate ladies gloated in the animal hunts and gladiatorial fights of the arena, the unhealthy excitements of the circus,³¹ and the gross obscenities of the Atellan farces, mimes, and licentious dances in the theatre. Even Ovid was inclined to be shocked at the scenes created on the stage.³² Especially the circus, where the sexes were intermingled, gave opportunity for seduction, as Ovid recognized. Noble ladies also became enamored of athletes, chariot-drivers, gladiators, and stage-singers.³³ At banquets the sexes mingled freely, and after Augustus women reclined at the table like the men. According to the harsh indictments of the Senecas and Pliny the Elder, also, they had no sense of shame in their luxuriously seductive dress of transparent stuffs.

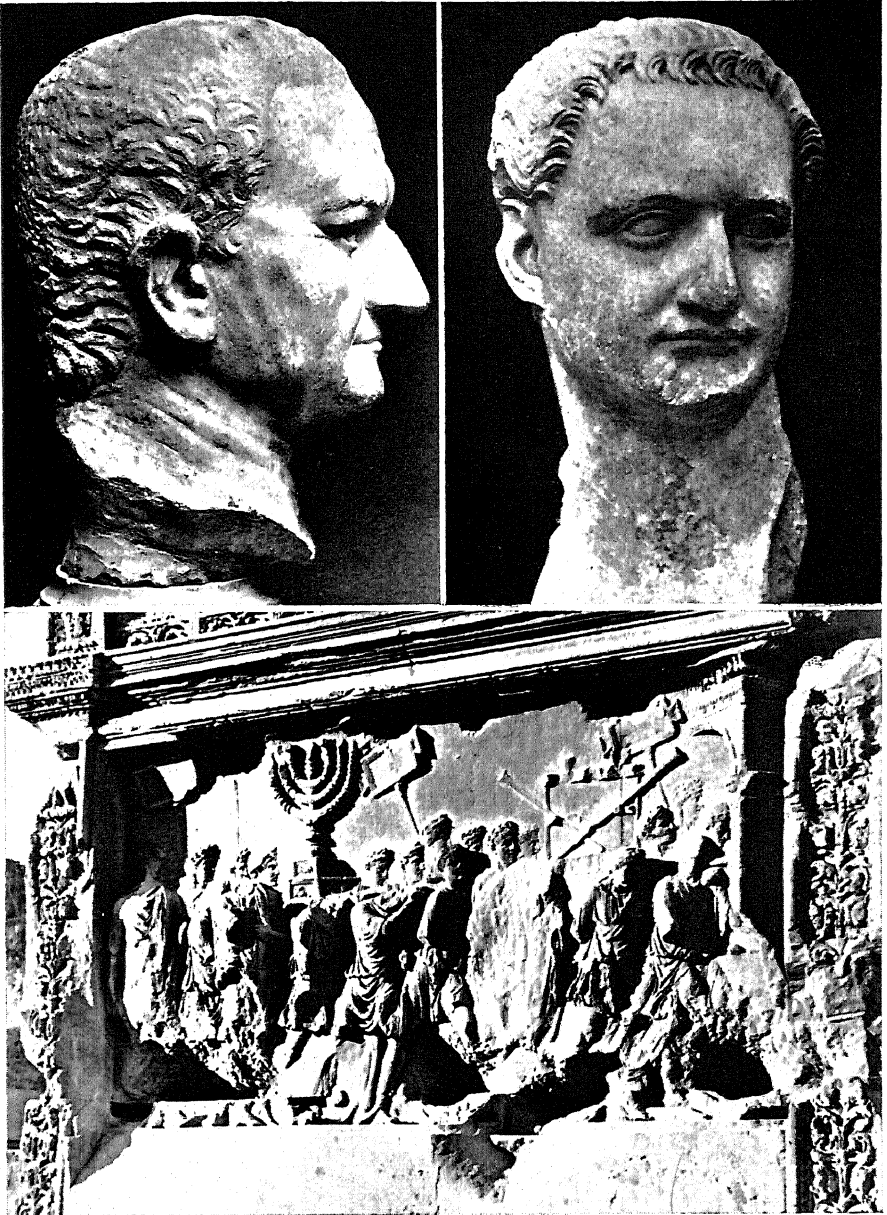
According to Juvenal, some women vied with men in male pursuits, even drilling in gladiatorial armor and challenging men in their night carousals. They exerted much influence in politics, often even shaping the policies of emperors. They acted as patronesses of municipalities and were active in support of their candidates, as the election notices at Pompeii prove. The women of the upper classes were often highly cultivated in Greek and Latin literature. In his characterization of the ideal woman Martial includes "erudite" with "chaste" and "noble," and Seneca considers that women have equal capacity for culture with men. Some made a serious attempt at poetry. Others, as the wife of the younger Pliny, were ardent admirers of their husbands' writings.³⁴ To the satirist, Juvenal, no women are so intolerable as those who attempt to discuss the relative merits of Virgil and Homer at the banquet table. Women also toyed with philosophy and had their Stoic directors in their

³¹ Cf. below, Sec. II, 6.

³² Cf. Juvenal, VI, 62, on the effect of the Roman theatre on morals of the women. The Christians had abundant reason for condemning it.

³³ A regulation of Augustus required women to sit in the upper seats at the theatre and amphitheatre.

³⁴ *Letters*, IV, 19; VI, 7.



Upper left: Side View of Head of Vespasian. His plain bourgeois origin and coarse features are realistically portrayed. (*Terme Museum, Rome*) *Upper right:* Bust of Domitian, a realistic representation of his boundless egotism. (*Antiquarium, Rome*) *Lower:* Part of a bas-relief from the Arch of Titus portraying his triumphal procession in honor of his victory over the Jews. Before him are borne the spoils of the Temple of Jerusalem (the trumpets, the table, and the seven-branched golden candlestick). The sculpture is one of the finest pieces of Roman bas-relief. First century A.D. (*Brogi*)



Upper: The Flavian Amphitheatre or Colosseum. Late first century A.D. (*Alinari*) *Left:* The Arch of Titus, at the entrance to the Forum, built by the senate and the Roman people in memory of his victory over the Jews (70 A.D.). One of the finest examples of Roman architecture. (*Anderson*)

own households. Plato's *Republic* and other Greek Utopias were especially the vogue.

From the first century on, an outlet for female energies was also found increasingly in the Oriental religions, whose pompous ceremonial and emotionalism had a strong appeal to women. This was especially true of the worship of Isis. The immoralities at her temples in the name of religion caused Tiberius to banish the chief offenders, crucify the priests, destroy her temples, and cast her statues into the Tiber. But to no avail, for both Juvenal and the Christian fathers later attacked these temples as dens of vice. Roman ladies were also strongly addicted to astrology and magic of all sorts, and old hags as witches drove their evil trade in love philters, poisons, and procuring. On the whole, however, it is easy to paint too dark a picture of women and high society in Rome, even in the days of Nero. Many examples of happy marriages, faithful wives, and women of refinement are also recorded. The satirists and rhetoricians must be balanced by the *Letters* of Pliny.

5. DAILY LIFE AND SOCIAL CUSTOM IN THE EARLY EMPIRE

Daily life in the age of Nero can best be appreciated by following a Roman aristocrat through a typical day,³⁵ since thereby we shall also learn something of the life of his slaves and poorer clients. Up with the dawn when the boys were already on their way to school, he dressed with the aid of slaves, and a slave barber shaved him and trimmed his hair.³⁶ He wore the formal garb of a Roman senator, a woolen or linen undergarment with or without sleeves, and decorated with the senatorial broad purple stripe, an enveloping woolen toga, scrupulously white and carefully draped, and black shoes bearing the senatorial crescent on the instep. On his finger was a large signet ring or he might wear several, if he was enough of a dandy.³⁷ After dictating letters to his slave secretary who took them down in shorthand, he partook of a light breakfast of wine or milk with bread and honey, or perhaps olives, an egg, or a bit of cheese.

The great man had a multitude of slaves, each with his separate duty.³⁸ These cost him from \$80.00 for an ordinary slave to \$200.00 or more for a skilled workman, while slaves of special ability, accomplishment, or beauty might bring even as high as \$5,000.00. Their overseer, or steward, was usually a slave who saw to their rations. From tips by guests and the small payments of his master, the slave could lay aside a *peculium* which he might later use to procure his freedom. But flogging and cruelty were common, and the master had absolute power of life or death over him, limited only by public opinion. On the whole, however, household slaves had a relatively free and easy life.

³⁵ Martial, IV, 8, pictures it by hours, for himself, no aristocrat, a few decades later, from the early visits of the clients to their patron, through the weary listening of the advocates, routine business of the morning, the noon siesta, exercise and bath, to the evening banquet and the flowing bowl.

³⁶ The fashion of wearing a beard was started by Hadrian in the second century.

³⁷ Costly colored togas were also in demand, but the true purple was supposedly reserved for the emperor. Breeches, the barbarian garb, were worn only by soldiers of the northern frontiers.

³⁸ Homes of any means had at least ten, and the wealthy had often many times that number. But multitudes of poor citizens had none or not more than one.

Many lived on a plane of friendship with their masters, and manumission was common. The freedman continued to look to his master as his patron, and many rose to wealth and honor as *Augustales*.

The first business of the day for our Roman aristocrat was his early morning reception to his clients in the spacious hall of his mansion. These were the more genteel poor who depended for a large part of their living on the patronage of the rich. The great man's social standing was partly measured by their number and quality. They escorted him about the city and to the Forum, clearing his way, supported his candidacy for office, and applauded his speeches. In return, he acted as their legal representative and gave them small gifts of food or money or honored them with an occasional invitation to dinner. They appeared at the home of their patron early in the morning with their small basket (*sportula*) or even a portable stove to receive their handout. But, by Nero's day, the inconvenience to both patron and clients caused the *sportula* to be often commuted to a fixed payment of a few sesterces for each day's polite attentions. This dole was now usually not paid until the close of the day, so as to retain their continued services. Among the clients were often included men of letters who, before the days of copyright and printing, must depend upon patronage for a living. The woes of these shabby-genteel parasites, their slavish kowtowing to the great man, and the debasing effects of the whole wretched system are later painted vividly by Juvenal and Martial, who was himself a client. They picture him emerging before dawn from his dingy attic room in a rickety tunic, shivering in his threadbare toga. On foot and usually unattended, rain or shine, bearing his little basket or portable stove, he plods for a mile or more through the muddy streets, jostled by carts and cattle, to the great man's mansion. There in discomfort he awaits the good pleasure of the scornful slave doorkeeper who purposely delays admission. Once inside, he must wearily wait his turn to give the *salutatio* to his patron. His place in the bread line depends on the length of his acquaintance or on the whim of his master. The slave announcer calls the name of each wretch in turn, who exchanges polite greetings with his patron. He does not pretend to know their names, and his formal welcome may be only the haughty offer of his hand to be kissed. The clients are then informed as to the master's plans for the day. After attending him for weary hours in streets, shops, Forum, and law courts, they betake themselves to their wretched domicile, hungry and worn, rewarded with only a pittance of money or perhaps a handout of moldy scraps that even the patron's chief slaves would scorn to eat.

Occasionally, the client is honored for his services with an invitation to dinner to the great house. But on such rare occasions he is deliberately insulted and humbled before the select guests by being relegated to a lower table set with cracked crockery and glassware. He is served with wretched wine that "fresh-clipped wool would refuse to soak up," black bread, wretched crab meat or "an eel battened on the sewage of the Tiber," toadstools of doubtful quality, rotten apples, and olive oil that smells of the lamp, all unfit for human food. This shabby custom is also repeatedly attacked by the satirists with great bitterness. In the next century Juvenal feels that those who can endure such insults deserve them, and are only one step from slavery. Pliny the Younger criticizes

the custom and states that he always treated all his guests alike by avoiding the more expensive luxuries.³⁹

Such an evil system, born of a socially degenerate society, with its fawning parasitism, obsequiousness, and haughty insolence, was by no means limited to the poor clients. Its enslaving effects extended also to our wealthy patron. He too must pay his morning salutation to a higher patron, the emperor himself, hoping to be recognized as the "friend of Caesar." If his patron is a Nero or a Domitian, he may count himself fortunate not to be marked for death. Like his own wretched clients, he too may long await his great patron's appearance. He may be scorned in turn by the emperor's freedmen or slaves, even suffer the indignity of searching, and finally receive short shrift at the haughty whim of the all-highest. His order of precedence is also determined by his social position or the word of his lord. At last he may gain nothing more than a perfunctory salute from the despot, who may not deign to recall his name.⁴⁰

His duties done to his supreme patron, if there was no meeting of the senate or a civic festival, our aristocrat proceeded to the Forum, borne in his litter on the shoulders of four or eight tall slaves in crimson liveries and attended by his clients, who cleared the way. Here a client might require his aid in a law case, or he might have some business with the bankers and money-changers who plied their trade in the Basilica Aemilia. Here also he might meet his friends or read the news from the posted Daily Register. The petty social demands incident to his position fritter away much of his time daily. While in the Forum, he may be asked to serve as a witness to a will, a betrothal ceremony, or the manumission of a slave, or to attend the ceremony making a boy a full citizen. The professional parasite attaches himself to him, hoping for an invitation to dinner, the legacy-hunter or angler seeks opportunity to ply his trade,⁴¹ and the ubiquitous, would-be poet or writer presses him to listen to the recitation of his third-rate literary products in a hired hall. He cannot well refuse attendance, but is expected to applaud and request a copy, though he is bored to death with the pompous declaimer, whose prolix product has no spark of genius and covers both sides of the manuscript and margins as well. This custom of the *recitatio* as a means of publicizing one's literary wares, which was begun by Asinius Pollio in the Augustan age, had already become an unmitigated nuisance by the age of Nero and was a common subject of satire. What with "poets spouting in the month of August," the constant round of social affairs devoid of genuine interest, and the daily routine of petty social demands above enumerated, no wonder the Roman gentleman was glad to escape to a seaside resort or to one of his country villas, now that political life for his class had lost most of its meaning.⁴²

³⁹ *Epistles*, II, VI. For the woes of the client and the gratuitous insults at dinner, cf. Juvenal, I, 95-134; III, 126-130; 249-267; V, entire; Martial, I, 108; II, 18; 19; 68; III, 7; 14; 36; 60; 82; IV, 68; VI, 11; XIII, 123.

⁴⁰ Cf. Martial, II, 18, on how the patron is as much a slave as his client.

⁴¹ *Captatio*, as it was called, one of the most disgusting of Roman customs, was a regular profession. Martial, VI, 64; I, 10. According to Petronius, *Satyricon*, 116, the custom was not confined to Rome. All the citizens of Crotona were either "hunters or hunted."

⁴² Cf. Juvenal, I, 1 ff.; III, 41 f.; Martial, II, 7; 8; III, 50; IV, 41; Persius, I, 13-23.

On his return from the Forum, the great man might stop at the rich shops that catered to his class to purchase flowers, perfumery, or a choice piece of jewelry or art. If married, he took his noon meal in private with his family. The children, if any, were seated, but the wife now reclined at the table or, since, in the higher circles of Roman society, she was now economically independent and lived her own life, she might not be present. After the meal her husband took a brief siesta or found opportunity for reading.

In the afternoon of an ordinary day when no official duties called him, he might again be borne in his litter by his tall slaves to the exclusive shops and purchase a pretty statuette, a choice piece of Corinthian bronze, or some silver plate. On a cold day he wore over his toga, attached with a buckle or brooch, a costly scarlet or violet mantle or a heavy cape. Still attended by his clients, whether strolling in the colonnades or going to the shops or baths, he was always shadowed by social parasites of every kind, who hoped for a handout.

At the public baths he might join the younger men in physical exercises. Whether he took his bath at the splendid *Thermae* of Agrippa or Nero, or at home, the process was much the same. He passed from cold to warm and hot bathing chambers, and thence to the sweating room with intense, dry heat. This was followed by a rubdown and anointing with perfumed oil to close the pores against the cold. After his slaves had removed the surplus oil with a flesh scraper, he was ready to dress for dinner, wearing light slippers and a costly silk and linen material of bright colors. But if he was something of a dandy, he might change several times during the dinner to show his extensive wardrobe.

At the banquet there were probably nine guests, three to each couch, and if the weather was fine the dinner would be served in the back garden behind the peristyle. Costly silver or gold plate adorned the table and sideboard, and olive-oil lamps on tall shafts or hanging candelabra lighted the festive board. As each guest arrived with his valet, the official announcer called his name and escorted him to his place, according to his rank. The guests reclined on the left elbow on a cushion, each having his own purple-striped napkin, which he tucked into his tunic. He had learned to use his fingers daintily, since his only table utensil was a dessert spoon with a point at the other end. The food was artistically arranged on trays or stands.

The dinner, though elegant, was relatively simple, since the stories of the prodigal expense and gluttony at Roman banquets refer rather to the more public affairs on a large scale. There was a lack of balance, however, in the undue emphasis upon heavy meat courses. After the preliminary *hors d'œuvres* of shellfish with piquant sauce, lettuce, radishes, eggs, and a little wine came the main meal. This usually consisted of three courses. First there was a choice of fish, poultry, hare, and other meats, with vegetables, mushrooms, and truffles, all highly seasoned. This was followed by the *pièce de résistance*, roast wild boar or some other heavy meat course. The professional carver pompously but gracefully acted his part before the guests, and slaves served. Dessert followed with fresh and dried fruits, cakes, and sweetmeats. The meal was preceded and closed by offerings to the gods. Conversation in cultivated circles such as this might run to art, literature, or philosophy, but the races,

social gossip, and the latest scandal were also popular themes. Politics, however, under the Empire were largely taboo. The host furnished entertainment, a professional reciter, players, dancers, or acrobats. The wine for the after-dinner drinking was cooled with snow from the mountains. The guests wreathed their heads, Greek fashion, with myrtle, violets, ivy, or roses, and an umpire presided as the healths were drunk. Finally, they departed, their slave attendants lighting the way with torches.

Doubtless the Roman noble had evenings when he dined in private with his family or with an intimate friend. On such occasions, he had opportunity to read or write or to listen to his salaried philosopher. But his life in Rome was one round of entertaining or being entertained. Occasionally he dined at the court with perhaps a hundred guests, both men and women, where he was served with the rarest and costliest viands off gold plate amid the most extravagant luxury, with the elegant Petronius as arbiter of the feast.

6. FESTIVALS, SPECTACLES, AND GAMES

The above picture of the ordinary day of a Roman aristocrat is somewhat misleading, for the great festival days in Rome were so numerous as to compete with the ordinary. The number under Tiberius was eighty-seven, and they constantly increased to a total of 175 in the fourth century. Titus held a festival of 100 days in 80 A.D. to dedicate the Flavian Amphitheatre (Colosseum), and Trajan's celebration of his Dacian triumph in 107 A.D. lasted four months. All the greater festivals began at sunrise and continued until sunset, stopping only for lunch. In imperial Rome night celebrations with splendid illuminations were also not uncommon. On the occasion of the greater festivals, multitudes of strangers of every nation thronged the streets, as vividly described by Martial.

No people was ever more addicted to brilliant and exciting spectacles, and their number and quality furnish a good index to Roman imperial grandeur, prodigal expenditure, and moral and intellectual fiber. At first religious, the festivals became a means of buying popular favor under the Republic, and finally, under the Empire, a means of insuring a contented populace and an aid to absolutism. Even Caligula and Nero were beloved and long remembered by the masses for their magnificent spectacles. Circuses, as much as bread, soon became an unavoidable necessity, demanded by the populace as their absolute right. The people must be amused as well as fed, and all the emperors, except Tiberius, vied with each other in the magnificence of their spectacles. The festivals also served another purpose of bringing together a vast assemblage of the people to make known their rulers' wishes and complaints. Here as nowhere else did the emperors have opportunity for contact with their Roman subjects. Immense and ever greater sums were lavished on this sop to the people. In 51 A.D. a total of 1,700,030,000 sesterces was spent in Rome for public games, exclusive of large amounts spent by private individuals and officials. Similar expenditures on a smaller scale burdened the municipalities. In the early Empire, a three-day gladiatorial exhibition cost one Campanian city 400,000 sesterces.

The great centers of public amusement were the circus, the amphitheatre, or arena, the theatre, and the stadium. Circuses were built by Augustus, Nero, Domitian, and Trajan. The largest had a seating capacity of at least 180,000. Animal-baiting and gladiatorial combats may sometimes have been presented here, but commonly in the amphitheatres. The outstanding feature of the circus was the chariot race. Betting was rampant, and excitement rose to frenzied heights as the color factions, green, blue, red, and white,⁴³ followed their chosen jockeys and horses to victory or defeat. Jockeys often won high earnings and were honored with statues and by mention in the *Acta diurna*. Because of the keen interest in the races and their large scale, horses and jockeys were furnished by capitalists who commercialized the popular obsession. The division of the whole population from emperor to slaves into hostile color factions reflects the unnatural politics in imperial Rome. Juvenal says in the early second century that a defeat of the Greens in the circus was mourned as if it were Cannae.

Especially symptomatic of the disease in Roman society were the monstrous and bizarre sports of the amphitheatre. The gladiatorial shows were extremely popular. Augustus limited the praetors to two a year and 120 combatants, but he boasts of giving eight during his reign in which 10,000 gladiators fought. The brutal sport was especially encouraged by Caligula and Claudius, but it grew to ever wider proportions even under the humane emperors of the second century. One show in which men of all nations fought in their national costume and with their own weapons cost thirty talents. To sate the demand for the unnatural, sensational, and absurd, bloody gladiatorial combats were combined with bizarre and magnificent scenic effects, such as the representation of historic naval battles in the flooded arena by Claudius, Nero, Titus, and Domitian. Shows were held at night by the aid of lights. Combats were also presented between dwarfs and women and between Moors of both sexes, and under Nero, even noblewomen entered the arena. The vast ruins of the Roman Colosseum dedicated in 80 A.D. and the many remains of amphitheatres in Italy, southern Gaul, and North Africa still bear witness to the enormous importance of the brutal sports of the arena in the life of the Romans of the Empire. In the cities of the East they were much slower to develop, as alien to the Greek spirit, but ruins of amphitheatres are found wherever Roman civilization went.

The enormous demand for gladiators in Italy made the business of supplying them a profitable trade. Condemned criminals, prisoners of war, and slaves were the chief source, but there were also many volunteers, and Caligula and Claudius even coerced Roman citizens into the arena when the supply was lacking. Gladiatorial training schools were established in Rome and other cities. Even women and some emperors, such as Caligula and, later, Commodus, sought proficiency as gladiators. The victor was usually rewarded, and successful fighters were in high favor among the Roman ladies. Factions also developed in the amphitheatre, but never to such an extent as in the circus. When one contestant fell in the arena the universal cry was "*habet.*" Then

⁴³ Domitian added gold and purple.

the emperor might decide his fate or leave it to the crowd, who turned thumbs up or down according to their passing whim.

Animal-baiting by criminals, war prisoners, or men who made it a trade (*bestiarii*) also sated the mad demand for thrills and blood in the arena. Every part of the Empire was ransacked by thousands of huntsmen for wild beasts of every description to supply the ever-growing demand. Imperial menageries were established. Animal-taming became a profession, and bloody fights between wild beasts or between beasts and men were varied by shows of trained animals. Even Augustus, we are told, especially enjoyed the "untold numbers and unknown shapes of beasts," and 500 African lions were slain in one of his shows. When Titus dedicated the Colosseum, 5,000 animals were slaughtered, and 9,000 are said to have been the victims of Trajan's great festival. Condemned criminals, sometimes Christians, were often executed by being tied to stakes and left to the mercy of the wild beasts. Others were given a chance to fight for their freedom. Still others, as the Christians in Nero's persecution, sated the bloodthirsty demands of the crowd by serving as living torches to illuminate the evening exhibition.

The ready acquiescence of cultured Romans in the brutalities of the arena even in the humaner second century reveals the deep cleavage between Roman and modern society. Children played gladiator, and victors in the arena were heroized by adolescents and by Roman ladies. In all Roman literature, expressions of genuine revulsion at the gross inhumanities are extremely rare. Even the civilized Cicero academically excused them as a good training for enduring pain and death, and Pliny the Younger politely praised a friend for giving an exhibition.⁴⁴ Seneca, in his later years, indignantly condemned the custom as "sheer butchery" that men should be killed merely for sport, but his was a lone voice. Even the most humane and civilized had become brutalized and calloused to it through long habit, the demand for thrills and scenic effects, and the insidious influence of slavery.

The theatre, though far less costly and difficult, as a means of entertainment among Romans, could by no means vie with the circus and arena. From the time of Augustus, Rome had three theatres, which together would not hold a crowd equal to the amphitheatre, and probably only one was in use at any one time. To compete with the crude emotions of the arena and circus, the actors appealed to the demand for the vulgar and sensual. Most popular were the two lowest types of drama, Atellan farces and mimes. The first usually presented four stock figures, the dotard, the wise man, the glutton, and the booby. Myths were grossly parodied, ghosts furnished an added thrill, and comedy of the Punch and Judy order, with coarse wit and obscenities, caught the crowd. The mime was a brief character sketch from the seamy side of life, full of vulgarities and appeals to the sensual. It was not limited to a few stock types, but might caricature the most varied persons, even giving veiled references to the emperors. It was often used as an interlude or at the end of a longer drama. But the demand for artistic drama was slight. Tragedy gained some audience among the small educated minority, and new comedy held

⁴⁴In *Letters*, IV, 22, and IX, 6, however, he expresses his dislike of such games.

popular favor to some extent, but the masses preferred the actual brutalities of the arena to the most horrible realism on the stage.

Pantomimic dumb shows by song and dance (*fabulae salticae*) took the place of expiring tragedy, in which music and song were increasingly subordinated to dancing in the Greek sense as a means of representation of mythical figures. Roman pantomime was full of lewd scenes and was notorious for its gross immoral influence, being legislated against by both Tiberius and Domitian. A type of ballet was also popular, which was danced largely by women. Of all the dances or plays, the pantomime was the most popular, especially with women. The actors and dancers were chiefly of slave, freedman, or alien status, especially Greeks. The profession was not in honor among Romans, though some players arose to high position and commanded large fees.

A fourth means of public entertainment were the athletic and musical contests of the stadium, which did not become common in Rome until the Empire, when Roman culture was thoroughly Hellenized. Augustus greatly encouraged such contests, and he was followed by Caligula, Claudius, Nero, Domitian, and Hadrian. Domitian built a stadium in the Campus Martius, with a capacity of over 30,000 spectators. Patriotic Romans of the first century objected to the Greek *pancratation* and boxing, and Pliny the Elder lamented the fact that the old Roman military drill was being superseded by the Greek gymnastic exercises and contests. But under the influence of philhellenes like Nero, the stadium grew increasingly popular. Many guilds of athletes were formed, and their civil status at Rome was higher than that of any other public artists, though they were generally held in disdain by cultivated Romans.

Chapter Twenty

CULTURE AND RELIGION IN THE JULIO- CLAUDIAN AGE

I. LITERATURE, LEARNING, AND EDUCATION

Under the first three Julio-Claudians literature suffered a sad decline. The decline began even before the passing of Augustus, since most of the writers of his day had preceded him in death, and they had no successors. The reading public was constantly expanding, public and private libraries thrived, the "itch for writing" was notorious, and the literary output was probably fully as great, but creative genius was conspicuously absent. Augustan national patriotism as an inspiration to literature was spent, and creative or vital writing did not thrive in the stifling atmosphere of despotism. Independent history and drama were dangerous and oratory had lost its *raison d'être*. Forensic oratory was largely limited to panegyric, while pleading in the courts became increasingly technical and far-fetched. Yet oratory and rhetorical studies were more zealously pursued than ever, and training in declamation and disputation almost monopolized Roman higher education. The creative note of a literature that is a natural and direct expression of life was also largely lacking. Much of the writing was aimless, artificial, and insincere. The *recitatio* and the undue emphasis upon rhetoric in education caused both prose and poetry to be increasingly dominated by the curse of the declamatory style. Symmetry and simple directness gave place to attempts at fine writing and a forced striving for effect.

The decline was frankly recognized by writers of this period and later. Seneca and Persius attributed it to the overgrowth of luxury, and Tacitus, more correctly, to the loss of political liberty and free speech. But an even more basic reason was suggested by Velleius Paterculus. The old themes had grown hackneyed and threadbare. The Augustan writers had completed the appropriation of the Greek language and had left little to do but to copy the Latin imitators. Virgil was substituted for Homer as the supreme model, and the term "Virgilian" would fittingly characterize the whole of post-Augustan poetry. This shift from dependence upon the inexhaustible genius of the Greek masters to a copying of their Latin imitators was a primary cause of decadence, especially in view of the writers' wrong use of their Latin model. The infusion of new blood from the provinces, such as Spain, was fruitful, but brought no new or original note, since the provincial writers made Rome their center and appropriated the whole Latin literary tradition as their own.

I. LITERATURE FROM TIBERIUS TO CLAUDIUS (14-54 A.D.)

As suggested, the dominant emphasis upon rhetoric and declamation in the higher education of the Empire vitiated the literature. Another powerful influence was the predominance of poetry in the curriculum of the schools of rhetoric. Education had lost touch with life. Verbiage, ingenious subtlety, and striking expression were emphasized, while thought stagnated. The staple methods of teaching were training in declamation on a thesis and in argument on an imaginary case. Petronius and Juvenal satirize the stale stock themes, and Quintilian criticizes the declaimers, but he does not question the educational system. The effect of such education in declamation on literature was bound to be vicious, for the method was largely competitive, and the aim was not truth or the natural expression of life, but ingenuity to make a trite theme fresh and striking, hence the striving for bizarre effects, literary conceits, and epigrammatic or pointed writing. The prevalent method of teaching also infected both prose and poetry with a declamatory style. This evil was much aggravated also by the custom of publicly reciting new works in prose or verse, introduced by Asinius Pollio in the Augustan age. By the reign of Nero it had become the normal method of publishing a book, and the recitations of would-be authors rapidly become an extreme nuisance and the butt of satire.

Examples of this rhetorical education, with its absurdly far-fetched theses and prolix argument, have been preserved by L. Annaeus Seneca, who came to Rome from Corduba, Spain, as a boy and became a successful pleader in the reign of Tiberius. His *Controversiae*, of which five books besides fragments have survived, are a collection of ingenious arguments for civil and criminal suits touching a wide range of issues in Roman life. The seven *Suasoriae*, speeches to meet imaginary situations, are similar in quality. Both have interesting anecdotes and digressions, but they illustrate well the faults of the literature of the Silver Age—artificiality, bombastic eloquence, epigram, declamatory style, bizarre literary conceits, and a striving for effect. Seneca's own style, however, was fairly free from such faults, and he shows some literary talent in his comments and ability to reproduce the style of others. Especially readable are his prefaces, which also cast a valuable light on the literary tendencies of the time. He recognized the decadence in style and aimed to recall to the mind of his age the diction and style of the earlier writers. The collections are invaluable as examples of the methods of the professional rhetors of the age of Tiberius in speaking and teaching, as also for their reflection of Roman life.

Much of the writing of the period was in no sense pure literature, but practical, learned works of an encyclopedic character. An early example of this type, dedicated to Tiberius, is the *Facta et Dicta Memorabilia* of Valerius Maximus, a work of reference for speakers and teachers of rhetoric. Though his anecdotes are interesting, his style is artificial, hackneyed, pompous, padded, and dull, and is marred by the most servile flattery. As a source for our knowledge of Roman religion and ancient custom, the work has value, but the information might better have been presented in far less space than nine books.

His later popularity, especially in the Middle Ages, however, is indicated by the many surviving manuscripts of his work. Another encyclopedist of the age of Tiberius, who took all knowledge as his province, was Aulus Cornelius Celsus, but only his Books VI-XIII on medicine are preserved. His simple, straightforward style is a relief from the artificial rhetoric and poetic phraseology of the day.

Under the despotism of the Julio-Claudians, independent history languished. Cremutius Cordus, for example, was forced to starve himself in prison, and his books were ordered burned. It was safer to write a fervid eulogy of the emperor, like the *History* of Velleius Paterculus. His enthusiasm for Tiberius, however, was probably sincere, since he had been intimately associated with him in military campaigns before his accession. Since his account ends at 31 A.D., also, he had no occasion to describe the darker years of the emperor. He emphasizes the history of his own time, with Tiberius holding the center of the stage, and gives only a dry summary of earlier periods. Though his style has some color and variety, his literary artifices reveal the evil influence of the dominant rhetorical training. He emphasizes the individual and biographic, and shows little insight into historical causation, but has some interesting digressions on literature and other phases of civilization.

Quintus Curtius, eight of whose ten books on the exploits of Alexander the Great have survived, was a good storyteller, but he is too rhetorical and shows little insight either into Alexander's character or the significance of his career. He is far inferior to the Greeks, Plutarch and Arrian, both in style and ability as a historian, but his historical romance is significant as the starting point of the medieval "Alexander legend." Pomponius Mela wrote the first surviving Roman Geography (*Chorographia*). He gives a detailed description of Spain and is familiar with the North Gallic coast, but makes the Danube empty into the Adriatic. Other scholars produced learned works on medicine, law, criticism, grammar, and philosophy, among whom was the emperor Claudius, but of all except him little is known but their names.

Poetic effusions were the fashion, and amateur poets were numerous, including Tiberius and Germanicus, but the only poet of any consequence in the whole period from Tiberius to Claudius was Phaedrus, a Thracian slave. Five books of his fables in iambic verse have survived, with an appendix of thirty more. Though largely an adapter of the Greek Aesop, Phaedrus was the first Roman to compose separate volumes of fables in the Latin tongue. He aimed primarily to entertain and give counsel, but his anecdotes and references to current affairs add much to the historical value of his work. His interest extended beyond Rome to the broader human scene, and his satiric criticisms of delators and widespread injustice are tempered by humor. Though endowed with slight literary ability, originality, or psychological insight, his style is direct, and his beast fable has much human realism. He attracted little notice of either his contemporaries or later Roman writers, but was popular in the Middle Ages and exerted a significant influence on fable literature.

2. LITERATURE UNDER NERO (54-68 A.D.)

After the barrenness of the preceding period, the reign of Nero was marked by a considerable literary renaissance. The *De Re Rustica* in twelve books by Columella of Gades, the last Roman writer on agriculture whose work survived, has already been analyzed.¹ His clear, direct style contrasts favorably with the strained rhetoric of the age.

A work of considerable literary genius was the romantic novel, *Satyricon*, by Petronius, with its famous episode of Trimalchio's dinner. Tacitus pointedly describes the author as "a man of polished luxury," who had made his reputation by "indolence."² But as governor of Bithynia and, later, consul, he showed he could be energetic if necessary. Ruined by a false charge of the jealous Tigellinus, he was ordered by Nero to take his own life, and died by slow bleeding while entertaining his friends at a luxurious banquet. He sent sealed to Nero a detailed description of his former patron's scandalous immoralities, pointedly naming his profligate associates in crime.³

The *Satyricon* is in the form of a Menippean satire, prose interspersed with verse. It is a romantic story of the escapades of three adventurers on a round of southern Italy. Many of the anecdotes are unprintable, but the work is spicy with pungent wit, satire, and clever characterization. Of the 141 sections that have survived, over one-third narrate the episode of Trimalchio's dinner, with which we are already familiar. As the frescoes on the walls of his mansion portraying his climb up from slavery suggest, he offers his self-made career as a substitute for ancestors and culture. Like some of his successors in America, he got rich without ever studying philosophy. In the closing scenes of the novel, the three adventurers practice all kinds of fraud on the superstitious and credulous Crotonians, seeking to make a living by hook or crook. Such fakirs were doubtless legion in imperial Roman society. Eumolpus lives high by pretending to be a wealthy Roman proprietor from Africa, who has suffered shipwreck, but can richly repay all hospitality. Petronius says legacy-hunting was the chief industry of the people of Crotona, who were "either being hunted or hunting" (*aut captantur aut captant*).

Petronius is notable as the creator of the realistic novel in Roman literature. We are much indebted to him for his realistic portrayal of human nature and the seamy side of Italian society. In an age of literary unreality, he stayed close to life. His clever humor, artistic handling of material, and easy, vivacious narrative are offset by his gross indecency, which, however, is probably a true reflection of much in Roman and Italian society. He has the attitude of an amused and cynical observer of the human scene. His literary prose is simple and free from the rhetorical artifices of the age. But he is notable as a master of the colloquial style, or *sermo plebeius*, which was later to exert a great influence on literary Latin. Petronius was also a poet of considerable talent, as

¹ Cf. above, Chapter Nineteen, Sec. I. Under Nero, a Greek treatise on medicinal plants was written by Dioscorides, which remained the standard throughout the Middle Ages.

² *Annals*, XVI, 18-19.

³ Cf. the dramatic account of his death by Tacitus and the attractive, though idealized, characterization of him in *Quo Vadis* of Sienkiewicz.

some of his poetical passages in the *Satyricon* prove; for example, his verses on the tyranny of love.

The most learned, voluminous, and influential writer of the age of Nero was L. Annaeus Seneca the Younger, whom we have met as the minister, and later the victim, of Nero. The son of Seneca, the rhetor, he was brought as a child to Rome, where he received the best education in the rhetoric and Stoic philosophy of the day. After the death of Burrus in 62, he retired from active service with Nero and gave his time to writing. Despite the many true aspersions, ancient and modern, against his moral consistency and sincerity, something can be said in his defense. His ideals were in utter conflict with his environment. Though a man of vast wealth and in the most prodigally luxurious environment, he lived a simple Stoic life as a vegetarian, and was almost an ascetic in his renunciation of household luxuries. His truer self perhaps finally appears in his dignified and calm death so movingly recounted by Tacitus.⁴

Among his early works were two *Consolations* written during his exile, the *De Clementia*, advising the youthful Nero to rule mildly, and a statement for him to read in the senate on his accession. But most of his voluminous writings were produced after his retirement from political life. Aside from several lost works, his prose writings include one hundred and twenty-four *Moral Letters* to Lucilius; twelve *Moral Dialogues*, including the two *Consolations* and discussions on *tranquillity, constancy, the brevity of life, and providence*; two books on *clemency*; seven on *benefits*, emphasizing the importance of gratitude; and seven on *Natural Questions* (*Quaestiones Naturales*). Of his dialogues, the treatise on the *Brevity of Life* is especially rich in pointed truths on the value of time and the true use of leisure. His *Natural Questions* was the authority on cosmology until the rise of Aristotle in Western Christian Europe in the thirteenth century. The dominant theme of the *Moral Epistles* is the supreme value of philosophy as the guide of life, a comfort in old age, a stay in death, and an assurance of immortality. They have a practical, human appeal and many personal touches, and add much to our knowledge of contemporary Roman society. Like the *Epistles* of Paul, they reflect the influence of the Stoic Diatribe, in which objections are raised by an imaginary opponent and refuted.

Seneca's prose style has been harshly criticized by both ancient and modern writers for its bombastic declamatory rhetoric, inordinate love of the sententious, monotonous repetition and striving for effect by flashy antitheses, and other literary artifices. Caligula cleverly caricatured his legal speeches as "sand without lime."⁵ Quintilian, who preferred Cicero to Seneca, while admitting his learning, versatile intelligence, and moral value, criticized his inaccuracies and faults of style. Fronto, Tacitus, and other Romans also severely attacked his style and sincerity. In the opinion of a modern critic, Macaulay, to have him for a steady diet was "like dining on nothing but anchovy sauce," yet his diction is clear and well chosen and, though monotonous in his staccato style, he is hardly ever dull. His works abound in terse, quotable sayings, and

⁴ For further detail on his earlier life, character, and ministry under Nero, cf. Chapter Eighteen, Sec. V; *Annals*, XV, 60-64.

⁵ Suetonius, *Caligula*, 53.

he is not lacking in humor and human insight. He did a great service in widening Latin vocabulary, and he holds an important place in the history of ancient philosophy as the chief exponent of Roman Stoicism. His philosophy may be summarized in the principles of Providence, accord with the divine Reason, and harmony with nature. This neo-Stoicism was more practical and less pedantic than the old, broader in its human sympathy and tolerance, and above the old dualism of Greek and barbarian. Even in the artificial and seeming insincere Seneca, it was not a mere theoretical speculation, but a practical faith by which victory was won over self and difficult circumstances. If only one can forget for a time the character of the man, he can dip into Seneca's ethical writings at random and be benefited by reading. During the first century A.D. Stoicism became an intellectual and moral force in Roman society, and he was its outstanding representative.⁶

In poetry, aside from his satire on Claudius and a number of brief elegiac poems preserved in the Latin Anthology, Seneca is chiefly known for his nine *Tragedies*. They were adapted from the three great Greek tragedians, especially Euripides, imitating his mingling of realism and romance, and were written for reciting rather than acting. Seneca is not a slavish copyist or translator, however. He freely changes the Greek plots and is essentially different in spirit and outlook. But the change, both in style and content, is for the worse. The genius, directness, profound thought and emotion, and intense dramatic power of the Greek masters of tragedy have given place to a forced cleverness and artificial declamation devoid of reality or genuine human feeling. Yet some of the worst faults of Seneca, such as striving for effect by rhetorical sententiousness, smart argument, and an undue use of pathos had been criticized centuries before in his Greek model. Despite the enormous influence of Euripides on Seneca, he is pre-eminently a child of his own age. His literary conceits, high-flown rhetoric, declamatory style, monotonous, pasteboard characters, who all talk the same language, misplaced cleverness, overelaboration of an already outworn mythology, lack of proportion, picturing of horrible details, and lack of genuine moral earnestness are all too common characteristics of the literature of his day. The tragedies, however, are clear in style and have some effective passages in the speeches, some good descriptions, and many memorable sayings. Occasional passages in the choruses also approach real poetry. But Seneca's dramas could never have been performed, and other dramatic production was very meager. The Atellan farces and mimes were more to the taste of Roman audiences.

From the Renaissance through the eighteenth century Seneca exerted a significant influence on European tragedy quite out of proportion to his merits. In the birth of modern drama, Sophocles and Aeschylus figured very little, but Euripides, through the medium of his imitator, had a determining influence. In French drama Seneca was the model for three centuries, from the dramatists of the so-called Pleiad to Corneille and Racine. In sixteenth-century England he won great popularity and was frequently translated and imitated,

⁶ For the Stoic victims of Nero, cf. Chapter Eighteen, Sec. V. There were other prose writers in the age of Nero, but their works have not survived.

but here he was soon overwhelmed by the genius of Marlowe and Shakespeare. Yet his influence continued in English drama in the use of stock characters, such as the nurse, ghost, and tyrant, in the Greek repartee of the dialogue, and indirectly in the blood and thunder of Elizabethan tragedy.

In satire, the literary type most native to the Romans, the age of Nero was represented by Aulus Persius Flaccus (34-62 A.D.), a native of Etruria. Though educated at Rome, he disliked the artificial rhetoric, but was strongly influenced by the Stoics, Thrasea and his teacher, Cornutus,⁷ who later edited his poems. Of his works only six satires in hexameter verse have survived. Except for the first, they are hardly satires, but more akin to modern sermons in spirit. The first satire decries the decadence of literary taste as a sign of moral decay. His characteristic expression, *Auriculas asini quis non habet?* ("Who is there who does not have asses' ears?"), is a witty adaptation of the Stoic dictum, "All but the wise are fools." His other five satires are Stoic diatribes on prayer, right living, right thinking, self-knowledge, true freedom, and the right use of wealth.

Persius drew especially from Horace and the Stoics. His Stoicism is notable for its intense moral earnestness in contrast to the flexible philosophy of Seneca. Though possessing vigor and sincerity, he lacked originality and his satires are bookish and trite. His love for condensation, allusiveness, unusual diction, and unnatural word order made his style labored and obscure, with nothing of the grace or charm of his Horatian model. His moral earnestness made him undeservedly popular with the Christian clergy of the Middle Ages, and his influence can be traced in such writers as Rabelais, Montaigne, Ben Jonson, and Boileau.

A poet of more talent was Lucan (M. Annaeus Lucanus, 39-65 A.D.), the nephew of Seneca. A native of Corduba, he was educated in the declamatory rhetoric of the day at Rome and was an admiring friend of Persius and Cornutus. Recalled from study in Athens by Nero to join the imperial circle, he wrote a poem in praise of the emperor in 60 A.D. But either because of his Stoic leanings or through Nero's jealousy of his literary reputation, he was soon forbidden to write or recite. As a result, in 65 A.D. he joined the conspiracy of Piso and was forced to commit suicide at the age of twenty-six.

Of his remarkably extensive literary production, for one so young, including letters, speeches, epic, drama, court poetry, panegyrics, satire, and miscellaneous verse, only his epic, *Pharsalia*, incomplete in ten books, has survived. The tenth ends abruptly with Caesar at war in Egypt. Though an imitator of Virgil, he is alien to Virgil in method, subject, and spirit. His epic is marred by an unnecessary display of erudition, far-fetched conceits, a monotonous plethora of epigrams, rhetorical bombast, and sensational elaboration of the horrible details of war. There is neither unity, proportion, nor sense of humor, and the poet reveals no insight into the forces that impel the actors. The dullness of the narrative is relieved, however, by vivid descriptions and some irresistibly eloquent speeches, such as the noble appeal of Cato. His famous

⁷ Cornutus was later banished for hinting that Nero's projected epic on Roman history would be too long in 400 books.

apostrophe to Thessaly, if a separate poem, would be highly praised by his harshest critics. Other notable passages are his description of the murder of Pompey and his reflections on the hero's character and fate, Pompey's farewell to Italy, the denunciation of luxury, Caesar's defiance of the storm on the Adriatic, the apotheosis of Pompey, the description of the battle, and the feelings on either side preceding it.⁸

In Books I-III, which were probably the only ones published before Lucan's death, he is still in Nero's inner circle and fawningly flatters him as a god.⁹ But even in these books the poet is distinctly anti-Caesarian. Pompey is his chosen hero, and the Stoic anti-Caesarians, Cato and Brutus, are depicted as the acme of virtue.¹⁰ Yet the mighty Caesar dominates the whole poem as a superman, and the poet's vigorous portrayal of him is one of the most attractive elements in the poem. His victory, however, is regarded as marking the death of both Roman freedom and Roman greatness.

Lucan compared himself favorably with Virgil and prophesied his own literary immortality in his apostrophe to poetry in Book IX. He was highly regarded by most of his Roman successors, but Quintilian, with sounder literary judgment, is critical of his extravagances. Despite its splendid passages, the *Pharsalia* is, at best, only versified oratory and not poetry. Lucan has been rightly named the "typical poet of the decadence."

II. ARCHITECTURE AND ART

From the meager remains of the early emperors' residences on the Palatine and of Nero's Golden House, little idea of their architectural character can be gained. Excellent examples of domestic architecture, however, are presented in the remains of the finer residences at Pompeii, such as the House of the Vettii.¹¹ They were usually one or two stories. The front was built around the atrium; the rear, around an inner columned courtyard or peristyle and garden. In Rome the mansions of the emperors and men of great wealth were correspondingly more elaborate and of several stories, though similar in plan. In Italy and the West burnt bricks coated with stucco were used extensively for the better residences, and central heating by terra-cotta pipes from an underground furnace (*hypocaust*) now became an important feature in private homes. The temples still retained largely the Italian plan, but were surrounded by columns with Corinthian capitals, as the graceful and symmetrical Maison Carrée (Pl. XII) at Nîmes built by Agrippa. The use of rich colored marbles to vary the white Carrara, begun by Augustus, now became more popular both in public and private building.

With the rebuilding of Rome by Nero after the great fire, Roman architecture took on a new vigor, breaking from the Augustan classicism. Unfortunately, we have little knowledge of Neronian Rome, but a seventeenth-century drawing of a room in Nero's Golden House with cross-vaulting warrants the belief that such construction harks back to this time. It is also believed that

⁸ IX, 256-283; III, IV, 399-42; V; IX; VII.

⁹ I, 33-66.

¹⁰ II. Cf. also IX.

¹¹ For a restoration, cf. Pl. XV.

the general ground plan and the elevation of the houses, as seen in second-century Ostia and at Herculaneum had their origin in the new Rome of Nero. More compact houses of many stories around an arcaded central yard took the place of the rambling rooms built about the traditional atrium and peristyle. These residences, with windows and balconies fronting on wider and straighter streets, must have made the new Rome a far more impressive city. The prosperity, peace, and rapid growth of town life under the early emperors furnished a great stimulus to architecture in Rome and the municipalities. It is difficult to envisage the remarkably rapid growth of public building at Rome during the first century, and the hosts of artisans, artists, and architects continuously employed in their construction. Not only in Rome, however, but throughout the Empire, temples, luxurious residences and villas, public buildings, arches, aqueducts, bridges, and fountains were being constructed in ever-increasing numbers.

The vast scope of art in the external and interior decoration of Roman buildings, as compared with its use today, can hardly be overemphasized. Gables, staircases, columns, ceilings, floors, moldings, windows, friezes, triumphal arches, walls, and niches all required their special type of elaborate decoration, and temples, public buildings, streets, fora, city residences, and villas in Italy and outside were crammed with busts, statues, bronzes, reliefs, and pictures. The Temple of Scaurus alone is said to have contained 3,000 bronze statues. Much of the demand for statues and pictures was supplied by wholesale pillage of the Greek East, especially under Nero. But the output of Rome and other Italian towns was also enormous. Some idea of the great demand may be gained from the large number of *objets d'art* and pieces of fine furniture found in the second-rate cities of Pompeii and Herculaneum. While painting remained subordinate to sculpture on public monuments, it was very common in the decoration of private homes and landscape. It was now used, not merely for background, but independently, as seen in the later Pompeian frescoes.

This lavish use of decorative art was not limited in its appeal, as in modern society. In all its branches, it adjusted itself to fit the needs and tastes of all classes of society and was a necessary part of even modest houses. Art also served the most lowly, as seen in the beauty of their small marble urns, the carving on their monuments, and the decoration of the walls of their tombs¹² or even the niches of the *columbaria*. Another general demand of vast scope was for religious art, in painting, mosaic, and sculptural representation. For, despite the skepticism of the small cultivated minority, the Greco-Roman gods had not lost their sanctity, and to these were now added the several Oriental cults. The temples were packed with statues and votive offerings, and there is little evidence that the demand was on the wane.

The universality of decorative art in the life of the Roman Empire, however, should not mislead us, for the spirit of the Roman in art was utterly different from that of the Greek. He had little idea of its independent spiritual value. To the Roman, art was always a means, as in the very common use of statues

¹² Burial did not become the fashion until the close of the first century. As Friedländer, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 269, has pointed out, no sarcophagus was found in the Street of the Tombs at Pompeii.

and pictures to celebrate great events or prominent men; it was scarcely ever an end in itself. The use of realistic pictures as evidence in the law courts and in appeals for aid in disaster is a coarse example. Too commonly there is present an element of vulgar show or monstrous egotism. Monumental art for the glorification of some individual or community from emperors and distinguished citizens to freedmen was the primary demand. It was the usual thing in the early Empire for private persons to erect their own statues, even in public places, and the painted or carved memorials of the dead were, of course, legion. The actual Roman attitude to art is revealed in the contrast between the intimate feeling of the Greek poets and writers for the fine arts and the lack of knowledge or artistic appreciation in even the greatest Roman writers.

It is quite in accord with this utilitarian spirit of the practical Roman that he showed originality only in architecture and great public works, and to some degree in portrait sculpture. Only in this phase of sculpture, which so well fits the Roman genius, did he break away from his Greek models and become really Roman. The portraits of the Julio-Claudians are almost photographic in their relentless realism, even to the most unflattering detail. The artists have penetrated profoundly into the unhealthy psychology of their models and revealed the dark and evil atmosphere of terror and tyranny in the Rome of the last Caesars more effectively than even the genius of a Tacitus could do. The morose appearance of Tiberius, the brutal cunning and psychotic extremism of Caligula, the union of pedantic stupidity and sadism in Claudius, and the sensualist mouth and criminal narrowed glance of Nero are terribly expressive of their inmost character.¹³ The same stark realism appears in the extant portraits of the other princes of the Julio-Claudian family. Some of the best portraits of the time are anonymous figures,¹⁴ but all, including the female portraits, are marked by a lack of spiritual quality.¹⁵ The portraits of children look prematurely old and grave, with none of the buoyancy and lightheartedness of childhood.¹⁶ A similar realism is seen in the figures on coins of the period, many of the best of which are brass and copper pieces from the senatorial mint. A fine specimen of the art of Roman silversmiths is the cup from Boscoreale, near Pompeii, representing in high relief a triumphal procession of the future emperor, Tiberius.

III. PHILOSOPHY AND ROMAN RELIGION

In the higher education of the early Empire philosophical studies, which had once held a strong position, were now largely superseded by rhetoric. Yet there was no lack of philosophical teachers in Rome, mostly Stoic, such as Cornutus and Musonius Rufus, who exerted great influence on the education and literature of the period. Though a degenerate Epicureanism was popular among the gilded youth and at the profligate court, as seen in the refined and cynical

¹³ Cf. Pl. XII; Hekler, Pls. 177, 180, 181, 182a, 182b, 183.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, Pls. 188a and b.

¹⁵ Cf. *ibid.*, Pl. 213, for an especially fine female portrait, entirely exceptional for its expression of spiritual life.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, Pls. 216a, b, and c, 217. But perhaps these were exceptional children.

epicure, Petronius, most of the writers have strongly Stoic sympathies. This trend from Epicureanism to Stoicism already appears in the later writings of Horace and Virgil, who were the inspiration of Persius. The typical attitude of the natively unphilosophical Roman, however, was a somewhat superficial eclecticism. Examples are the ethical writings of the younger Seneca above described, scattering thoughts on practical moral living, rather than examples of logical and systematic reasoning. A neo-Stoic spirit dominates, more practical and humane, less speculative and pedantic, than the old.

Under the despotism of Nero, as we have seen, Roman Stoicism became political and began to develop that anti-imperial hostility which later reached its climax of bitterness against the tyrant Domitian. The ex-consul, Thræsea Paetus, who died under Nero for his pains, is an example. The antipathy was veiled in the pliable Seneca and at first in Lucan, but it could not be permanently concealed, and finally determined the fate of both.¹⁷

The momentum of the Augustan religious reforms, which renovated the old state and family worship and established the cult of Rome and Augustus, was soon spent. In the atmosphere of arbitrary despotism and a profligate court neither religion nor patriotism could thrive. Claudius alone gave any personal attention to the state religion, and his interest was only that of a pedantic antiquarian. The enthusiastic reverence of patriotic Romans and Italians for the cult of the divine Augustus was turned to indignant contempt for the claims of his degenerate successors. A few altars were built to Tiberius and Claudius or to popular members of the imperial family like Germanicus, but except in the Eastern provinces, the cult had lost its initial fervor. The mad Caligula failed to impose his deification before death upon his unwilling subjects, and the apotheosis of the dead Claudius by the senate at the suggestion of Nero was made a subject for irreverent scoffing by Seneca. Tiberius and Claudius recognized the hollow unreality of the imperial cult as applied to themselves and shrewdly discouraged the erection of altars for their worship. The cult of the emperor persisted however, in the provinces, and even in Italy, as an established part of the state religion, but it gradually became a perfunctory formality or simply an occasion for another state festival.

On the Italian countryside the old Greco-Roman civic and family gods were still held in sanctity, but they interested the sophisticated city masses only for their festivals and state doles, and to the cultivated classes they had long meant little. But such indifference to religion could not continue indefinitely, even in a society where wealth and pleasure were the supreme values. As happens eventually, new religions filled the vacancy left by the old discarded faith. For the more rational and serious-minded of the Roman upper classes an ethical philosophy, now less speculative and more akin to religion, was the substitute. The practically godless Epicureanism was on the wane, and Stoicism was adjusting its old impersonal pantheistic conception to include a faith in the traditional personal gods as manifestations of the Universal Reason. But thus far in history, philosophy has never proved adequate to satisfy per-

¹⁷ On Thræsea, *cf.* Chapter Eighteen, Sec. V, 2. For further detail on the Stoicism of Seneca and other writers, *cf.* above, Chapter Twenty, Sec. I.

manently the spiritual yearnings of even most of the educated classes, and likewise it proved in imperial Rome.

Astrology, which had come to Rome from the East Mediterranean in the late Republic, had grown increasingly popular even in high society. Augustus and Tiberius showed interest in it, and though imperial decrees were repeatedly passed expelling astrologers from Rome, the persons were rare, even among cultivated Romans, who would have denied their belief in astrology. But its cold fatalism was no substitute for a religious faith.

Far more appealing were the Oriental cults, with their emphasis on personal religion, their highly emotional quality, elaborate ritual, and offer of divine aid in this world and personal salvation after death to a blissful immortality. We have seen these foreign cults becoming increasingly popular in Rome and Italy since the second century B.C. among the growing multitudes of Oriental and Greek immigrants, slave and free. But they were now winning the devotion of many native Italians. The nature gods of Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt all had their many adherents, but by far the most popular in the early Empire was the Egyptian nature goddess Isis.¹⁸ She had evolved under Hellenistic influence to a universal, kindly mother, who assured to her worshipers happiness in this world and perhaps in the next. Established at Puteoli in the late Republic, her cult soon spread to Rome and persisted, despite attempts to banish it from the capital. Finally in 43 B.C. the triumvirs decreed a state temple to her and Sarapis, but the decree was not carried out until Caligula. Her rich and highly emotional ritual, performed by professional priests, had a wide appeal, especially since the worshiper was not a passive onlooker, but participated in the rites. Her temples were found in many cities of Italy and the West, as surviving ruins prove, and her cult, with that of her male associate, Sarapis, was carried by sailors and merchants, her special devotees, to every Mediterranean land.

Another Oriental religion that had first spread over the Hellenistic East through the Jewish dispersion and had later come to Rome and the West in the ubiquitous Jewish colonies was Judaism. Since the successful revolt of the Maccabees against the Seleucid Antiochus IV in the second century B.C., the Jews had become increasingly zealous propagandists for their faith, and Jewish synagogues in every corner of the Empire were missionary centers for the cult of Yahweh. By the first century A.D. Judaism had attracted a considerable number of non-Jewish converts in Rome and Italy, even Nero's wife, Poppaea. They attended the worship of the synagogues, but probably did not submit to some of the requirements of Jewish ritualistic law. The hatred and contempt of Romans for the uncompromising Jews as a nuisance to the Empire, however, prevented Judaism from winning wide acceptance in the West. The imperial government tolerated the religion for Jews, but not for non-Jews, and finally after 70 A.D. forbade proselyting.

¹⁸ The later dominant cult of the Persian Mithra was not yet significant in the West. On the spread of Oriental cults in the early Empire, cf. S. Dill, *Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius*, Bk. IV; T. R. Glover, *The Conflict of Religions in the Early Roman Empire*, London, 1911; and F. Cumont, *Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism*, Cambridge, 1918; also below, Chapters Twenty-five and Thirty.

The period from the death of John Hyrcanus to the rule of Herod was significant for the development of Judaism. The party that stood for the law and legal purity was composed of the Pharisees ("separated people"), who were probably already in existence as a sect by the middle of the second century B.C. They were expert teachers of the law, as distinct from the priests; and their special place was the synagogue, which became the new center of Jewish religion, as was the temple for the priests. They were not identical with the Scribes, though most Scribes were Pharisees, for the Scribes held only to the written law, while the Pharisees regarded the oral tradition of the schools as authoritative, sometimes even superior, to the written law and attempted to embody these rules in their practical life. The Sadducees were more touched by Hellenism. They denied the authority of oral tradition and advocated the free adaptation of the written law to actual conditions. Christianity followed the synagogue teaching of the Pharisees, with their belief in immortality, rather than that of the Sadducees, who denied it as not really embodied in the written law. The development of apocalyptic literature during the last two centuries B.C., such as the book of Daniel and later Jewish Apocryphal writings not included in the Old Testament, revealing the future world and emphasizing immortality and rewards and punishments, resulted from the harsh persecution by Antiochus Epiphanes and the influence of Persian Zoroastrianism.¹⁹

IV. THE BEGINNINGS OF CHRISTIANITY IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE

A third Oriental cult that had already made considerable headway in the Eastern provinces and even in Rome before the death of Nero was the religion of Jesus, later called Christianity.²⁰

I. JESUS OF NAZARETH: PUBLIC CAREER, TEACHING, AND CRUCIFIXION

In the later years of Tiberius, probably soon after 30 A.D., occurred in Judaea an event unnoticed by Romans, the crucifixion of Jesus.²¹ Yet this seemingly insignificant affair was to become the central event in future Western history, and the despised Galilean was destined to triumph over all the gods and emperors of the Roman world.

The environment into which Jesus was born and in which he had lived for thirty years was a complex of Jewish and Greek culture under the rule of Rome. Through the Seleucid influence Greek thought, education, mystery religions, and Stoic ethics had penetrated to cultured Jewish circles, and a

¹⁹ For additional material on the Jews and Judaism in the first century A.D., cf. Chapters Eighteen and Twenty-one. Cf. also, E. R. Bevan, *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. IX, Chap. IX.

²⁰ Cf. above, Chapters Sixteen (end) and Eighteen (Nero's persecution).

²¹ The date is uncertain, but was some time between 26 and 36 A.D., during the procuratorship of Pontius Pilate. For the place and date of his birth, cf. Chapter Sixteen (end), and Guignebert, *Jesus*, pp. 90-105. For a list of the more recent works on Jesus and his times, cf. Bibliography, F, 5.

strong party of Hellenistic Jews existed in Jerusalem. The classic Hebrew of the Old Testament persisted only as the language of the synagogue worship and rabbinic scholars. The vulgar tongue was Aramaic, which Jesus doubtless talked, and the literary language was largely Greek. In Galilee, where Jesus was probably born and where he spent most of his life, the population was more mixed, the Hellenistic influence stronger, and the Jews less nationalistically exclusive than in Judaea.

Such cosmopolitan cultural conditions naturally influenced the development of an intelligent and thoughtful youth like Jesus away from the exclusiveness of Judaism to a more universal outlook. In any event, his universalism, if properly represented in the sources,²² was in accord with the cosmopolitan spirit of the times, as seen in Stoicism. Since, however, Jesus probably came of obscure peasant stock and spent most of his life in a country village away from the centers, and since his education was probably limited and confined to the Old Testament scriptures and the synagogue worship, the Jewish influence doubtless overwhelmingly predominated. This is indicated also by his reported words. He was essentially a Jewish rabbi, only with a less scholastic and more practically ethical, humanitarian, and universal outlook. He had a pious Jew's profound reverence for the Old Testament and the Law. Judaism, with its sacred canon, supernaturalism, theocratic ideas of government, uncompromising monotheism, ethical idealism, sacred law, temple ritual, synagogue worship, belief in Satan, angels, and demons, a resurrection, an immortality of rewards and punishments in a future heaven or hell, a last judgment, and a coming Messiah who should bring in a new kingdom of righteousness and freedom for the Jew and make him an evangel of Judaism to all nations—this Judaism was essentially his religious heritage. He fulfilled its forms and attended to its regular worship, and he probably had no thought, at first, of breaking from its fold to organize a new church.

In essence, his teachings were remarkably parallel with those of the more liberal school of Pharisees, represented by Hillel, who also emphasized the inner spirit rather than externals and the letter of the law. His originality consists rather in his selection and application, and especially in his prophetic spirit and spiritual emphasis. He was in the succession of the Hebrew prophets rather than of the priests, and it was this conflict with priestism and the more exclusive and legalistic type of Judaism that caused his tragic death. Herein

²² This is, of course, quite problematical, as is much in the received tradition of the personality, teaching, and public career of Jesus. The testimony from Greek, Roman, or Jewish sources, extraneous to the New Testament, is extremely meager and of doubtful historicity, and even the earliest extant New Testament writings were produced, in their present form, a generation after his death. While we cannot, therefore, safely reconstruct the life and career of Jesus in detail or dogmatize on his personality and teaching, we have many probably historical isolated facts about his life and sayings which enable us to form some approximate idea of him and his teaching. In ancient history we are repeatedly obliged to draw on sources written a generation or much longer after the events, and there is no reason why we should not do so in the life of Jesus. The many attempts to prove his historic unreality have all proved futile. For a recent thoroughly critical but balanced discussion of the extant sources and the problems involved, cf. Guignebert, *op. cit.*, pp. 12-62; on the sources for the teachings of Jesus, pp. 50-56 and pp. 231-244; on the historicity of Jesus, pp. 63-75.

appears a third creative factor, the personality of the man himself, who, though shaped by his ancestry and environment, actively undertook to change his environment. The traditional picture of him as a man of great personal magnetism, courage, wide humanitarian sympathies, and profound spiritual and ethical insight, a hater of sham, a champion of man and the inner life against externals, with a remarkable consciousness of God's presence and of a great mission, is probably substantially correct.

With such a personal endowment and background, after about thirty years in the obscurity of his village home, he emerged as a preacher of a new kingdom. He lived a simple, almost ascetic, life with a few chosen followers. In the Galilean fields, by the Lake, and in the synagogues he preached and taught. His simple, epigrammatic language enforced by parable in homely illustrations from nature and common life, the freshness and freedom of his message, and the rumors of his cures,²³ born of his human compassion for the appalling wretchedness and need about him, at first attracted crowds of eager listeners. But with no regard for popularity or personal safety, he denounced the externalism and hypocrisy of the religious leaders, thereby incurring their uncompromising hatred as a "radical underminer of the foundations of society."

It is extremely difficult to extract the genuine strands of his message, uncolored by later interpretation and tendency, but it probably emphasized the following ideas: a new kingdom of righteousness marked by the rule of God in the inner life and in society, to be realized through repentance and faith; the absolute supremacy of ethical and human values above externals, tradition, and institutionalism; the supreme dignity of the individual man as a son of a universal divine Father; universal brotherhood as the corollary of this, and love to God and man as the supreme law to govern all human choices;²⁴ the gravity of human sin, especially hypocrisy and selfish materialism, and a way of salvation by moral rather than by ritual purification; a spiritual reinterpretation of the Jewish doctrines of immortality and the last things including a resurrection, last judgment, and the approaching end of the world; pacifism or the doctrine of nonresistance as an individual ideal; and perhaps a tendency to identify himself with his message as the hoped for Messiah of the new kingdom, though interpreted spiritually as a suffering servant rather than a conquering king.

Whether he thought of himself as uniquely divine is also problematical. Much in his reported words and acts indicates the opposite. He preferred "Son of man" as his designation and recognized his own dependence upon God. The term "Son of God," as used in the New Testament, must often be understood in the light of the Hebrew and Aramaic idiom in a qualitative rather than a metaphysical sense. The doctrine of his unique divinity as one of three persons in a Godhead or Trinity and the elaborate dogma of the mystical meaning of his death as a redemptive sacrifice for the sins of the

²³ As in such instances, ancient or modern, probably there were many cases of actual relief. The distinction should be made, however, between the objective fact and its supernaturalistic interpretation, which was characteristic of that day.

²⁴ But his message was not primarily a "social gospel" as is often asserted today.

world, though in the New Testament, were apparently later developments through Hellenistic influence.²⁵

By his scathing attacks on the vested religious interests and established orthodoxies of his day, the young prophet incurred the mortal hatred of the Jewish authorities. His refusal to adapt his spiritual message to meet the selfish hopes and interests of the masses and nationalists also alienated these from his following. During the annual Passover feast at Jerusalem, betrayed by one of his own disciples, he was arrested and given a mock trial before the Jewish Sanhedrin, presided over by the high priest. Meanwhile, his little group of intimate disciples was scattered. At that time Judaea had local autonomy under its Sanhedrin and high priest, who was usually appointed by the Roman procurator. Augustus and Tiberius had been especially careful not to arouse the religious prejudices of the Jews and had forbidden the Roman legions to be stationed in Jerusalem, since the eagle on the Roman standards was offensive to the Jewish religion. But on this occasion, Pontius Pilate, the procurator, had gone up to Jerusalem with a few soldiers to insure order because of the crowds gathered for the feast.

Jesus was condemned by the Sanhedrin as worthy of death, but it had no authority to inflict capital punishment. Such sentences must be reviewed by the procurator, who usually confirmed them unless the case was important enough to refer to Rome. Jesus was therefore brought before Pilate, who probably had no understanding of his teachings or interest in them. To him the case seems to have been just another petty quarrel of the despised Jews. But seeing no danger to Rome in this humble victim of Jewish fanaticism, he would have saved him had he not feared the mob and the inflamed religious leaders. His few cohorts were also mainly Palestinian and probably in sympathy with the priests. He therefore reluctantly handed Jesus over to his enemies for death. After preliminary tortures and insults, they crucified him on a hill outside the city, according to tradition, between two common criminals.²⁶

His tragic death put the crown of martyrdom on his life and gave a new impetus to his cause. His few scattered followers, stricken at first with fear and despair, gradually rallied. Strange rumors arose among them that he was alive and had been seen in Judaea and Galilee. They believed that he had risen from the dead. Their despair and fear were changed to enthusiasm and courage.²⁷ They reorganized their little circle, met and supped together in his name, and began open propaganda for his cause. The memory of his human person was soon blurred by the rapid growth of mystic legend and marvel. The historic Jesus of Galilee gave place to the divine Messiah, the

²⁵ On the whole problem, cf. Guignebert, *op. cit.*, pp. 259-268. For a somewhat more reserved view, cf. A. D. Nock, "Early Gentile Christianity and Its Hellenistic Background," in *Essays on the Trinity and the Incarnation* (ed. E. J. Rawlinson), Longmans, Green, 1928, pp. 53-156.

²⁶ For a critical account of the events leading to the crucifixion, cf. M. Radin, *The Trial of Jesus of Nazareth*, Cambridge, 1931. Tacitus makes a passing reference to "Christus" and the crucifixion, *Annals*, XV, 44, 4. The reference in Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*, XVII, 3, 3, is generally believed to be spurious.

²⁷ Whatever interpretation of the New Testament story of the resurrection of Jesus one may accept, he must find a sufficient reason for this sudden and remarkable change in the spirit of the disciples.

mystic Savior, the Son of God. From such obscure beginnings, in less than three centuries, this humble peasant prisoner brought imperial Rome to his obeisance. Finally, the church that bore his name entered into the heritage of that Empire in the West, and the successors of his chief apostle were enthroned in Caesar's seat.

2. ST. PAUL AND THE UNIVERSALIZING OF CHRISTIANITY

The Jewish and Greco-Roman Background

While the tragedy of the Julio-Claudian Caesars was developing to its climax in Nero, the religion of the crucified Nazarene peasant was quietly penetrating the Empire.²⁸ Confident in their faith in a resurrected and glorified Messiah, his immediate followers had organized a church at Jerusalem and begun active propaganda for his cause. At first the movement was confined to Jews, who had no thought of a break from Judaism, but sought only the added spiritual and ethical inspiration from this last Jewish prophet. Nevertheless, they were soon victims of fierce persecution by the Jewish religious leaders, whose special hate was directed against the broader Hellenistic-Jewish Christians, such as Stephen, the first Christian martyr. The persecution scattered the Jewish Christians from their center. Already, before the work of Paul, communities of Jesus worshipers were widespread in Palestine and Syria, extending to Damascus and Antioch on the Orontes, where the disciples were first called "Christians" by the Greeks.²⁹ Here were both Jewish and Gentile converts before the Jerusalem church sent Barnabas to lead them, and a flourishing Christian community existed there. Many such small Christian churches had probably sprung up among the Hellenistic Jews outside of Palestine and even among the Greeks of the East through the work of missionaries before Paul took the center of the stage.³⁰

Many conditions in the Mediterranean world of Paul's day favored his missionary work and the spread of the new cult. One of the most important was the changing character of the Jews themselves, whose checkered history in Palestine and consequent dispersion throughout the Greco-Roman world we have previously traced.³¹ As the only land route between Egypt and western Asia, Palestine had been both the battleground and the melting pot of the nations. Especially through Alexander's conquests and the rule of the Greek Seleucids in Syria were the naturally exclusive Jews thrust into the very current of world civilization. The cosmopolitan Hellenistic culture irresistibly penetrated the "Holy Land," and Greek centers, such as the league of cities, called Decapolis, sprang up in the very heart of Palestine. The failure of the Jews in their centuries of struggle against political domination had by the time of

²⁸ For an account of the early growth of Christianity, cf. E. Meyer, *Die Anfänge des Christentums*, Vol. III. For some of the more recent works on Paul and the background of early Gentile Christianity, cf. Bibliography, F, 5.

²⁹ Or "Chrestians," as in the inscriptions and historians, which may have been an ironical play on *chrēstos* (good). The two words, *christos* and *chrēstos*, were pronounced nearly the same.

³⁰ Early Christianity was remarkably cosmopolitan and of wide range, as is evident from a list of places referred to in the New Testament, compiled by Harnack.

³¹ See Index under *Jews, Diaspora, Judaism*, in both volumes of this work.

Jesus turned the Jewish leaders from political nationalism and intensified their conviction of a world religious mission to be realized through the advent of a messiah who should usher in a new kingdom of righteousness. With intense but narrow religious devotion, they gave themselves to their elaborate priestly ceremonial law and the scholastic study of their sacred scriptures. Yet even in the very citadel of Judaism at Jerusalem, Greek influence had caused the rise of the Hellenized Sadducees over against the purist Pharisees, and of a broader school of interpreters beside the orthodox rabbis.

A far more significant medium, however, for the spread of Christianity was the Jews of the Diaspora, whose colonies, by the time of Augustus, were found in every center and remotest corner of the Roman Empire.³² While retaining an intense devotion to their religion, these Hellenistic Jews were naturally far more liberal and cosmopolitan in outlook than their brethren in Palestine. Their necessary separation from the ceremonial rites of the Jerusalem Temple, and their life in the large centers mingling with the polyglot populations of the Empire, broke down their exclusiveness and broadened their horizons. They adopted the Greek language for their Old Testament and other sacred writings, and were much influenced even in religion by the liberalizing effect of the Greco-Roman culture. Though they kept in close touch with the beloved mother city at Jerusalem, sending delegates to their great religious festivals, such as the Passover, and contributing to the temple worship, their religion became more spiritual and ethical. The simple spiritual worship of their synagogues, scattered throughout the whole Mediterranean world, with its freedom from sacrifices and ceremonial and its emphasis upon the one God of righteousness, appealed to many emancipated Greeks and Romans, for whom the old polytheisms and rites of their civic religions had lost all meaning. Thus these liberalized and cosmopolitan Jews of the Diaspora were not only more readily won over to the universalism of the new Christian cult, but also acted as an effective mediating agency between Christian propagandists, such as Paul and those Greeks and Romans who had turned for their spiritual satisfaction to an ethical philosophy such as Stoicism. Such Gentiles, who, while not ready to submit to the legal ceremonial and physical rites of Judaism, were attracted by the spiritual worship of the synagogues of the Diaspora, furnished a ready soil for the seed of Paul's spiritual universalism.

Aside from the Jewish influence, however, the general conditions in the Greco-Roman world of the first century A.D. furnished a most favorable basis for the success of Paul and other missionaries of the cross. The *Pax Romana* of Augustus had brought a grateful freedom from frontier dangers or civil war until the death of Nero. The political unity of the whole Mediterranean world under Roman law, imperial government, and the emperor-cult was now realized for the first time in history. Roman citizenship was becoming fairly common in every remotest province. Racial exclusiveness had given place to a cosmopolitan spirit, and the mingling of all the diverse peoples of the Mediterranean world in the Greek and Roman centers was creating a new social

³² On the causes, extent, character, and momentous cultural and religious meaning of the Diaspora for future Western Christian civilization, cf. Vol. I, pp. 523 f.

unity. A unitary bilingual culture had produced a feeling of sympathy and kinship among all cultivated people throughout the Empire. World trade had broken down the old provincialisms. Travel by land or sea was comparatively easy, very extensive, and far safer than it would be at any time after the second century until the nineteenth.

The discrediting of the old polytheisms and civic religions had also left a spiritual vacuum which was being filled by the personal and emotional mystery religions of Egypt, Asia Minor, Syria, and Persia, and by the lofty monotheism and ethics of Stoicism. Oriental ideas of sin, salvation, revelation, and a blessed immortality through moral purification and mystic initiation had displaced the humanism of the earlier Greeks, and a yearning expectation of a new age of justice and happiness was fairly general and by no means limited to Jews. The religion of Jesus as preached by Paul shared all these tendencies with the other Oriental religions. His language is shot through with such mystic terms and ideas. Even his missionary methods and those of the other apostles of the new cult were no innovation in the Greco-Roman world, to which the diatribes³³ of the Stoic and Cynic preachers had long been a familiar phenomenon. Thus in every respect the world stage was remarkably well set for the evangelism of Paul and his associates.

The Personality and Early Years of Paul

In his momentous significance for the history of Western civilization, St. Paul towers far above all his contemporaries of the Julio-Claudian age and indeed has few equals in all Roman history. His life and work, therefore, call for more than the usual passing sentence of historians of Rome.³⁴ As a Hellenistic Jew of distinguished ancient lineage, a "Pharisee of the Pharisees" but a Roman citizen and a native of "no mean city," Tarsus, famed as a cosmopolitan center of learning and trade, which the near contemporary, Strabo, ranked above Athens and Alexandria in philosophy, Saul could indulge a triple pride.³⁵

During his boyhood at Tarsus he acquired the trade of tentmaking and learned to read the Old Testament in both Greek and Hebrew. Later he studied at Jerusalem under Gamaliel of the more liberal school of Hillel. It is unlikely that he ever met Jesus, since, during Jesus' ministry, he was probably at Tarsus, where he continued his studies in the university. After the crucifixion of Jesus he returned to Jerusalem to pursue the career of a teacher of the law, and was probably for a time a member of the Sanhedrin.

Whatever he undertook, he did intensely. A zealot for the law, he "breathed out threatenings and slaughter" against the disciples of the new faith as traitors to their sacred law and temple. In the process of his persecutions he may have been deeply impressed by the heroic death and sublime message of Stephen,

³³ Cf. Vol. I, Index, for the term.

³⁴ It is a sorry commentary on the still prevailing conception of history as primarily a political narrative that in most works on Roman history, even a Caligula or an Elagabalus will receive far more attention than Paul.

³⁵ The name was changed to Paul after his conversion. The primary sources for St. Paul and his work are his own Epistles, ten of which are generally accepted as genuine. The three so-called Pastoral Epistles present a difficult problem. The secondary source is the Book of Acts, probably written about 80 A.D. by Luke.

whose martyrdom he witnessed. The faith and courage of his victims and their simple services and rites of baptism and the last supper may well have affected him. As he later confesses, he was increasingly disappointed during these years with the ineffectiveness of the negative Jewish law as a means of finding spiritual satisfaction, and he probably contrasted his own experience with the buoyant faith of the martyrs of the cross. As a Hellenistic Jew, educated in Greek as well as Hebrew, he was also free from the provincial outlook of many of his colleagues at Jerusalem.

Paul's Conversion and Preparation

With such a spiritual background, as he was about to enter Damascus on a mission of persecution about 35 A.D., he underwent a total revolution in outlook, from a zealous hater of the new cult to a passionate apostle of the cross for which he henceforth counted "all else but loss." He was convinced that the crucified and risen Jesus had appeared to him as the son of God and Savior, and that he was Christ's instrument to spread this universal gospel to all nations.³⁶

After about three years of retirement and readjustment in Arabia, probably at Petra, he returned to preach the faith at Damascus, but was forced to escape for his life. Following a brief visit to Jerusalem, where he met Peter and James and acquainted them with his vast plans for evangelization, he returned to his native city of Tarsus. Here and in the outlying districts of Cilicia he preached the new faith for about seven years, until he was called by Barnabas to assist in the expanding work at Antioch. At some time during this period of about two years, perhaps about 46 A.D., he again visited Jerusalem to bear relief from the Christians at Antioch to their poorer brethren at Jerusalem, which created a feeling of good will toward him and the Antioch church that was later to serve him well.

Missionary Journeys, Imprisonment, and Death

The sweeping scope of his missionary journeys reveals the statesmanlike vision of the man and the comparative ease and safety of travel in the Roman Empire. He worked by no means haphazardly, but by a carefully preconceived plan, to evangelize the strategic centers throughout the Empire from Jerusalem to Spain, as a leavening influence for surrounding districts. This vast plan he largely accomplished. Though always handicapped physically, with little money, and without modern transportation facilities, he covered at least 8,000 miles between 47 and 59 A.D. Among the important centers visited were Tarsus, Antioch in Syria, Paphos in Cyprus, Perga in Pamphylia, Antioch, Iconium, Lystra, and Derbe in the province of Galatia,³⁷ Philippi, Thessalonica, and Berea in Macedonia, Athens, Corinth, Ephesus, and Rome. In most of these cities he was a pioneer in the field, establishing permanent churches, and in

³⁶ The above is a bare statement of fact, and no attempt at explanation of this remarkable conversion. That is a theological problem on which there are wide differences of opinion. Cf. A. D. Nock, *Conversion*, Oxford, 1933, on the whole subject of conversion in the Greco-Roman world.

³⁷ In the much-debated question whether he visited such towns as Ancyra and Pessinus in northern (ethnic) Galatia on his second journey, the weight of authority now favors the negative.

others, notably Antioch and Rome, he doubtless contributed much to the advance of the work.³⁸ Many of these centers he revisited on later journeys to confirm his churches in the faith.

Repeatedly the victim of bitter persecution, imprisonment, and physical violence at the hands of jealous Jews, forced to escape from many towns, driven from Ephesus, after three years of fruitful work, by the shrine-makers' guild, whose business he had disturbed by his evangelism, he always found his Roman citizenship a distinct asset. Finally arrested in Jerusalem, he escaped the clutches of the bitterly hostile Jews by appealing his case as a Roman citizen to Caesar (Nero). The vivid account of his shipwreck in the bay at Malta on his way to stand trial at Rome is a valuable source of information for sea travel in the early Empire.³⁹ Still, even in Nero's day, it was evidently most convenient for travelers to disembark at Puteoli instead of Ostia and travel up the Appian Way, 150 miles to Rome. For some reason, the trial before Caesar was delayed for two years (59-61 A.D.), during which time, though a prisoner under guard, he was permitted to live in his own hired house and pursue his evangelism undisturbed. This was during the better part of Nero's reign, when the Stoic, Seneca, was still living in Rome. But though some of his extant teachings are quite similar to Paul's, there is no basis for the tradition of their acquaintance, and their so-called correspondence is fictitious.

Whether Paul was acquitted after two years and made his long-planned journey to Spain and later a final visit to his churches in the East is entirely uncertain. But Clement of Rome, writing before the close of the century, says, "Paul taught righteousness unto the whole world having reached the furthest limits of the West," and in the so-called Muratorian fragment of a century later the journey is referred to as a matter of fact. The pastoral Epistles (I and II Timothy and Titus) lend color to the theory of a final journey to Asia and a second imprisonment at Rome,⁴⁰ but the interpretation depends on their genuineness, which is very doubtful. That Paul finally met his death at Rome under Nero, however, is practically assured, but whether at the close of his two-year imprisonment soon after 61 A.D., in the Neronian persecution of the year 64 after the fire, or still later, is entirely uncertain.⁴¹

The Epistles of Paul

The deep solicitation of Paul for his churches, as well as his statesmanlike method of keeping in close personal touch with them, is revealed in his great series of letters of encouragement, warning, spiritual advice, and teaching. Incidentally also they are another evidence of the ease and commonness of private correspondence in the Empire of his day. His letters, read in the central churches, and passed around to others in the outer districts, exerted a most

³⁸ He remained in Athens only long enough for one speech, which was received by the dilettante intellectuals of the city with interested curiosity as just another new doctrine.

³⁹ Acts 27-28.

⁴⁰ Cf. II Tim. 4: 16 f.

⁴¹ Eusebius, in his *Ecclesiastical History* of the fourth century A.D., states that he was beheaded in the 13th year of Nero's reign, which would mean during 67 A.D.

significant influence, shaping the doctrine and worship, not only of his own churches, but of all others.⁴²

The Jerusalem Council of 48 A.D.

Between his first and second missionary journeys, Paul attended a council with the other apostles at Jerusalem, which was of monumental significance for the whole future history of Christianity.⁴³ The problem at issue was whether Gentile converts should be obliged to enter the new faith through the doorway of the Jewish church and be held for all the legal rites of Judaism. Such a requirement would have been fatal to the advance of Christianity in the Greco-Roman world, reducing it to a provincial Jewish cult. A failure to reach an amicable agreement also would have resulted in a schism between two hostile sects, a Jewish and a Pauline-Gentile Christianity. Thanks to the broad vision and tact of Paul and the conciliatory wisdom of Peter and his associates, a compromise was arranged. It was agreed that Paul and his co-workers should take for their field the Gentiles on whom the Jewish ceremonial was not to be imposed, while the older apostles should continue their work among the Jews and still abide by the Jewish rites. Thus was avoided a hopeless split in the infant movement, Paul and his aids secured from the mother church an authoritative sanction for their far-flung mission, and his universal conception of Christianity triumphed over Jewish provincialism.

The victory was as yet by no means complete, however, since the Judaizers saw the anomaly and the inherent danger to their position. If freedom was good for the Gentiles, why should not the same rule hold for Jews, thus endangering the whole ceremonial law? Even Peter, on his visit to Antioch, was rebuked by Paul for withdrawing from eating with the Greek Christians in recognition of the Jewish legalists. Thus was Paul impelled to a more clear-cut stand for spiritual freedom for all in opposition to the whole Jewish ceremonial. Through the repeated Jewish attacks on his position and on his authority as an apostle, he finally threshed out the issue to a finish in his passionate Epistle to the Galatians. The old function of the Mosaic law is now entirely abrogated for Jews and Gentiles alike by the new era of spiritual freedom. Henceforth, "there can be neither Jew nor Greek, bond nor free, for all are one in Christ."

St. Paul in History

In several outstanding respects, then, the work of St. Paul was of momentous significance in shaping the development of Christianity and, therefore, of Western civilization. Through his spiritual universalism⁴⁴ Christianity was separated from the chrysalis of Judaism and made a world religion instead of a provincial Jewish sect. Through the statesmanlike scope of his evangelism he established and nurtured to maturity permanent churches of the new cult in

⁴² The Epistles, with the probable time and place of writing, follow in order: I and II Thessalonians, from Corinth, 50 A.D.; Galatians, from Antioch, 52 A.D.; I and II Corinthians, from Ephesus, 55 A.D. (an earlier letter is not extant); Romans, from Corinth, 56 A.D.; Philippians, Philemon, Colossians, and Ephesians, from Rome, 59-61 A.D. The three pastoral Epistles, if genuine, were written some years later.

⁴³ Gal. 2: 1-10; Acts 15.

⁴⁴ Jesus, rather than Paul, however, was the initiator of this universalism.

many of the largest centers of the Roman Empire from Antioch to Rome.⁴⁵ Through his Epistles the infant Christian communities were strengthened, confirmed, and guided in the new faith. By this means he vastly extended his personality in space and time to influence not only his own but all other churches wherever the Gospel extended. Originally written as merely occasional letters to serve an immediate purpose, they early acquired a universal and sacred significance as an authoritative Christian revelation second only to the reported words of Jesus himself, and later found an accepted place in the developing canon of the New Testament. As a primary authoritative source for the Christian creed, and as inspirational and devotional literature for the Christians of his own and every succeeding generation, their influence can never be measured.

Through his broad Hellenism, also, in intimate touch with the larger cultural and religious currents of his day, he gave the first significant impetus to the transformation of the religion of Jesus, with its simple spiritual-ethical emphasis on the inner life and right relations with others, to a Hellenized philosophical creed and a mystic initiatory ritual of salvation like that of the prevailing mystery religions of the age. The historic Jesus was lost in the divine Christ,⁴⁶ the crucified but risen God-man, whose death acquired a profound mystic significance as a means of atonement for the sins of the whole world through all time. Salvation to a blessed immortality was assured to all believers in his redeeming power; his resurrection was the guarantee of their own. By faith in the crucified Christ, one became an initiate and entered into a "mystical union" with his Spirit. In this, Paul was in accord with the Stoic idea of man as alive and in a sense divine by virtue of a spark of the universal Divine Reason dwelling in him. But while to the Stoic man was naturally divine from birth, to Paul he must be re-created and made into a "Christ man." Yet man was free and responsible for his conduct and must take the initiative of faith.

The symbols of the spiritual change, already beginning to take on a somewhat sacramental color in accord with the religious environment, were baptism, suggesting the death of the "old man" and the rise of the new, and the Lord's Supper, symbolic of the assimilation of the believers to Christ's Spirit. By commemorating the mystery drama of his death together, they became vitally united with each other and with him. The word used by Paul to express this personal appreciation of the redemptive significance of the death of Jesus through which one takes on the "mind of Christ" and becomes a full-fledged spiritual person is *teleios* ("perfect"), a term common in the Greek mysteries. The writings of Paul are full of such language and ideas. With him the tide of Hellenism began its conquest of the Jewish religion of Jesus and penetrated

⁴⁵ Of course, Gentile Christianity was not exclusively a Pauline product. Paul had many efficient co-workers, such as Barnabas, who preceded him, Silas, Luke, Apollos, Timothy, and others. There were doubtless many independent workers also in many sections. The variety of the New Testament literature in Greek and that produced by Greek Christianity, the widely scattered Christian communities at the close of the first century, and the extensive non-Pauline ideas in the Christian literature of the next century all testify to this fact.

⁴⁶ This was a logical development, for if Jesus was to be a living universal power, he must become more than the "Jesus of history."

ever more profoundly into Christianity during the next thirteen centuries.⁴⁷ Only thus could the Christian cult have become a universal religion, which could expand westward rather than eastward and gradually dominate the Western world.

The extent to which Paul veered from the religion of Jesus, however, has been much exaggerated by some interpreters. He was not the creator of a new religion. There were not two Gospels to him, and he had no thought of preaching a different Gospel from that of his Master. The teaching above enunciated was not his artificial invention, but an intensely personal experience. The difference between his teaching and that of the Christian community at Jerusalem was one of emphasis rather than of fundamentals. Whatever Hellenistic elements entered into his interpretation of the new faith were the natural and unconscious result of the general cultural and social environment in which he lived. His difficult problem was to retain the historic connection with the Old Testament and Judaism as the matrix of the new religion, while giving free rein to the universalism of Jesus. As observed, he solved the problem by making the function of the Hebraic law merely historic. Henceforth, the believer has, so to speak, an inner governor, the indwelling Spirit of Christ as the spring of right action. But though Hellenized and liberal, Paul was still essentially a Jew in outlook. His theory of the "atonement" had its roots deep in the Old Testament and Judaism, as did also his idea of the last things and many of the fundamentals in his religious and ethical outlook. The essentials of the religion of Jesus were also Paul's. They were still one in emphasizing religion as a type of experience rather than a dogma or ceremony, the inner life rather than externals as the spring of righteous conduct, the supremacy of spiritual over material values, the spirit above the letter, and the law of love and right relations to others as the fulfillment of all other law. Like the first Apostles, also, he emphasized the doctrine of a crucified but risen Messiah, who would stage an early apocalyptic return to institute a new era of righteousness. After all, Paul was fully as much the product of Gentile Christianity as its creator. It was his spreading of the ethical Gospel of Jesus throughout the Greek world more than his introduction of Greco-Oriental mysticism into Christianity that has made him such an outstanding figure in the history of Western civilization.⁴⁸ The era of church hierarchy, sacramentalism, and emphasis upon creed and externals above the inner spirit was still to come.

⁴⁷ This process is emphasized in Vol. I, pp. 469, 517, 522, 535-37. Cf. also below, Chapters Twenty-five and Thirty. For a somewhat more reserved view of Paul's influence in the early Hellenizing of Christianity than the above, cf. A. D. Nock, *op. cit.*, pp. 55 ff.

⁴⁸ Cf. A. D. Nock, *op. cit.*, p. 141, citing Dobschutz, *Der Apostel Paulus*, I, 4.

Part Seven

ROME AND THE EMPIRE UNDER THE FLAVIANS AND ANTONINES (69-180 A.D.)

21. *Imperial Frontiers and Growth of Autocracy Under the Flavians*
(69-96 A.D.)
22. *Enlightened Despotism from Nerva to Marcus Aurelius* (96-180 A.D.)
23. *Government and Economy in the Empire* (70-180 A.D.)
24. *The Provinces Under the Flavians and Antonines*
25. *Society and Culture* (70-180 A.D.): *Society, Art, Philosophy, and Religion*
26. *Society and Culture* (70-180 A.D.): *Education, Literature, and Learning*

Chapter Twenty-one

IMPERIAL FRONTIERS AND GROWTH OF AUTOCRACY UNDER THE FLAVIANS (69-96 A.D.)

I. REVOLT WITHIN THE EMPIRE (69-70 A.D.)

Vespasian inherited formidable national revolts against Roman rule both in Lower Germany and Gaul and in Judaea, the former being the direct outgrowth of the civil war.

I. THE BATAVIAN REVOLT AND THE "IMPERIUM GALLIARUM"¹

The revolt in Lower Germany centered among the Batavians of the Rhine delta. They had held a peculiar status in the Empire, being free from tribute but subject to large levies of auxiliary troops. Previously conspicuous for their loyalty, they had won distinction for valor in Britain, but their resentment against Rome had been aroused by Nero's arrest of their officers on charges of treason. After his death Julius Civilis, their chief, was released by Galba and ordered to lead the Batavian troops back to Britain, but, instead, he joined the German legions in support of Vitellius and later shifted to Vespasian. An officer in the Roman service for twenty-five years and a Roman citizen, he is dryly characterized by Tacitus as "endowed with more brains than is usual among barbarians."² Until the victory of Vespasian's troops over the Vitellians, he posed as a supporter of Vespasian, but on the news of the death of Vitellius he cast aside his mask and openly headed a revolt against Rome, calling on the Gauls and free German tribes across the Rhine to join his cause. Since the Roman commander in Upper and Lower Germany was old and incompetent, and also suspected by his Vitellian troops of favoring Vespasian, he offered little effective opposition to Civilis. Several Roman garrisons were driven from their camps, a part of the Rhine fleet was seized, and the revolt spread until the whole Rhine border to Strassburg was lost to Rome.

Meanwhile, under the leadership of Julius Classicus and other chiefs, the Treveri and Lingones, believing the burning of the capitol at Rome presaged the approaching fall of the Roman Empire, joined the rebellion. They dreamed of establishing a free Gallic Empire with capital at Trèves (Augusta Treverorum) and called on the southern Gauls to follow their lead. But though the Roman legions on the Rhine joined the rebellion, no general revolt in Gaul was aroused, and the Gallic Empire did not materialize. On the whole, the Gauls had little reason for being dissatisfied with Roman rule. Rome had

¹ The only important source for the revolt is Tacitus, *Histories*, IV, 13 ff., 54 ff.

² *Histories*, IV, 13.

permitted them to retain their tribal form, had not imposed Romanization upon them, and had been generous with grants of citizenship. Some of the leading Gauls had also been admitted to the senate, and Vindex was even governor of a province. The *Pax Romana* had preserved internal peace and protected their frontiers from German invasion. The southern Gauls were jealous of the Treveri, preferring some other center than Trèves for the Gallic Empire, and were chary of exchanging Roman for German rule. Civilis and the Batavians also were not enthusiastic over a Gallic empire and preferred a Roman to a Celtic régime.

On the arrival of Vespasian's legions from Italy, later reinforced by troops summoned from Spain and Britain, therefore, the rebellion soon collapsed. The disloyal frontier legions again recognized Roman authority, the Treveri and Lingones submitted, and Civilis sought refuge across the Rhine, while the Batavians regained their previous status.³ The revolt revealed the lack of faith of the legions in their officers and the breakdown of military discipline due to the civil war. It was chiefly a rebellion within the Roman army itself, secondarily a revolt of the Gauls, and only the free Germans near the boundaries were involved in it.

While Vespasian wisely refrained from harsh reprisals, he realized the necessity of a thorough change in the previous organization of frontier troops. Four of the rebellious legions were disbanded, and a fifth was ordered to Moesia. The cohorts and auxiliary troops were henceforth composed of men of diverse nations and served not in their native provinces. Their commanders also were no longer natives like Civilis, but men of Italian origin, thereby making a future rebellion such as he staged practically impossible. The Praetorian Guard, which Vitellius had raised to sixteen cohorts and formed of Germanic troops, had become disorganized. Vespasian reconstituted it on the old basis of nine Italian cohorts. The revolt had revealed the weakness of the Empire, but also its strength, in the fact that the Gauls, on the whole, stood by their allegiance to Rome.

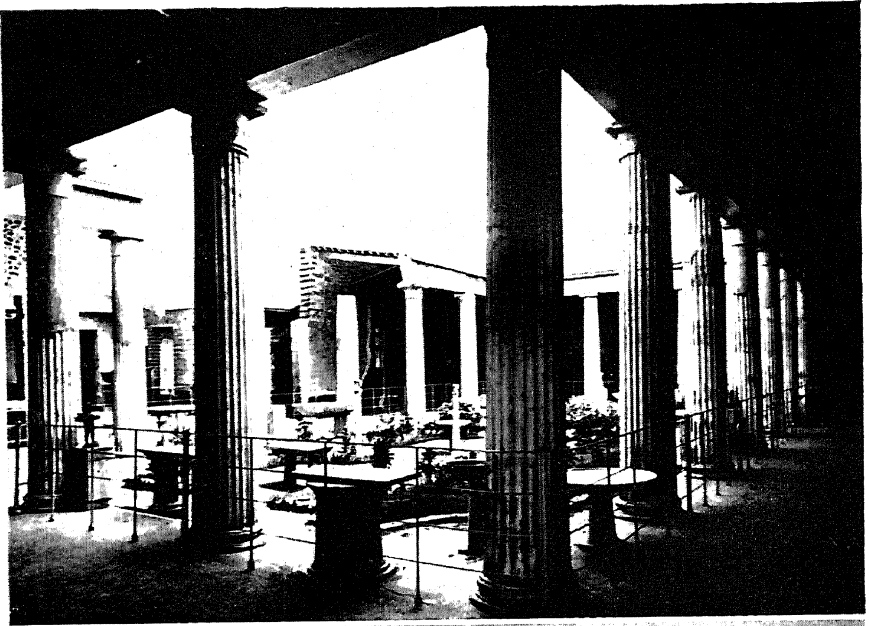
2. THE JEWISH WAR AND THE FALL OF JERUSALEM (66-70 A.D.)⁴

Unlike the rebellion in Gaul and Lower Germany, the Jewish revolt had broken out in 66 A.D., long before the civil war, and had been in preparation for twenty-two years. Rome had always handled her recalcitrant Jewish subjects with gloves. Though their worship was checked in Italy, it was fully tolerated in Judaea and throughout the Empire. Among all Roman subjects, they had a privileged status, being free from both the usual required military service and emperor worship.⁵ As a result, chronic strife existed between them

³ The terms which were probably dictated by Mucianus and Domitian at Lugdunum are unknown, since the account of Tacitus breaks off here.

⁴ The only complete account is by the Hellenistic Jew, Josephus, *Jewish Wars*, supplemented by other references in his *Antiquities* and *Vita*. He favors the Romans against the fanatical Jewish nationalists. Other sources are Tacitus, *Histories*, V, 1-14, and Dio, LXV, 4-8. Tacitus shows extreme prejudice against the "base and abominable" customs of the Jews, yet refers to their spiritual monotheism. His account of the siege in the later chapters of Bk. V is lost.

⁵ The plan of the mad Caligula, which was blocked by his timely death, was an exception.



Upper: Peristyle in the House of the Vetii in Pompeii, partly restored. This house is remarkable for the number of its sculptures and paintings by first-rate artists. Most of the paintings are well preserved, and belong to the fourth style. The house gives an excellent idea of the Pompeian dwelling of the first century A.D. (*Alinari*) *Lower:* *Strada dell' Abbondanza* (Street of Abundance), Pompeii, seen from west to east. New excavations are in process at the extension of this street.



ITALIAN INDUSTRIAL LIFE IN THE FIRST CENTURY A.D.

Upper: Oven and Mill at Pompeii. (*Anderson*) *Lower:* Murals from the Black-Room of the House of the Vetii at Pompeii, first century A.D., representing cupids in the industrial arts. (1) Makers of Perfumes and Ointments. (2) Goldsmiths.

and their jealous Greco-Syrian neighbors in the Palestinian cities. Despite their privileges, the Jews resented the Roman tribute, which bore heavily on the farmers in a poor country like Judaea and caused many to join the brigand bands of the hill country.

The root of the irritation against Rome, however, was religious. Claudius had followed Augustus in avoiding direct conflict between Romans and Jews by allotting the entire country to Herod Agrippa as a client kingdom. But unfortunately at his death in 44 A.D. Judaea again came under the direct rule of Rome as a secondary province. From this time the spirit of rebellion was rife, though open revolt did not come for twenty-two years. Since the Jewish nation was a theocracy, their national patriotism and religious fanaticism were united in intense resentment at foreign rule. The Jewish ideal of a state dominated by national religion and the Roman subordination of religion to the state in a cosmopolitan empire were flatly in conflict. The Roman government made the mistake of undue indulgence and keeping too small a military force in the province, thus encouraging insurrection.

The delicate situation was aggravated by bitter partisanship within the Jewish community itself between the aristocratic Sadducees, who monopolized the offices and favored Roman rule, and the more democratic Pharisees, who represented the lesser priests and peasantry in their orthodox religious zeal and nationalistic antagonism to Rome. It was largely a social cleavage between the propertied classes and the poorer masses, however. The large Jewish landowners naturally favored Roman rule, as a means of protection, and hence were hated by the country masses as neither patriotic nor religious. Probably the more well-to-do among the Pharisees also did not actively encourage the revolt, though they stimulated the advance of the Zealot movement by their religious nationalism. The Zealots, half brigands of the hills and half-religious fanatics, whom Rome had long vainly sought to suppress, strove for the liberation of Judaea from the hated Roman domination through the aid of Jehovah. "Men of the Dagger" who refused to pay tribute and were obsessed with fanatical messianic hopes, they had now turned from looting country estates to attacks on the friends of Rome. War against Rome was openly preached in Jerusalem, and the minds of the masses were inflamed by the fanatical prophets and miracle-mongers.

Thus by 66 A.D. only a spark was needed to kindle the flame of national revolt in Judaea. The exclusion of the Jews from citizenship in Caesarea, the Roman capital of Judaea, by the governor, and the ensuing riots and massacres of Jews by Greeks in Caesarea, and of the Roman garrison and its Jewish sympathizers in Jerusalem, furnished the spark. Such massacres spread to other cities in Syria and even to Alexandria. But only when the legate of Syria, who had marched on Jerusalem to quell the riot, was repulsed did the Roman government awake to the seriousness of the revolt.

The following year Titus Flavius Vespasian was commissioned by Nero with an army of 50,000 to subdue the rebellious province. He gradually reduced the country districts and outlying strongholds, and he was about to begin siege of Jerusalem when news of the death of Nero caused him to sus-

pend operations until authorized by the new emperor. The final reckoning was further delayed for ten months by his later elevation to the Principate, but the Jews wasted this advantage in bitter partisan strife.

On Vespasian's departure for Alexandria in 69 A.D. to organize the civil war against Vitellius, he left his eldest son, Titus, in command at Jerusalem, who immediately began to push the siege vigorously. The city was well-nigh impregnable, having a double wall, and within these, two natural strongholds, the temple mount and the old citadel of Mount Zion. But it was crowded with refugees, and its meager food supplies by no means warranted long resistance to a siege. The moderate party led by Josephus urged submission. While opposed to the rebellion, he had at first withstood the advance of Vespasian in Galilee, but after defeat he became his client and accepted his name, Titus Flavius. Titus twice offered terms for surrender, but the frenzied populace refused and furiously fought for every foot of ground. After the loss of the first line of defense and the Jewish refusal of terms, Titus cut off all supplies and began the siege of the second wall. The besieged suffered terribly by famine, being reduced even to cannibalism. After three months the second wall was taken, but even then the Zealots refused all pleas of the moderates and fought to the death to hold their inner citadels, even profaning the Holy of Holies of their Temple. But they were finally routed, and Jerusalem fell to the Romans in August, 70 A.D., after five months of siege. The city was looted and practically razed to the ground, and the Temple of Herod was destroyed by fire. Whether this was accidental or by order of Titus is unknown, but he may well have desired the destruction of this center of Jewish religious nationalism. The captives were either slain or sold into slavery, but many died of voluntary starvation.

All cities that had resisted Rome were sacked and partially destroyed. The camp of the Tenth Legion was established on the ruins of the Jewish capital, and troops levied in Judaea were sent elsewhere for service. A colony of Roman veterans was settled at Emmaus, Sichem in Samaria was reorganized as a Greek city, and Caesarea was changed from a Greek town to a Roman colony. Judaea was made a province under an imperial legate, but King Agrippa, who had stood by Rome throughout, was permitted to retain his lands until his death thirty years later, when his kingdom was incorporated in Syria. The Jews now ceased to be a political community and no longer had either a national or religious center. Their high-priesthood and Sanhedrin were abolished, and they suffered the indignity of henceforth paying an annual poll tax of two denarii to the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus instead of to the Temple of Jerusalem. Yet the existence of a Jewish nation was still recognized by Rome, as the *fiscus Judaicus* proves. The Jews throughout the Empire also still enjoyed the right of worship in their synagogues and their previous immunities, including exemption from Caesar worship. Josephus was later granted a pension and the right of citizenship in Rome.

The brave though fanatical last stand of the Jewish masses and their Zealot leaders for the preservation of their religion and national independence may well enlist our sympathy. The Roman officials had probably often been arro-

gant and unwise and the tribute bore heavily on the peasantry. But, as we have seen, the imperial government at Rome had been especially conciliatory, and the revolt was not a real struggle for freedom against oppressors. On the whole, the fanatical Jewish peasantry and Zealots had only themselves to thank for the destruction of their city and Temple. The violence and chronic disorder, the lawlessness of the brigand Zealots, despite the conciliatory policy of Rome, the bitter strife of parties, the constant riots among themselves and against their Greco-Syrian neighbors, and their final open rebellion, which they fought out to the bitter end despite all attempts at conciliation, made the tragic sequel inevitable.

Titus commemorated his victory by a triumph and an arch in the Circus, of which only the inscription is preserved. On it he absurdly declares that his capture of Jerusalem was a feat that "all generals, rulers, or nations had previously either undertaken in vain or had not even attempted," ignoring the Assyrians, Nebuchadrezzar, Antiochus Epiphanes, and even Pompey. But both he and Vespasian scorned to follow the usual custom of Roman conquerors by adding *Judaicus* to their names. The later arch that still stands at the entrance to the Forum was erected after the death of Titus. One of its reliefs (Pl. XIII) portrays the seven-branched candlestick and other spoils from the Jerusalem Temple, which had graced his triumph at Rome. Centuries later they were taken by the Vandals to Africa and in the sixth century were borne to Constantinople by Justinian's victorious general.

The destruction of Jerusalem was of momentous significance to the later development of Judaism and Christianity. The Sadducees vanished with the Sanhedrin, and the Pharisees and Rabbinic institution were left victors. Thus a new field was opened to Judaism. The Jews were permitted to open a school at Jamnia, which became a new center of Judaism as a second Sanhedrin. The Jewish Diaspora was given a new and immense impetus. Scattered throughout the whole Mediterranean world, with no common national or religious center and no temple worship, the Jews relied only on the more spiritual worship of the synagogue. Thus Judaism became more universalized and its devotees more cosmopolitan. As for Christianity, the small Christian community at Jerusalem had escaped to Pella in Peraea early in the revolt and was therefore saved. But the destruction of the city and Temple gave a final impetus to the work of St. Paul in separating the new religion from the matrix of Judaism and making it a universal cult. The scattered Jews also served as centers for Christian propaganda in every remotest quarter of the Roman Empire.

II. THE FLAVIANS: SUCCESSION, PERSONALITY, AND CHARACTER ⁶

As the victor in the civil war, Vespasian's succession to the Principate was determined by military force. As above narrated, he was set up by his own

⁶ The surviving literary sources for the Flavians are meager, though supplemented by inscriptions, coins, and archaeological remains. For Vespasian and Titus: Suetonius, Tacitus (some reference to their earlier career in his *Histories*, IV, V), Dio, *Epitome*, LXV, LXVI, and scattering references in Pliny's letters. For Domitian, *cf.* below.

legions and hailed as *imperator* in Egypt. Though the senate later gave its formal acceptance of the *fait accompli*, he dated his reign from the military coup. He also has the distinction of having founded a dynasty and was recognized as the second Augustus, just as Augustus claimed to be the second Romulus, both having reconstituted the state after a devastating civil war. From the first he took for granted the succession of his sons. Titus, the elder, was at once made *imperator*, endowed with tribunician authority, and recognized as consort in the rule, so that at Vespasian's death he was accepted as princeps and Augustus without question. Domitian also received all the honors of an emperor's son under Vespasian, such as the right to wear the laurel wreath and to have his image and superscription on the coins and public buildings along with those of his father and brother. But both, fearing his ambition, kept him from any actual power. Though Titus later recognized him unofficially as his consort and legitimate successor, he was not granted the proconsular *imperium*, or tribunician power. At the death of Titus, he was at once hailed as *imperator* by the praetorians, and he reckoned his accession from this date, though the senate did not confer the tribunician power on him until more than two weeks later. Contrary to custom, he also immediately assumed the office of *Pontifex Maximus* and the title of *Pater Patriae*, thereby revealing his autocratic tendencies from the first.

Vespasian's accession to the throne was a sign of the leveling process which was already raising Italy to equality with Rome. Previously all emperors had been of the Roman nobility, but he was of humble Sabine stock, a good example of the middle-class Italians who were entering the Roman governing class under the Principate. The homely coarse features, square build, and thick neck, portrayed in his bust, contrast strikingly with the aristocratic person of Augustus.⁷ His appearance comported with his blunt peasant accent, coarse jests, and disregard for conventions. He ridiculed the court flatterers who sought to trace his ancestry to aristocratic sources, and even when dying he satirized the idea of his deification, saying, "I think I am turning into a god." He was quite well educated in Greek, as well as in Latin. Though devoid of imagination or creative statesmanship, he was a man of strong character, firm will, practical common sense, economy, honesty, good judgment, and a saving sense of humor. An excellent administrator, he was just the man needed for this period of reconstruction. So effectively did he restore the machinery of the state that it continued to run well for another century of peace and prosperity.

Titus was as handsome as his father was homely. Exceptionally well endowed physically and mentally, an amiable personality, generous, accomplished, eloquent, a successful general of wide experience, beloved of his soldiers and the Roman populace, he was known as the "darling of all mankind" (*amor ac deliciae generis humani*). He loved to be lavishly generous and is said to have remarked one evening of a day when he failed to make someone happy by his gifts, "I have lost a day." But his primary interest was in pleasure and popularity. Unlike his father, he placed no check on the peculation of public

⁷ Cf. Hekler, *op. cit.*, Pls. 218a and b; also below, Pl. XIII.

officials, and his prodigal expenditures for building, doles, and magnificent shows⁸ rapidly exhausted the state funds so carefully collected and conserved by his father's hard economy. Had he lived, therefore, he might have become later, when faced with an empty treasury, a tyrant like Nero.

Domitian, though also handsome in his youth, later earned from his enemies the title of "bald-headed Nero," and his busts portray a somewhat coarse and arrogant expression.⁹ In his sour and taciturn disposition and lack of sense of humor, he was a striking contrast to his amiable brother or good-natured father. He consciously took Tiberius as a model, whose state papers and private memoirs he carefully studied. Self-assertive, imperious, and extremely ambitious for power, he had been embittered, like Tiberius, by thwarted ambition in his youth. Though he was granted the honors of a prince, both Vespasian and Titus had refused to trust him with either political authority or opportunity for military glory. Repression enhanced his naturally cynical and suspicious nature. He made no secret of his jealousy and contempt for his brother, and when supreme power was suddenly thrust upon him, he was a frank despot, even demanding the title *dominus* and *deus*. Though venomously hated for this by the senatorial nobility, however, he was like Vespasian in his great industry, administrative ability, and sane judgment, and must be fully credited with having successfully continued his father's work of reconstruction. But because of his despotic spirit, he won neither love nor praise and lived in later tradition as a cruel tyrant. Though hated by the senate, which denied him decent burial and deification, he was highly regarded by his soldiers and provincial subjects.

Like Tiberius, he was unfortunate in his biographers. The contemporary court poets, Statius and Martial, load him with servile eulogy, but the senatorial writers of the next generation are venomous in their hate. Tacitus, jealous for the military honor of his father-in-law, makes the emperor a bloody tyrant with no redeeming trait. Pliny the Younger, though favored by offices under Domitian,¹⁰ also maligns him in his letters written after the death of his benefactor, calling him "a most outrageous (*insidiosissimus*) princeps." Suetonius, an equestrian, retails his scandals against him, as an evil tyrant, but credits him with some military ability and careful administration of justice. Juvenal, the satirist, is extremely bitter against him for his degradation of the senate. Dio, though a century later than these, repeats the prejudiced tradition. Inscriptions and contemporary records of his reign are extremely scanty, due to the venomous attempt of the senate to destroy his memory, but enough has survived, supplemented by the excavations, to correct the one-sided picture of the literary sources.¹¹

⁸ The games for the dedication of his father's amphitheatre, the Colosseum, lasted a hundred days, including splendid representations of an ancient Greek naval battle and the siege of Syracuse. Even women took part in the contests, and 5,000 wild beasts are said to have been slain in one day. During the celebration extreme largesses were repeatedly distributed to the populace.

⁹ For the busts of Titus and Domitian, cf. Hekler, *op. cit.*, Pls. 220a and b, and below, Pl. XIII.

¹⁰ Yet he came near to being one of his victims. Cf. *Letters*, VII, 27, 13.

¹¹ On Domitian, cf. Tacitus, *Agricola*, 39; Pliny, *Letters*, VIII, 14; IX, 13; Suetonius, *Domitian*, 6-8; Juvenal, *Satires*, IV; Martial, *Epigrams*, many eulogistic passages, but cf. X, 72; XI, 4 and 5,

III. AUTOCRACY AND CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGES

The Flavian period marks a significant stage in the development of the Principate toward autocracy. Though Vespasian took Augustus as his model, showing courtesy to the senate, and though he made no changes in the constitution of the Principate, he effected innovations nevertheless. As military victor in the civil war, he took for granted his supreme authority. Both he and his sons expanded the traditional powers conferred on them by the senate. He placed more emphasis upon the tribunician authority. He held the consulship every year of his reign, except two, with Titus usually as colleague, while Domitian assumed the office regularly after 84 A.D. Though they usually held it only a few months of the year, and this meant no actual increase in power, yet it was expressive of an essentially different attitude to the senate than that of the tactful Augustus, who refused the office after the settlement of 23 B.C. Possibly, as has been plausibly suggested, the primary motive may have been to connect their bourgeois family with this symbol of high Roman nobility.¹²

The revival of the censorship by Vespasian in 73 A.D. and its continuous assumption by Domitian during the last eleven years of his reign was a far more significant innovation. Constitutionally, the princeps might influence the composition of the senate by nominations to magistracies, but he had no right to appoint senators directly. The censorship, which alone conferred this power, was not a part of his traditional authority. Vespasian's primary purpose in his single assumption of the office was to conduct a general census of the citizen body and to replenish the depleted senate with men of ability from the equestrian class in Italy and the more Romanized provinces rather than to dominate it. But his direct creation of new families made the senate more subservient to him, and Domitian's permanent assumption of the censorship after 84 A.D. seems to have aimed at this result. By their wider basis of selection of senators the Flavians gave a distinct impetus to the transformation of the senate from an exclusively Roman and Italian to a more cosmopolitan body representative of the whole Empire.

While strengthening the senate with new blood, however, the Flavians distinctly reduced its influence as a political body, except as a source for the higher magistracies. Vespasian and Titus showed it the formal courtesy of consultation, but this meant little. After his first years Domitian deliberately snubbed it, rarely summoning it except to announce his decisions or to ask counsel on some matter of no importance.¹³ Under him, the Augustan idea of the senate as a dignified partner in the rule practically disappeared. By degrading it to such a servile position, he incurred its undying and venomous hatred, more even than had been aroused by Tiberius or Nero. Another sign

after his death; Statius, *Silvae*, especially IV, 2, on being invited to dinner; Dio, *Epitome*, LXVII. On the Christian tradition, cf. B. W. Henderson, *Five Roman Emperors*, Cambridge, 1927, Chap. III.

¹² Cf. Max Cary, *History of Rome to the Reign of Constantine*, Macmillan, 1935, p. 609.

¹³ Juvenal, *Satire*, IV, on the Turbot, though exaggerated, illustrates this attitude of Domitian and presents a vivid picture of the resulting slavish condition of the senate.

of the advance of the Flavians toward autocracy was their open treatment of the office of princeps as theirs by hereditary right. This appears in Vespasian's establishment of Titus as practically a joint ruler and in the recognition of Domitian as the presumptive heir by both, despite their jealous attitude toward him. Had it not been for the failure of a direct heir of Domitian and his sudden assassination, the hereditary principle in the imperial succession might have become the established tradition.

The reign of Domitian was epochal in the growth of the Principate toward autocracy. Especially after his Germanic triumph, he posed as a real *imperator* and deliberately sought to degrade the senate and disregard constitutional precedent. His whole policy pointed toward its practical abolition as a political body with any essential part in the administration of the state. His precedent in the use of the censorship was so effective that his successors, though mild rulers, took for granted the censorial powers without assuming the office. As we have seen, he also came nearer to a continuous consulship than any emperor since Augustus in his first years. His autocratic spirit appears also in his refusal to permit a decree denying the right of the princeps to condemn a senator to death. Instead, he cowed it to submission by forming his *consilium* from knights as well as senators, so that an accused senator was less likely to be acquitted. By regularly voting first in the senate, he also forced his will upon it.

Domitian would not be regarded as the first citizen, but as a real monarch, preferring *dominus ac deus* as his regular title. The purple, previously reserved for triumphs, was his usual garb even in the senate. A double number of lictors attended him, and only gold and silver statues of him were permitted. He frankly emphasized his own position as *imperator* and the legions as the real source of his power. But unlike Tiberius, his model, he was careful also not to be dominated by the praetorian prefects. A strong factor in his later years of tyranny was his financial needs. The prodigal Titus left an empty treasury, and Domitian needed vast sums for his extensive building, elaborate games, and frequent lavish largesses to the populace, as also for his wars in Britain, Germany, and on the Danube. But since he did not wish to incur the hostility of the Italian citizenship or the provincials by increased impositions on them, he turned, like Nero and Gaius, to the only remaining source, the Roman nobility. The shell of the Principate long continued after Domitian, and the senate nominally retained its position in the state. But henceforth the government was an undisguised monarchy.

IV. ADMINISTRATION OF ROME AND THE EMPIRE UNDER THE FLAVIANS

In their wise choice and careful supervision of public officials both Vespasian and Domitian were worthy of Augustus and Tiberius. This is a phase of Domitian's administration for which he has not been sufficiently credited. The professional executives of the civil service were now drawn largely from the equestrian class rather than from the freedmen as in the reign of Claudius.

It was also probably due to the Flavians that a new official was created, the *juridicus*, to assist the governor in civil jurisdiction in the larger provinces. Thus began a movement toward a division of labor between the imperial military and civil service.

I. FINANCIAL ADMINISTRATION

The waste of Nero's later years and the devastation of the civil war confronted Vespasian with grave problems of reconstruction. Especially were the finances in a desperate state. Not only must the depleted treasury be replenished to meet the current expenses of government, but large sums were also badly needed to repair the neglect of the last chaotic years, to rebuild the Rhine fortifications, and to aid Rome and Italy to recover from the ravages of the civil war. Vespasian estimated that 4,000,000,000 sesterces, or about \$200,000,000,¹⁴ would be needed to place the finances on a sound basis. To meet the critical situation, he undertook the unpopular task of strict economy and drastic taxation. In 73 A.D. he therefore assumed the censorship and took a general census for purposes of tax readjustment. He revived and severely increased the old imposts (*vectigalia*) which Galba had repealed and raised the provincial tribute, in some cases to almost double the rate. The tribute from which Nero had freed Greece was again imposed. Many large estates in Egypt granted by previous emperors to their favorites, and unallotted lands in Italy and the provinces that had been appropriated as private property, were restored to the state, and a new code to govern the leasing of imperial lands and mines to better advantage was also established.

As a practical man of the middle class who did not hesitate to shock the senatorial tradition, Vespasian may also have supplemented his revenues by trade, as Suetonius asserts. His stories of the emperor's sale of offices and acquittals and of his appointment of rapacious procurators so as to enrich himself through their condemnation, using them as "sponges," to be "soaked when they were dry and squeezed when they were wet," are probably irresponsible gossip rather than history.¹⁵ On the contrary, he kept careful oversight of the expenditures of public officials and punished any pilfering from the public funds. Bound by no previous promises of donatives to his legions or praetorians, he kept a strict watch on all expenditures. He greatly decreased the expenses of the court, and his own frugality of life set an example of moderation. By such a wise administration of finances, he fully replenished the treasury, despite his extensive building program and generous aid to municipalities afflicted by fire or earthquake. In his later years, also, he probably remitted the higher taxes previously imposed.

The full treasury was again rapidly depleted by the prodigal Titus, who had no interest in either economy or careful supervision of state revenues. He therefore left to Domitian the thankless task of financial recovery. By paying

¹⁴ The forty billion of Suetonius, *Vespasian*, 16, 3, is clearly absurd. As M. Cary has pointed out, *op. cit.*, p. 625, n. 7, the figure should probably be divided by ten, and read *quadrages milies* instead of *quadringsenties milies*.

¹⁵ On the code, *cf.* M. Cary, *op. cit.*, p. 625, n. 8. For the assertions of Suetonius, *cf.* *Vespasian*, 16.

close attention to his sources of income, Domitian was able to keep the finances in fairly good condition and to continue his father's wise policy of liberal aid to needy cities. He also temporarily restored the coinage which had been depreciated since Nero. But he was far from following Vespasian's policy of economy. To insure the support of his legions, he raised their pay by one-third, though decreasing the numbers and avoiding special donatives. He also sought to win the populace by splendid building, magnificent games, and "bread money," sometimes averaging 300 sesterces for each citizen, while diminishing the tax burdens and giving up Vespasian's claims to the unallotted lands in Italy. Such a policy could not have lasted forever, especially in the face of his costly wars in Britain, Germany, and on the Danube. His resort to plunder of the senatorial nobility to meet the growing financial pressure in his later years was a strong factor in his assassination.

2. BUILDING

The Flavian period was a new Augustan age of building.¹⁶ The great fire of Nero's reign and one connected with the fall of Vitellius furnished the occasion for Vespasian, and another devastating conflagration during the reign of Titus, for Domitian. One of the mottoes stamped on the coins of Vespasian was *Roma Resurgens*. His new temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, built to inaugurate the new era of peace, his new Forum and Temple of Peace to celebrate the end of the Jewish war, and his huge Flavian Amphitheatre, the Colosseum, later dedicated by Titus, and the splendid public baths of Titus, must have meant a heavy addition to the financial burden of the state. Domitian also was an elaborate builder. The new temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, destroyed by fire in the previous reign, he rebuilt even more splendidly. Among his numerous other temples, the best known is that to the deified Vespasian and Titus at the west end of the Forum, three Corinthian pillars of which are still standing. He also erected several imposing public buildings, a stadium, a music hall, and he restored the residence of Augustus on the Palatine on a larger scale. On all his new structures and restorations Domitian had his name inscribed as builder.

3. DOMITIAN AND RELIGION

Domitian was a strict upholder of the national religion. He established a new festival of Jupiter Capitolinus and conducted the Secular Games in the year 88, reckoning about a century from the Augustan festival of 17 B.C. His interest in moral reform was probably from the standpoint of national religion rather than ethical. He took strict measures against the license of Nero's reign, regulating the dress for spectators at the public games, suppressing licentiousness in the theatres, and forbidding public pantomimes and the inhuman trade in eunuchs. He put to death three vestal virgins for unchastity, banishing their seducers, and imposed on the chief vestal the primitive penalty of being buried alive, though she protested her innocence. The Augustan

¹⁶ For further details as to the architecture and buildings of this period, cf. below, Chapter Twenty-five, Sec. II, 1.

marriage regulations and laws against adultery were also strictly enforced, and the resulting condemnation of many senators and knights deepened the hatred of the "tyrant."

As champion of the state religion, Domitian also opposed the spread of Oriental cults, though he encouraged the worship of Isis and Sarapis of Egypt, to whom he built a splendid temple. The Jews were permitted to have their own synagogues, but the tribute of two denarii each for the temple of Jupiter was exacted. Being pressed for funds and finding that the Jews were lax in their payments, he was much more rigorous in his collection of the tribute, especially against proselytes, and prohibited Jewish propaganda for their faith. The result was a Jewish uprising in 85-86 A.D., which was easily crushed. It was probably through this difficulty with the Jews that he came into conflict with the Christians in 95 A.D., since they were thought to follow the Jewish way of life, even though not Jews. But, contrary to Christian tradition, he instituted no general or extensive persecution.¹⁷

4. PROVINCIAL ADMINISTRATION UNDER THE FLAVIANS

Under the Flavians the provinces began a century of undisturbed prosperity. During the civil war they had suffered heavy requisitions from Vitellius and Vespasian, and later, Vespasian, as we have seen, increased the tribute to meet the demands of the Roman treasury. But they had escaped the direct ravages of war, and under the just and efficient administration of the Flavians the added tribute was not an undue burden. Both Vespasian and Domitian gave special attention to the selection of good governors and carefully supervised their administration, punishing peculation. Generous grants of citizenship were made by Vespasian. In his census of 73-74 A.D. he conferred "Latin rights" upon all non-Roman communities of the Spanish peninsula, and each town adopted the Italian type of constitution. Between 74 and 84 A.D. 350 municipal charters were granted. This was a significant step toward the complete Romanization of Spain. It also enabled the emperor to add able Spaniards to the Roman senate and to his imperial administrative force. Vespasian also reorganized the mines of Spain to whose wealth in gold, silver, lead, tin, copper, and quicksilver much of the luxury and prosperity of the Roman Empire was due.

V. THE FRONTIERS: DEFENSE AND MILITARY ADVANCE UNDER THE FLAVIANS

I. ADVANCE BEYOND THE RHINE

After the pacification of the revolt of 69-70 the Flavians followed no merely defensive policy, but aggressively advanced their lines beyond the middle and lower Rhine. Between the Rhine, above its junction with the Main, and the Danube was a sparsely settled triangular territory including what is now the

¹⁷ For further detail, *cf.* Chapter Thirty, Sec. II, 3.

Black Forest, which the Romans later called *Agri Decumani*, or *Decumates*. Vespasian brought the southern section definitely into the Empire, building roads and beginning an extensive line of fortifications on its east frontier, which Domitian completed. Caesar worship was also soon established in the district. The remains of the Roman earth ramparts, ditch, and *castella*, with watchtowers between, can still be traced, and a Roman milestone of 74 A.D., a few miles southeast of Strassburg, testifies to the road-building in this area. Just how far Vespasian pushed the boundaries in the Black Forest region is unknown, but they were distinctly advanced eastward and northward by Domitian. Outposts and fortifications prove that Vespasian also advanced some distance beyond the Rhine, between Mannheim and Strassburg.

Domitian's ambition to prove himself a successful general was satisfied soon after his accession. The Chatti, a wild German tribe north of the Main, had been known to the Romans as fierce fighters since the defeat of Varus. During the civil war of 69 A.D. they had crossed the Rhine and besieged Moguntiacum (Mainz), bearing off much plunder. In 83 A.D. the tribe again went on a rampage, attacking the Roman outposts on the east bank of the Rhine near Mainz. This was Domitian's long-awaited opportunity not only to make a punitive expedition, but to inflict on them a permanent defeat and annex their lands. Advancing to the Rhine, he allied with their tribal enemies and assembled a strong military force of legions from Upper Germany, Britain, and the praetorian cohorts. Little is known of the campaign, which seems not to have been marked by any great battle. But Domitian gradually pushed the Chatti from their lands until they were scattered in the forests of central Germany. He then annexed the whole region north of the Main, extending new forts for 120 miles to the east, which he joined by roads to his military station at Mainz. On his return to Rome in the autumn of 84 A.D., Domitian staged a great triumph, with lavish expenditure for shows, games, and largesses, for he had been hailed as *imperator* five times during his campaign. He assumed the title "Germanicus" and struck new coins with the inscription *Germania capta*.

Until the archaeological discoveries of recent years in the region,¹⁸ practically nothing of this important campaign of Domitian was known, except through some fragmentary references in the military work, *Strategemata*, of Julius Frontinus. He was probably a general in the campaign and expresses genuine appreciation of Domitian's military ability. The literary sources almost entirely ignore it and scoffingly claim that he "bought the German captives" to grace his triumph. There were good reasons for their silence. Writing during the reign of the great general, Trajan, they were unlikely to stress the military exploits of the Flavians, least of all of the hated Domitian, especially as no great senatorial general led in the campaign. But the truth has been

¹⁸ There are remains of earth ramparts, stone forts, trenches, walls, stumps of wooden palisades, pottery, utensils, and coins. Parts of the fortifications are unquestionably Domitian's. Cf. B. W. Henderson, *op. cit.*, pp. 143-150, on the many tombstones from the cemeteries of the German Raetian frontier and their data on Roman, Celtic, and Oriental cults.

finally dug up in Germany by the archaeologists during the past few decades, and it is all to the credit of Domitian.¹⁹

Domitian followed his annexation of the district north of the Main by active reorganization of the frontier, gradually extending his line of fortifications to the east and south. By the close of his principate the Roman *limes*, or frontier road, extended eastward from near Bonn on the Rhine, including the Taunus district, and south through the valley of the Neckar to below Lorsch. This connected with another *limes* extending along the Danube to Raetia. These frontier roads were well garrisoned, with watchtowers connected by crossroads with the advance posts of the auxiliary troops. Thus the conquests of Domitian were joined with the Agri Decumates of Vespasian to the south. The eastward advance from the Rhine begun by Vespasian, and later to be completed by Antoninus Pius, owed far more than is usually realized to the energy and ability of Domitian. As a result, Rome had little difficulty on this frontier for nearly a century, and only four legions were sufficient for its defense.

Domitian was forced to make another campaign in 88-89 A.D. when the Chatti and other tribes joined his rebellious general, Antonius Saturninus, who had proclaimed himself emperor. He started at once for the Rhine, ordering the Danube legions and a legion from Spain under Trajan to hasten to his aid. But neither he nor Trajan arrived in time to win the honors of victory, since the breakup of the ice on the Rhine prevented the passage of the barbarians. Antonius was defeated and fell in battle. Domitian ordered one of the rebel legions to Pannonia and prohibited double camps in the future. Upper and Lower Germany were now made provinces, each with its separate administration. The trouble with the Chatti was ended, and henceforth peace reigned on the Rhine.

2. AGRICOLA AND THE ADVANCE IN BRITAIN

As on the Rhine, so in Britain, the Flavians were not satisfied merely to hold the old frontiers. But the military activity there under Vespasian was probably due to his desire to occupy the troops after the civil war and to secure more tenable boundaries, rather than to a policy of imperial expansion.²⁰ His first governor, Petilius Cerialis (71-74 A.D.), pushed the east boundary northward beyond the Humber, possibly founding York and building a line of fortifications between it and Chester. His successor, Sextus Julius Frontinus (74-76 A.D.), famous also for his works on military tactics and aqueducts, reduced the south hill country of Wales. The third general of Vespasian in Britain, Cn. Julius Agricola, continued his service under Domitian until 84 A.D. He is fortunate in having Tacitus as his biographer, whose account is a literary masterpiece, though his intense prejudice against Domitian, undue eulogy

¹⁹ For a map showing the advances of Vespasian and Domitian, cf. map (B) opposite p. 334. For the slight literary evidence and the best and more recent modern accounts of the campaigns, cf. B. W. Henderson, *op. cit.*, p. 104, note.

²⁰ Some historians, however, believe that his sending in succession his three best generals to Britain is strong evidence of a definite policy of conquest.

of Agricola, and lack of exact knowledge detract much from the work as a historical narrative.

Agricola had extensive previous military experience in both Gaul and Britain, and his unusually long period of service as governor (c. 77-84) is evidence of the confidence of both emperors in him. He first reduced northern Wales and followed his conquest by subduing the island Mona (Anglesey). The next year he advanced northward in western Britain, later crossing over to the east and reaching the Forth Estuary at least by 80 A.D. There he established a line of well-provisioned forts at strategic points to hold his conquests. Remains of several of these forts still survive and have been carefully studied.²¹ The following season of 81 he advanced into southwestern Scotland (Caledonia), and he is also said to have planned an invasion of Hibernia (Ireland) from this west coast, but Domitian refused the requested reinforcements. Agricola wrongly supposed that the island lay between Britain and Spain, so as to make a natural connection between the two provinces.

In his last two campaigns (82-83), which Tacitus especially emphasizes, he refused to recognize the Forth and Clyde as a natural frontier and now used a Roman fleet to co-operate with the army. After securing the Isthmus by a line of forts, he advanced into the northern Scottish highlands, decisively defeating the allied chiefs. Meanwhile, his fleet sailed to the north point of Scotland and is believed to have circumnavigated the island. Doubtless he planned to advance still farther northward the next season and eventually to complete his conquest, but to his great disappointment, he was recalled by Domitian to Rome. Probably no later Roman ever advanced so far north in Britain. Domitian granted him the usual triumphal ornaments and a laureate statue, but these failed to compensate for his disappointment. He later refused a proconsulship to Asia or Africa and spent his few remaining years in retirement.²²

The disgust of Tacitus at the recall of Agricola and his imputation of jealousy to Domitian are without foundation. The wisdom of the decision can hardly be questioned. The chief reason for his abandonment of the offensive in Scotland was the pressing need of his legions elsewhere, especially on the Danube against the Dacians. Furthermore, the wild Scottish highlands offered little in resources to repay the great cost of conquest. The pressure on the Roman treasury was too great, and the practical aim of securing a safe frontier by conquest of Wales and the north highlands had been already more than attained.

Domitian kept three legions in Britain to guard the plains and auxiliary cohorts to hold the north frontier. Agricola's latest conquests in northern Caledonia were soon abandoned. But the extent to which the advance posts, established by him on the line of the Clyde and Forth and beyond, were held is a matter of dispute. The most recent excavations, however, seem to show

²¹ For example, the fort at Trimontium (Newstead) on the Tweed, fully described in Curle's *A Roman Frontier*.

²² As a supplement to the *Agricola* of Tacitus, cf. Haverfield's interesting account of the *Roman Occupation of Britain*, Chaps. IV and V, and his *Remains of Roman Britain*, 4th ed., for the effects of the conquest.

that they still formed the Roman frontier until the death of Trajan. Agricola was not the genius and brilliant general portrayed by Tacitus. But he was certainly a tactician and strategist of real ability and an exceptionally capable engineer. His tactful and just administration as governor also won the support of the natives. As a result of his work, England was pacified for a generation after his recall, and his régime did much to encourage Romanization, stimulate economic development, and bring the island out of its isolation into the stream of European culture.

3. THE DANUBE FRONTIER AND THE DACIAN WAR

The Danube frontier was not seriously affected by the civil war, but grave danger already threatened in Vespasian's reign due to the increasing restlessness of the peoples to the north, especially on the lower Danube. The most troublesome were the Quadi, a German tribe, the Sarmatian nomads, far north of the lower Danube, and especially the Dacians, a partly civilized people who were now organized as a single nation under the powerful king, Decebalus. He trained his army in Roman methods for a war of conquest. Under Nero, many Dacians had been settled south of the Danube, and in 69 A.D. both they and the Sarmatians made raids into Moesia, which were readily repulsed. As a result, Vespasian strengthened the legions on the lower Danube, rebuilt the fort at Carnuntum, and established another garrison near it at Vindobona (Vienna).

Soon after the accession of Domitian the raids of the Dacians became more alarming. In 85 A.D. they penetrated far into Moesia, killing the governor and his garrison. With this began spasmodic conflicts for several years. The danger brought the emperor three times to the frontier, but he left the fighting largely to his generals. In 87 A.D. a Roman army that penetrated too far into Dacia was annihilated. But two years later the Romans inflicted such a defeat on Decebalus that he sued for peace. He agreed to surrender all prisoners and permit the Romans to pass through his kingdom, but Domitian recognized Decebalus as king of Dacia and agreed to lend him some Roman engineers and to pay him an annual subsidy in money. It is difficult to interpret this as anything but a rather ignominious peace for Rome. Probably Domitian consented to it because of a recent defeat by German tribes. The poets sang of his victory, and he held a triumph, but he did not add "Dacicus" to his name. In the year 92 the Marcomanni and Quadi attacked Pannonia and destroyed a Roman legion. Domitian spent eight months on the frontier and succeeded in driving them from the province, but he made no attempt to subdue them, since the cost in men and legions was prohibitive.

In his *Agricola* Tacitus naturally gives little space to the wars on the Danube, but satisfies himself with the following gloomy and unfair summary: "Numerous armies in Moesia, Dacia, Germany, and Pannonia lost by the rashness or supineness of their generals; numerous officers with numerous battalions stormed and captured; anxiety hinged already not on the river's bank which was the Empire's frontier, but on the possession of the legions' winter quar-

ters.”²³ It must be admitted, however, that these years brought serious losses and no great glory to Domitian, who effected no settlement, but left the evil heritage to his successor, Trajan. But though Domitian did not disarm Decebalus, he fortified the lower Danube frontier and concentrated nine or ten legions there, establishing new camps at Aquincum (Budapest) and at three other points. Moesia was divided into two provinces, Upper and Lower, each under consular governors. Whatever may be thought of Domitian’s handling of the Dacian menace, as a result of his work peace continued on the Danube for a decade after his death.

4. THE EASTERN FRONTIER

On the Euphrates frontier the friendly understanding established by Nero with Parthia and Armenia continued, except for a brief Parthian invasion of Syria in 76 A.D., which was easily repelled. This was followed by a generation of peace. In the interest of efficiency and defense, Vespasian consolidated the Roman rule in Asia Minor. The two Cilicias were made a single province, as were also Lycia and Pamphylia. Commagene and Lesser Armenia were transferred from client kings and placed under Syria, so as to bring all the middle Euphrates under direct Roman control. New legionary garrisons were established, and roads connected these with Syria and the Pontus.

VI. A GREAT DISASTER: THE DESTRUCTION OF POMPEII AND HERCULANEUM

During the reign of Titus in 79 A.D. a great calamity befell the prosperous district of Campania. Vesuvius, which had been largely inactive since earliest times, suddenly, amid violent rumblings and earthquakes, began a fierce eruption, which buried Pompeii and Stabiae under a rain of volcanic ashes and pumice stones to a depth of about sixteen feet. Herculaneum was overwhelmed under sixty feet of mud that rolled down from the south slope.²⁴ In this crisis, Titus, who had spent chiefly for pleasure, proved himself willing to spend lavishly for relief as well. He appointed a commission of distinguished men for restoration, placing extensive funds at their disposal. Pliny the Younger, an eyewitness of the disaster from Misenum, has left us a remarkably vivid picture in two letters written to the contemporary historian, Tacitus, who had requested information about his uncle, Pliny the naturalist, a victim of the disaster. The elder Pliny was commander of the Roman fleet at Misenum and, through his interest in salvage operations and his scientific curiosity, remained too long in the danger zone. To paraphrase and quote his nephew: ²⁵ “Hastening to the place from whence others were flying, he steered his direct course to the point of danger, and with such freedom from fear, as to be able to make and dictate his observations upon the successive motions and figures

²³ 41, *Loeb Classical Library* translation (M. Hutton), by permission of Harvard University Press.

²⁴ In 63 A.D. both cities had been badly damaged by an earthquake which also rocked Naples.

²⁵ *Letters*, VI, 16, 20, *Loeb Classical Library* translation (W. Melmoth), by permission of the Harvard University Press.

of that terrific object. . . . And now cinders which grew thicker and hotter the nearer he approached, fell into the ships, then pumice stones too, with stones blackened, scorched, and cracked by fire, then the sea ebbed suddenly from under them, while the shore was blocked up by land-slips from the mountains." Far from retreating, he determined to steer with the wind for Stabiae to bring aid to many in the "villas that line that beautiful coast," intending to flee as soon as the contrary wind should cease. Here he soothed the fear of his friends, and while "Vesuvius was blazing in several places with spreading and towering flames whose refulgent brightness the darkness of the night set in high relief," the scientist, with amazing calmness, supped cheerfully, and retired for the night. "The court which led to his apartment now lay so deep under a mixture of pumice stones and ashes that if he had continued longer in his bedroom egress would have been impossible." At dawn, tying pillows on their heads to protect themselves from the falling pumice stones, the party fled from the house, which now "tottered under repeated and violent concussions, and seemed to rock to and fro as if torn from its foundations." Though it was now day, "deeper darkness prevailed than in the most obscure night." With torches they sought the shore, hoping to embark, but were prevented by the boisterous waves. "Flames and the strong smell of sulphur dispersed the rest of the company in flight," but Pliny fell there a victim of the gaseous fumes.

Meanwhile, as Pliny the Younger says in his second letter (20), he spent the day in study at Misenum, and after a restless night due to earthquakes "so violent that one might think that the world was not being merely shaken, but turned topsy turvy," he continued his study of Livy.²⁶ Finally, at the urgent appeal of a friend, he and his mother decided to forsake the town. Multitudes of common people were already crowding the roads. While "buildings were tottering, the coaches, . . . though on level ground, were sliding to and fro, the sea was sucked back, and as it were, repulsed by the convulsive motion of the earth." A black and dreadful cloud alternately bursting out in flames lowered over the earth and sea, blotting out the landscape, and pitchy darkness reigned. "You could hear the shrieks of women, the crying of children, and the shouts of men; some were seeking their children, others their parents, others their wives or husbands, and only distinguishing them by their voices; one lamenting his own fate, another that of his family; some praying to die, from the very fear of dying; many lifting their hands to the gods; but the greater part imagining that there were no gods left anywhere, and that the last and eternal night was come upon the world." "We were obliged every now and then to rise and shake off the shower of ashes, otherwise, we should have been buried and even crushed under their weight." At last the dread darkness gradually passed away, and day appeared. "We returned to Misenum," but passed another anxious night, for the quakes continued. Despite the still threatening dangers, however, "my mother and I . . . had no thoughts of leaving the place till we should receive some tidings of my uncle."

²⁶ Pliny was always something of a prig, but it is difficult to conceive of a live boy under eighteen so occupied under such conditions.

Most of the twenty to thirty thousand inhabitants of Pompeii made their escape, but over 2,000 traces of bodies have been found in the ruins. Many, with much jewelry, money, and other valuables, were found at the port of the city, having delayed their flight too long. Probably most of the victims were not buried alive, but were asphyxiated by carbon monoxide or sulphur dioxide. About three-fifths of the buried city has now been excavated, and the work is still in progress. The ruins are of especial interest, since unlike those of most excavated ancient sites, as Ostia, they reveal the whole civilization, so to speak, caught in the life. A vivid example is a theatre ticket on which is marked the seating and the title of a comedy of Plautus which was probably to be given that evening. In the more recent excavations great care is taken to leave everything in its place as found, but the earlier discoveries were placed in the National Museum at Naples. There and at Pompeii itself one may see vividly represented almost every phase of life and human interest of a second-class Greco-Italian city of the first century A.D.—paved streets with raised sidewalks and ruts worn deep by the wheels, houses with fine gardens, shops, bakeries, temples, theatre, circus, forum, public buildings, public and private baths, wine shops, plumbing for water and sewage, heating apparatus, cooking utensils, tools, surgical instruments, furniture, charred foods, jewelry, toilet articles, mural paintings portraying dress, mythological story, the Greek mysteries, and all phases of industry and art of the city, beautiful bronzes, games, banking accounts, the Isis cult, Caesar worship, a gladiatorial school, election notices scrawled on the walls by artisan corporations, indecency, and humor. Unfortunately no manuscripts were found at Pompeii, since they were destroyed by the chemical action of moisture on the volcanic ash.

The sixty feet of mud that buried Herculaneum hardened into solid rock, rendering excavation very difficult. By using machines to break up the crust, however, extensive results have been accomplished, and the work is still in progress. The discoveries are quite similar to those at Pompeii. An exceptional find was the library of an Epicurean philosopher containing 1,756 papyri, though they have not proved to be of any great interest. The beautiful bronzes and other art products from these cities, now in the Naples Museum, represent only a small part of the actual treasures at the time, since many of the choicest objects were borne away by the refugees or salvaged soon after by the owners or by Roman excavators after the event. Yet surely no such treasures of art would be later found in any average city of our country, should it meet such a catastrophe! ²⁷

VII. OPPOSITION TO FLAVIAN ABSOLUTISM

Acclaimed as the restorer of peace and the *restitutor orbis*, Vespasian enjoyed a popularity only second to Augustus. Aside from the abortive attempt of Caecina to rob Titus of the succession in 79, and of L. Antonius Saturninus, commander of the army of the upper Rhine, to make himself emperor in 88,

²⁷ Aside from the Roman architect Vitruvius, Pompeii is our chief source for knowledge of ancient domestic architecture. For further references to Pompeian houses, industry, art, and civilization, cf. Chapters Twenty and Twenty-five.

no military revolt arose during the entire Flavian dynasty, so well had the founder guarded against the return of civil war. Though mildly criticized for his economies and necessary increase of the tax burden, as also for his autocratic tendencies, he retained, by his tact and courtesy, the good will of the senate, which willingly deified him after his death.

The opposition came from another quarter, the Stoic and Cynic philosophers, who represent a form of obstruction especially characteristic of the Flavian era, which had previously been only individual and spasmodic. Though not theoretically partisans of either Republic or monarchy, their academic emphasis upon personal independence made them especially oppose the frank autocracy of the Flavians. Particularly objectionable to them was Vespasian's open treatment of the Principate as the hereditary property of the princeps. They finally made themselves such a nuisance by their obstructive criticism that Vespasian decreed their expulsion from Italy. One senator he put to death, Helvidius Priscus, a pedantic parrotter of his Stoic father-in-law, Thrasea Paetus, one of the victims of Nero.

The attractive personal qualities and lavish expenditures of Titus won him great popularity and an easy deification. But the story might well have been different had he lived. Both Stoic and senatorial opposition reached their climax however against Domitian, a born autocrat in both theory and practice. The hostility grew with his autocracy until his last years were as darkened with plots and suspicions as were those of Tiberius and Nero, and probably no Roman emperor was ever the object of such venomous hatred. The increasingly bitter Stoic opposition caused him twice to renew his father's order of expulsion, but neither Vespasian's nor his decrees seem to have been really successful. A more effective punishment was death. He had the senate condemn two Stoics on the charge of *maiestas* for writing too freely on their martyred heroes, Thrasea and Priscus. Two innocent victims of Domitian's decree of exile whom Rome could ill afford to lose were the Greek thinkers Dio Chrysostom and Epictetus. Apollonius of Tyana, an itinerant philosopher and wonder-worker, was arrested for his criticisms, but was somehow acquitted.²⁸

The Stoic critics were only academic propagandists. The really dangerous opposition to Domitian centered in the senatorial nobility, who bitterly resented his growing absolutism and open contempt for their order. Outwardly obsequious, they secretly championed "liberty" and plotted to end his "tyranny." But their interest was only in preserving the privileges of their own circle, and "liberty" meant to them not a restoration of the Republic, but a less autocratic ruler. Until the conspiracy of Antonius in the year 88, Domitian gave little heed to their hostility, but from this time on he grew more suspicious and tyrannical. He brought back the vicious régime of the informers, who had been excluded since the death of Nero, and condemnations for *maiestas* became increasingly common. Senators were again forced to vote death upon their own members on charges of treason, and many prominent senators were executed. Like Tiberius, he therefore gained a reputation for brutal cruelty,

²⁸ Cf. Philostratus, *Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, VIII, 5, an interesting example of a pagan life of a saint. For further detail on Dio and Epictetus cf. below, Chapter Twenty-five, Sec. III, 1.

not entirely deserved. As always happens under such conditions, his executions and the evil atmosphere of suspicion and insecurity aroused by the informers engendered new plots, and these in turn produced more tyrannical measures, until his assassination was the inevitable outcome. His final fall was accomplished, however, not directly by the senatorial nobility, but by his wife, Domitia, who, as once divorced and received back, felt none too secure, especially after the execution of two cousins of Domitian. Her tool was her slave Stephanus, who stabbed the emperor while he was reading a report of a pretended plot.²⁹

The emperor's death was hailed with delight by the nobility. The once servile senate now vented its spleen against the dead lion by "condemning his memory" and ordering his name erased from all the public monuments and records. This was so thoroughly done that inscriptions from his reign are very scanty. He was also refused a decent burial or deification. The writers of the next generation reflect this venomous hate of the senatorial nobility, and determined the future traditional picture of him. But he was loved by his soldiers and was certainly not hated by the Roman populace, to whom he had been most generous. His Italian citizens also had good reason to hold him in high regard, for whose welfare he had been solicitous. He canceled the debts due the treasury of over five years' standing and ended the claim of the state to the unallotted plots of land, now fallen into private hands, which Vespasian had ordered returned to the public domain. He also repaired their roads, built a new splendid highway from Sinuessa to Cumae, and attempted to relieve the crisis of overproduction in Italian wine. His provincial subjects also had reason for appreciation of so just and capable an administrator. The increased taxes to meet the expenses of his elaborate public works and festivals, his raise in pay of the legionaries, and his campaigns produced some discontent in the provinces. But he chose good and efficient governors, and even Suetonius admits that he gave them such careful supervision that they never were more loyal or more just than during his reign. He continued largely the wise imperial policies of his father, through which, at the close of his reign, the Roman world was peaceful, contented, and prosperous.

²⁹ The Praetorian Guard had been loyal to Domitian, though one of its commanders was connected with the conspiracy. It is also probable that some of the senators were privy to it.

Chapter Twenty-two

ENLIGHTENED DESPOTISM FROM NERVA TO MARCUS AURELIUS (96-180 A.D.)

I. THE IMPERIAL SUCCESSION¹

On the death of Domitian a crisis was averted through the action of the senate. The praetorians had been loyal to Domitian and resented his murder, but two of their leaders had been party to the plot and checked their action. The senate now took the Principate for granted and had no thought of a return to the Republic, since most of the old Roman nobility had died out. It chose a veteran colleague, M. Cocceius Nerva (96-98 A.D.), but his advanced age and lack of military prestige aroused the opposition of the disgruntled guards who demanded the punishment of Domitian's assassins. A repetition of the Galba tragedy seemed about to be enacted, but Nerva was no Galba. He shrewdly won the support of Rome's outstanding general, M. Ulpius Trajanus, the legate of Upper Germany, by publicly adopting him and making him coregent in the rule. By this coup he not only averted a crisis, but set a precedent for the regulation of the succession for a century to come.

Fortunately, the next three emperors were either childless or outlived their sons, and they therefore continued Nerva's method of adopting a man of tried ability and establishing him as coregent in the rule. Hadrian even sought to insure the succession a generation ahead by requiring his adopted son, Antoninus, to adopt Marcus Aurelius as his heir. Succession by heredity had resulted in the tragedy of the Caesars and the tyranny of Domitian, but the alternative of succession by act of the senate, praetorians, or legions meant civil war. The happy compromise insured a worthy successor and continuity in the Principate. It was the chief factor in the internal peace and prosperity of the second century, under the benevolent and efficient rule of the "five good emperors." The method was by no means new, however, for Augustus, Tiberius, Vespasian, and Titus had used it in combination with the principle

¹ The surviving literary sources are distinctly inferior to those for the two preceding centuries both in quantity and quality. Contemporary writings are Pliny's *Panegyric of Trajan* (100 A.D.) and his *Letters*; the *Speeches* of Dio of Prusa (Chrysostom) (100 A.D.) and Aelius Aristides of Smyrna (160 A.D.); the *Travels* of Pausanias; the *Letters* of M. Cornelius Fronto, tutor of Marcus Aurelius; Plutarch's *Moralia*; the *Satires* of Juvenal and the Greek Lucian; and the *Meditations* of Marcus Aurelius. The relevant books of Cassius Dio (LXVIII-LXXIII), the one historian of importance and a near contemporary, furnish much valuable data, but have survived only in epitome. The *Augustan History* (*Scriptores Historiae Augustae*) is a collection of brief biographies from Hadrian to Carinus in imitation of Suetonius, professedly by six different authors of the late third and early fourth centuries, but probably dates a century later. While using good sources, the biographies include deliberate fabrications and are marred by an overemphasis on personal details. Little of value is added by the late fourth-century epitomes of Aurelius Victor and Eutropius. The meager literary tradition is well supplemented by inscriptions, coins, and imperial edicts.

of heredity. Hadrian's plan also found its precedent in Augustus, and even the idea of a double Principate of two Augusti, which was actually realized for a time in the reign of Marcus Aurelius and his adoptive brother, Verus, and again at the close of the third century, found some precedent from the beginning of the Empire.²

II. PERSONALITY AND CHARACTER OF THE EMPERORS

Nerva (96-98) came of an undistinguished family, but he had risen to prominence under Nero and had considerable ability as a jurist and experience in administrative detail. He showed some wisdom and courage in the critical situation and a humanitarian interest in the welfare of Italy. He released all who were on trial for *maiestas*, restored the exiles, and punished informers, but he weakly let the senatorial vengeance against Domitian and his friends get out of hand before curbing it. Especially did his age, ill health, and lack of military prestige unfit him for such a tremendous task. His best act was to meet the crisis against the praetorians by the choice of Trajan as his heir.

Trajan (98-117)³ was supremely fitted both to win the approval of the senate and to command the respect of praetorians and legions. Though of Spanish origin, from the Roman colony of Italica, he was in all essentials a true Roman. Of striking soldierly presence and well endowed though not highly educated, wise, tolerant, courteous, practical, experienced in the field and in civil administration, a great general and the idol of his soldiers, whom he knew even to their nicknames, he is almost the only Roman emperor who has won the practically unanimous approval of ancient writers, including Tacitus. Even the senate gratefully honored him with the title *Optimus Princeps*. Moderns as well as ancients have exhausted language in his praise, perhaps to the point of exaggeration, as in Pliny's fulsome though honest *Panegyric* delivered before the senate in 100 A.D. One of his wisest acts was the choice of P. Aelius Hadrianus as his successor, for the Roman world then needed a great administrator rather than a great general, and this Hadrian was.

Hadrian⁴ (117-138), like Trajan, was of Spanish birth, but his family traced its origin and name to Hadria in western Italy. He was a handsome, stalwart figure with penetrating eyes and was the first emperor to set the fashion of wearing a beard. In spirit he was simple, democratic, and humanitarian. Though both a highly cultured lover of Hellenism and devoted to the interests of the Empire, he was neither Greek nor Roman primarily, but a cosmopolitan citizen of the world, by far the most traveled of emperors. Of nervous, energetic nature, he lacked the courteous tact of Trajan, yet his masterly personality and remarkably versatile and powerful intellect commanded the respect of both army and senate. Though a profound lover of peace, he emphasized as

² Cf. the interesting data presented by E. Kornemann and G. Ostrogorsky in their *Doppelprinzipat und Reichsteilung im Imperium Romanum*, Leipzig, 1936.

³ For the busts of Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus, and Marcus Aurelius, cf. Hekler, *op. cit.*, Pls. 232, 247, 248, 264a and b, 265-267; also below, Pl. XVII.

⁴ In addition to the sources mentioned above, there are extant also fourteen genuine letters of Hadrian, rescripts, legal enactments, and some remains of speeches. The period is especially rich in inscriptions.

few emperors a thorough military preparedness for any emergency. He was hard as steel, as truly at home in the camp as in the court, a thorough disciplinarian, who often lived with his soldiers and asked them to endure nothing in which he was not able and willing to take the lead. His ripe experience of seventeen years in the service of the state before his accession, his remarkable grasp of vast world problems, and his genius for practical detail made him the greatest of all Roman emperors in imperial administration and the founder of the so-called "golden age of the Antonines." The famous words of Gibbon, if true, are especially applicable to Hadrian's and the succeeding reign: "If a man were called to fix the period in the history of the world during which the condition of the human race was most happy and prosperous, he would without hesitation name that which elapsed from the death of Domitian to the accession of Commodus."⁵

T. Aurelius Antoninus (138-161) was given the name "Pius" by the senate for his mildness. Like his two predecessors, he was of provincial origin in Narbonese Gaul, but was a native of Lanuvium in Italy. Though already fifty-two at his accession, he reigned longer than either Trajan or Hadrian. He had held responsible administrative positions, having been one of the four consular judges of Hadrian in Italy, but he lacked military experience and an understanding of the needs and problems of the north and east frontiers. The noble characterization of him by his adopted son and successor, Marcus Aurelius, is one which any father might covet from his son.⁶ According to him, he was mild in temper, unmoved by either flattery or censure, free from personal ambition, without malice, harshness, or violence. He was self-controlled and simple in life, but no ascetic, serenely pious, yet without superstition. As an emperor he was a persistent worker, always thorough and deliberate before decision, but resolute in action, determined to do full justice to all, foresighted, and open to wise counsel for the commonweal. The *Augustan History* stresses in addition his handsome and aristocratic appearance, eloquence, scholarship, and brilliant talent, the latter probably with exaggeration. Antoninus' choice of such a noble soul as Marcus Aurelius for his heir is a good index to his own character. Intellectually, however, he was not one of Rome's greatest emperors, and his successor had to pay dearly in twenty years of warfare for his failure to continue Hadrian's policy of thorough military preparedness on the frontiers.⁷

In Marcus Aurelius⁸ (161-180), the fulfillment of Plato's dream of a philosopher-king, there was a complete reversal of the Stoics' position in the Empire, from bitter hostility under the Flavians to command of the throne itself. Though of Spanish descent, Marcus was born in Rome and had spent his life

⁵ Ed. Bury, Vol. I, p. 78, by permission of the Macmillan Co.

⁶ *Meditations*, I, 16; VI, 30. Another valuable contemporary source for the Antonines, noted above, is the Letters of *Fronto*, the tutor of M. Aurelius.

⁷ The artist of the bust in the National Museum at Rome has succeeded in portraying in the face the inner character of the man. Cf. Hekler, *op. cit.*, Pl. 264a.

⁸ His family name was M. Annius Verus, but on his adoption he took the name of his adoptive father, Aurelius, and gave his adoptive brother his own name, Verus. For coins of M. Aurelius, cf. Mattingly and Sydenham, *Roman Imperial Coinage*, Vol. III, pp. 194-335; also *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. V of Plates, Pl. 130.

under the influence of Hadrian and his friends. Adopted by Antoninus as Caesar with Lucius Aelius, ten years his junior, he had been twice consul and was made full consort at the age of twenty-six. For years he had been the most intimate associate and aid of Antoninus, whose pupil he was later proud to call himself. At the death of the emperor, being already endowed with full imperial powers, he needed only the senate's formal recognition as princeps. He insisted that his adoptive brother be granted equal powers with himself, so that for nearly eight years, until the latter's death, Rome had two Augusti. The coins show the two with clasped hands and bear the inscription *Concordia Augustorum*. Marcus was practically sole emperor, however, due to the weakness of Verus.

According to his inspired biographer, his one fault in childhood was overstudy, and he is said to have adopted the dress of a philosopher at twelve. He was broadly educated by more than a score of the best teachers of his day, most of whom he mentions with appreciation in his *Meditations*. Though without great insight or depth of philosophic thought, his love of knowledge and truth is reflected in Hadrian's pet name for him, *Verissimus*, a pun on his earlier name Verus (true). His inmost character is best reflected in his *Meditations*, no usual abstract Stoic moralizing, but a living creed. A simple, devout, self-effacing humanitarian, pre-eminent among the emperors for purity of life, his supreme desire was to do good and live quietly in harmony with the Divine Reason. To him Marcus Brutus must yield the palm as by far "the noblest Roman of them all." By nature a gentle, retiring soul, whose supreme ideal was a quiet life, a hater of aggressive war, which he classed with the work of the spider, hunter, and robber, it was his fate to spend most of his reign in hard frontier fighting in defense of the Empire and to die in camp on the northern border. Besides prolonged war, his Rome suffered the repeated ravages of a terrible plague, and his loyal friendship was basely requited by the treachery of his most capable general. But he had developed his frail physique to be capable of enduring the greatest hardships, and his Stoic faith steeled him with strength and courage to bear successfully the heaviest burdens of imperial administration and defense in one of the gravest crises of the Empire.

III. BENEVOLENT MONARCHY AND THE SENATE

With the accession of Nerva and Trajan began a new era in the history of the Principate. The long conflict of the emperors with the educated classes centering in the senate and the Stoic thinkers was happily ended by a new *entente* of good feeling that lasted for nearly a century. Of course, the old irritations did not entirely cease. There were alleged plots and four resulting condemnations at the beginning, one at the end of Hadrian's reign, and a conspiracy against Marcus Aurelius by his most trusted general, Avidius Cassius. But these found little support and were due to personal ambition rather than to political discontent. Hadrian, being absent from Rome, denied responsibility for the first executions, and the last was probably after a legal

trial for actual treason. But they embittered the senators against him, so that only through the plea of his successor, Antoninus, were they finally persuaded to deify him. The stories of extreme tension between Hadrian and the senate, however, have been much exaggerated.

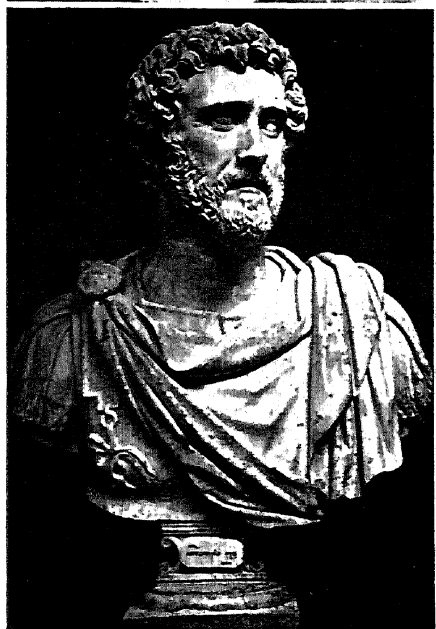
On the whole, the most happy and cordial relations existed between the emperors and the senate throughout the period. The rulers were uniformly courteous, summoned it regularly for counsel, kept it informed of their decisions, and sought its approval or ratification for legislation and treaties. Nerva, Trajan, and Hadrian all took solemn oath not to execute a senator except on the senate's own decision after a free trial. Freedom of speech was permitted, and the emperors avoided the irritation that would arise from arrogating to themselves the externals of royalty, or from unnecessarily assuming the consulship or censorship. Trajan held the consulship only six times and stood out for nearly fifteen years before accepting the title *Optimus Princeps*. Tacitus praised Nerva for "reconciling things long incompatible, supreme power and liberty,"⁹ and his coins bear the conciliatory legend "*Providentia Senatus*." Pliny thanked Trajan publicly for restoring freedom to the state, and the dominant note of his *Panegyric* before the senate about 100 A.D. is the contrast between the despotic spirit of the hated Domitian and the courteous consideration of Trajan. Hadrian was consul only three times, attended the senate regularly when in Rome, upheld its dignity, treated its members with greatest deference, and made the best of them his associates. He often declared he would so administer the affairs of the commonwealth that "it should know that it belonged to the people, rather than to himself."

The *entente cordiale* was a compromise between the educated classes and the emperors, and represented in some respects a victory for both. It postponed for nearly a century the vicious combination of Oriental despotism with military tyranny. By it once more, at least in theory, the "princeps was not above the laws, but the laws above the princeps."¹⁰ The educated classes frankly and finally accepted the fact of one-man rule as necessary for the continuance of the Empire and gave themselves loyally to his service. The princeps, in turn, accepted the Stoic theory of the ruler and undertook to be tactful, respect constitutional forms, and uphold the status of the privileged classes. In appearance it meant a return to the theory of the Augustan Principate by which the princeps ruled, not as an absolute monarch, but as the first citizen, the servant rather than the master of the state.

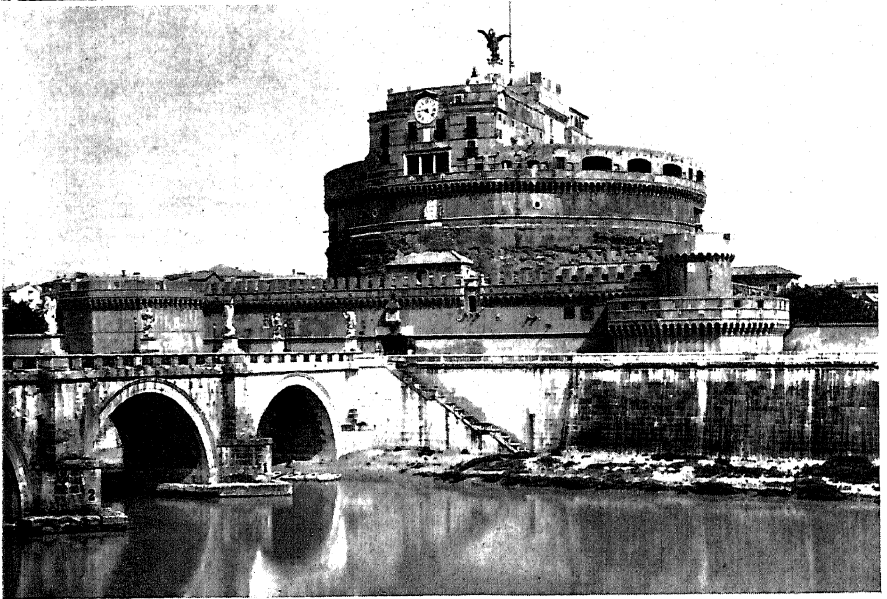
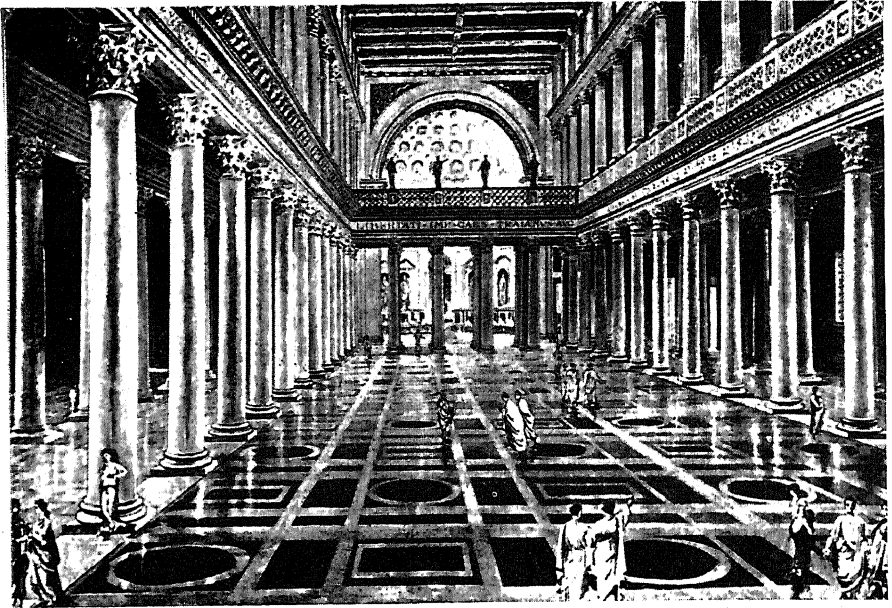
This was as near to constitutional monarchy as the ancient world ever came. But it was not a merely theoretical limitation of monarchy, for the emperors were now beholden to a powerful public opinion centering in the senate, which, as now constituted, represented the cream of the educated classes in the whole Empire. While still retaining little actual power, therefore, the moral position of the senate relative to the princeps was enormously enhanced. This compromise represents essentially the triumph of the Stoic conception of the ruler as the servant of all, ruling under law and by right reason. It was expressed in the speech of Dio Chrysostom *On Kingship* (*Peri Basileías*) de-

⁹ Agricola III, 1, *principatum ac libertatem*.

¹⁰ Pliny, *Panegyric*, 65, 1.



THE "GOOD" EMPERORS. *Upper left:* Bust of Trajan. Vatican, Rome. *Upper right:* Head of Hadrian. Vatican, Rome. *Lower left:* Bust of Antoninus Pius. Terme Museum, Rome. (*Alinari*) *Lower right:* Head of Equestrian Statue of Marcus Aurelius. Piazza of the Capitol, Rome.



Upper: Restoration of the Basilica Ulpia, the chief building in the Forum of Trajan. Early second century A.D. Basilicas were spacious halls where the courts held their sessions, and public business was transacted. The architectural form of the Roman basilica is historically significant, since it was widely adopted by the Christians in their early churches, and was therefore the forerunner of the Medieval Romanesque and Gothic cathedral architecture. See p. 762. *Lower:* Mausoleum of Hadrian in Rome, later known as the Castel Sant' Angelo, where rested the remains of Hadrian and his successors. (Alinari)

livered before Trajan and, later, probably at his suggestion, in many cities of the Empire. It repudiated the doctrine that the Empire was the hereditary property of one family for its sole benefit and accepted theoretically the idea, as expressed by Pliny, that the emperor "should be chosen for all from all."¹¹ But the new Principate with its happy results was not simply due to the mildness and efficiency of the "five good emperors alone." It was also the outgrowth of the age which produced them, and the demands of an educated public opinion for discipline and loyal service of the citizens to the state, whether senators, knights, legionaries, or the emperor himself.

The *entente* meant no decrease in the powers of the princeps, however, but rather an increase, since monarchy was now recognized as necessary. Even Nerva and Antoninus with all their mildness were just as real autocrats as Domitian. Though the emperors restored the senate to its old position as theoretically a partner in the rule, they retained all the powers of the Flavians and expanded them. With the solid support of the educated and prosperous classes throughout the Empire as well as of the army, their power was now on a much stronger foundation. This support they sought to broaden by making the senate more representative of the public opinion of Italy and the provinces, and by encouraging the expansion of city civilization. Previously only Western provincials had been admitted to the senate, but Trajan and Hadrian added Greeks also from Asia Minor and the East. They tacitly assumed the power of *adlectio*, or choice of new senators, without assuming the censorship. Thus, by the close of the century, the senate was quite representative of the Empire as a whole. Though these emperors tactfully avoided the ascription of divinity and all externals of royalty, each was even more truly a *dominus* than was Domitian. Speech was again comparatively free, but the endless discussions of the senate now dealt largely in matters of little consequence.

The framework of the Augustan Principate persisted until the end of the century. The senate still had some discretion in the choice of magistrates, except consuls, and some part in legislation. It was consulted about foreign affairs by Trajan on Dacia, by Hadrian on Parthia, and by Marcus Aurelius on the Danube and Eastern problems. It still held jurisdiction over the senatorial provinces and their treasury, though the encroachment of the emperor on both had advanced far. It also retained considerable importance as a court of justice. But its actual political importance was very limited and rapidly decreasing; chosen imperial counselors increasingly usurped its place as a source of information or advice for the emperor.

A striking characteristic of the second-century constitutional development is the rapid growth and more thorough organization of the imperial civil service. This was not due primarily to the desire of the emperors for autocratic power, but to the unfitness of the senate, the vexing problems of the municipalities, the emphasis upon efficiency in government, and the growing complexity of imperial administration. It resulted in a growing interference in the local affairs of municipalities, a vast broadening of the effective power

¹¹ *Panegyric* 7, 6, *eligi omnibus ex omnibus*.

of the emperor acting through imperial executives independent of the senate even in senatorial provinces, and hence the marked decline of the importance of the senate as a body in imperial administration. Trajan established imperial control over the local administration of Italian towns and over free cities in senatorial as well as in imperial provinces, all of which had previously been exempt from such interference. In Trajan's first years Pliny, as his representative, tried several flagrant cases of misgovernment in senatorial provinces that arose from the laxity of Nerva. Trajan also appointed, where needed, imperial executives, curators, or *correctores*, in Italy and the provinces.

A characteristic example of imperial interference in a senatorial province through a special executive is Pliny's appointment by Trajan as *legatus Augusti pro praetore* to rehabilitate the affairs of Bithynia. His lack of previous experience in provincial government and his native fear of accepting responsibility caused him to refer to the emperor for instruction on every question. The concise, practical answers of Trajan in Book X of Pliny's *Letters* reveal a remarkably patient attention to detail and a readiness to treat each case separately, following local usage, rather than to apply a blanket rule to all. The problems of the municipalities were varied, including public works, finance, the requirements for the local magistrates, or *decuriones*, citizenship, defense, military and civil discipline, fire protection, the corporations, and religion.¹² Trajan's answers were absolute and without any reference to the senate. Bithynia, however, presented hardly a typical case, since Trajan still usually left much responsibility to the governors themselves. But its plight is a striking evidence, among many, of the relative inefficiency of senatorial government, as also of the declining initiative of the municipalities of the Empire and the resulting encroachment of the emperor on local autonomy.

It is Hadrian far more than Trajan, however, who marks a new stage in the development of the Principate. His reign is epochal for the systematic organization of an imperial civil service in which all officials were brought under direct imperial control, for the encroachment of the princeps on the functions of the senate, and for making less distinct the line between Italy and the provinces. As a master of administrative routine with a passion for efficiency, he was especially responsible for these changes. Others had promoted such tendencies incidentally, but he proceeded systematically and as a set policy by the creation of the requisite administrative machinery. It has been well said of him that he "had a mania for regulating everything."¹³ Equestrians had previously been used more or less in the imperial service by the side of freedmen. But Hadrian made the substitution a permanent policy for all the more important posts, though places of highest responsibility were still reserved for senators. Hadrian developed a rigid order of promotion or hierarchy of service, which is reflected in the amusing assumption of honorary titles by equestrian officials, indicative of their rank.¹⁴ He also distinguished between civil and military careers in the equestrian service, establishing a fixed order of advance for each.

¹² For the correspondence on Christianity and Trajan's policy, cf. Chapter Thirty, Sec. II.

¹³ V. Duruy, Vol. IV, p. 384, "*Hadrian avait la manie tout reglermenter.*"

¹⁴ In order, from the lowest, these were *virii egregii*, *virii perfectissimi*, and *virii eminentissimi*.

The vast increase in imperial business now required the division of the secretariate for imperial correspondence into two departments, Latin and Greek. Hadrian also reorganized the imperial post for greater efficiency. Trajan had improved it, but his successor made it a fiscal institution, thereby partially relieving the local communities of the burden. He established a *praefectus vehiculorum*, or general supervisor of the post service throughout the Empire. A less happy provision, suggestive of an imperial spy system, was his commissioning of soldiers to keep a watchful eye on the civil staff in the provinces.

All this made for greater administrative efficiency and was probably necessary, owing to the decline of local initiative and the unfitness of the senate to handle the increasingly complex problems of such a far-flung Empire. If so, Trajan and especially Hadrian met the problem well and showed statesman-like care and insight in their appointments. But the change involved the development of a giant bureaucracy, paternalism in government, and a long step in the evolution of the Principate to a frank autocracy. The far-reaching meaning of all this will be better appreciated in the light of the developments of the next two centuries.

One of the most significant innovations of Hadrian was his division of Italy into four districts and the appointment of a consular judge (later called *juridicus*) over each. Trajan had appointed *curatores*, who had some control in municipal administration, but the *juridici* took over judicial functions that were not being efficiently managed by the local magistrates. They also relieved the praetors of some cases and probably heard appeals from the municipal courts. Antoninus suspended them, but they were restored by Marcus Aurelius as praetorian rather than consular officials. Hadrian's act was another step toward bringing Italy directly under imperial control, thereby leveling it toward the status of the provinces. It also took from the senate one of its special functions, the administration of Italy. All this, however, was probably not the conscious aim of Hadrian, who sought primarily cheaper and swifter justice. He seems to have attempted to introduce a similar institution in the provinces. Under Hadrian also the praetorian prefect became the second man in the state. He began to gain authority in civil and criminal jurisdiction, thereby becoming in the next century the supreme judge of appeal.

Augustus had sometimes summoned an informal *consilium* of his more experienced friends to aid him in judging. Its members were freely chosen by him and had only an advisory capacity. This practice was followed by most of his successors, but Hadrian gave the *consilium* a regular constitutional status. It was now composed of experienced jurists of senatorial and equestrian rank called *consiliarii Augusti*, formally appointed by the princeps at a stated salary. This was another encroachment on senatorial prerogative, since the required approval of the senate for their appointment was largely nominal.

The codification by the eminent jurist, Salvius Julianus, of the vast body of law that had developed through the annual praetor's edicts both at Rome and probably in the provinces, with the provision against its further free development, was also an epochal work of Hadrian. It marks an important

stage in the development of Roman law and the Principate toward autocracy. In 131 A.D. a decree of the senate gave the force of law to the Julian edition of the Edict, so that it became the forerunner of Rome's great *Corpus Juris Civilis*. Henceforth the function of the praetor's edict in the expansion and interpretation of Roman law passed into the hands of the emperor, assisted by his *consilium* of trained jurists, whose unanimous opinion gave the force of law. This gave a great stimulus to the development of legal studies at Rome. The *comitia* had long ceased to have any significance as a legislative body.¹⁵ Though the *senatus consulta* continued, they were largely expressive of the will of the emperor and were increasingly encroached upon by imperial "constitutions," or ordinances. These were either general edicts with or without the consent of the senate, or decisions (rescripts) in answer to questions of imperial officials.

The spirit of the age and the influence of Stoicism are reflected in a more humane attitude in imperial legislation and legal decisions toward children, women, and slaves. This tendency was especially stimulated by the emphasis of Antonines upon equity, through which many new and humane principles were introduced into Roman law. The reign of Antoninus is epochal in jurisprudence and legislation, not for any one great measure like Hadrian's codification of the Edict, but through the influence of the principle of equity. The great activity in legal study in his reign, partly stimulated by Hadrian's imperial *consilium*, laid the basis for the golden age of Roman law in the early third century. Many notable jurists assisted Antoninus, among them Salvius Julianus, the codifier of the Edict, who was raised to consul and urban prefect. A concrete witness to the active interest in jurisprudence at this time is the *Institutes* of Gaius, an elementary text for beginners, probably published in 161 A.D.

IV. IMPERIAL FINANCE

I. EXPENDITURES: SOCIAL RELIEF, PUBLIC WORKS, DEFENSE, AND BUREAUCRACY

The "five good emperors" were notable for the modesty of their courts and the democratic simplicity of their private life. No more were the public revenues prodigally squandered on base favorites or the lusts and whims of the ruler. All except Marcus Aurelius also showed a definite interest in conserving the resources of the state and in a more efficient handling of imperial finance. Nerva appointed an economy commission to reduce unnecessary public expenditure. Trajan cut by half the donative to the praetorians and published a budget with details of state expenses. Hadrian's reign is epochal in financial as in other phases of administration. Due to the heavy financial drain of Trajan's long wars, he began at first a policy of retrenchment, addressing the senate eloquently on the precarious condition of the *aerarium*. He instituted at first a close scrutiny of the public accounts and was called "most diligent in the matter of the treasury."¹⁶ Antoninus was criticized for his "economy,"

¹⁵ It had been galvanized into life to pass an agrarian law by Nerva, but this was its last legislative act.

¹⁶ Eutropius, VIII, 7, 2.

but left a surplus of 675,000,000 denarii at his death, larger than at any time since Tiberius.¹⁷ In public expenditure for what they deemed to be for the welfare of the state, however, they did not hesitate to add new and heavy burdens both to their own imperial *fiscus* and the public treasury. Among the more important of such burdens were new measures for social relief and public education, vast public works and buildings, extraordinary military expenses for aggressive and defensive warfare and frontier fortification, and the growing expense of the rapidly expanding imperial bureaucracy.

Social Relief

The problems of the urban unemployed and the decline of the small farmer had been outstanding in Rome for three centuries. Under the Republic they had been used too commonly by demagogues as a political football to win popular support. Even the best emperors, as Augustus, made little headway in attempts at a solution, and most of them merely continued the hand-to-mouth dole to keep the masses satisfied. None of the second-century emperors attempted to curb these indiscriminate largesses (*congiaria*) to the urban plebs, but even increased them. Nerva made a distribution of 75 denarii a head. Trajan repeated this in 99 and 102 A.D. and, on his return from the Dacian War in 107, gave a lavish grant of at least 500 denarii a head. He also made additional grants of oil and wine and provided for a special gift of free grain for 5,000 needy children. Hadrian and the two Antonines were even more generous. Marcus Aurelius was especially indulgent, giving seven largesses during his reign, totaling 850 denarii a head. He also increased the number eligible for the grain dole. These emperors were especially lavish in games and shows for the entertainment of the masses. On his return from the Dacian War, Trajan began a veritable orgy of spending. His celebration lasted for 123 days, during which 10,000 gladiators fought and 11,000 wild animals were killed. Hadrian also celebrated his birthday with the slaughter of 1,000 animals.

It is in accord with the humanitarian spirit of the age, however, that the second-century emperors showed a genuinely humane interest in the problem of the poor, including the children, and undertook constructive measures for social relief. Nerva established an agrarian commission to purchase public lands for distribution among small holders. He also relieved the Italian municipalities of requisitions for the imperial post service, and this relief was extended by Hadrian to the provinces. He refused to accept inheritances from parents of living children and remitted half or all the amount of confiscated properties to children of the condemned. He also refused to receive from Italy the *aurum coronarium* (compulsory presents on the accession of an emperor) and reduced it for the provinces, in which he was followed by the Antonines. His remission of all arrears of taxes of over five years' standing, amounting to 900,000,000 sesterces in 118 A.D., which was repeated on probably an even larger scale by Marcus Aurelius sixty years later, while a safe social measure, probably meant no great loss to the treasury, since it was hardly

¹⁷ Eutropius, VIII, 8. Cf. also Dio, *Epitome*, LXIX, 5.

collectible. Trajan showed great interest in the welfare of the Italian countryside, encouraging small farmers by loans at low interest, discouraging migration, and requiring senators of provincial origin to invest one-third of their wealth in Italian land. One purpose of the elaborate public works and building of Trajan and Hadrian was also probably to furnish employment.

A striking innovation in social relief and a notably constructive experiment, reflecting the practical humanitarianism of the second-century emperors, was the public "alimentary system," with its emphasis upon child welfare. It is to the credit of Nerva that he was the first emperor to show specific concern for the children of the poor as an important asset of the state. He established permanent state loans for small Italian landowners at the moderate rate of five per cent interest. The borrowers paid their interest into their respective municipal treasuries, from which fund allowances were paid for the support of the needy children in the district. A prototype in the early Empire, but in private form, had been the grant of 400,000 sesterces by T. Helvius Basila to his native town of Ativa, the interest on which was to provide grain for the children of the town and 1,000 sesterces to each on coming of age.¹⁸

It was Nerva, however, who first made such a measure a matter of state policy. The act was statesmanlike in undertaking to meet two pressing needs, the proper maintenance of the children of the poor and the furnishing of needed cheap money to the small Italian farmers. It also enlisted the interest of the municipalities in the solution of their own local problem by localizing the funds. The loans were well secured, since they were probably not allowed to exceed over one-twelfth of the value of the debtor's land. Trajan and the three succeeding emperors much expanded the plan and added to the endowment by encouraging gifts from private philanthropy. Hadrian, with his penchant for system, placed the institution on a permanent footing by establishing a senatorial prefect over it to supervise the distribution and administration of the fund. Local quaestors also are known to have managed the *alimenta* in over forty Italian towns.

The extant records of the *alimenta* from Trajan's day show a marked preference for boys (246 to 35), but the ratio was much more even under the Antonines. A smaller allowance by two sesterces per day was provided for girls (twelve sesterces). Boys received aid up to the age of fifteen or sixteen, and girls to the age of thirteen.¹⁹ Aside from the two surviving inscriptions, traces of the *alimenta* are widespread in Italy. The institution appears also as a subject on coins and reliefs, such as the "Trajan Bestowing the *Alimenta* on Italy" found in the Forum in 1872, and the clear portrayal of the institution on one of the noble reliefs on the Arch of Trajan at Beneventum.²⁰

The alimentary institutions have been called "perhaps the greatest measure

¹⁸ Cf. inscription, Dessau, 977, and M. P. Nilsson, *Imperial Rome* (translated by G. C. Richards), London, 1926, pp. 333 ff.

¹⁹ Two inscriptions of the *alimenta* have been found, one at Veleia in the Po Valley (103 A.D.) and the other near Beneventum (101 A.D.). For a more detailed discussion of these and the whole system, cf. B. W. Henderson, *Five Roman Emperors*, pp. 214 ff., and M. P. Nilsson, *op. cit.*, pp. 333-338.

²⁰ The first is doubtful, since the head of the emperor is lost. For the second, cf. M. I. Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History of Rome*, Pl. XLVIII, 3, and notes.

of social reform known in history, if one takes into account the economic resources of the day and the purchasing power of money."²¹ We know not the total annual cost for Italy, but judging by the amount for one town, Veleia (over 1,000,000 sesterces), the burden on the state treasury must have been very heavy, indicating the pressing nature of the social problem. The extent to which the institution was a mere palliative or a constructive means of checking social decadence is not clear. It is certainly an evidence of a declining birth rate and the growth of poverty in the Italian municipalities, though this may be easily exaggerated. In any event, the experiment was well worth trying and is a credit to the humanitarianism of Nerva and his successors.²² The fund was depleted by the great plague and the practical bankruptcy of the treasury through the defensive wars of Marcus Aurelius. Abolished by his son, the brutal Commodus, it was revived by Septimius Severus (197-211) and extended to the provinces, but the institution finally disappeared amid the rising prices, increasing poverty, and chaos of the third century.

A happy fruit of the state interest in the *alimenta* was the supplementing of state grants by private philanthropy in Italy and the provinces. One of the most interesting examples of such private generosity is a gift of over half a million sesterces by the younger Pliny to his native town of Como for the maintenance of boys and girls. To avoid future depletion of the fund, he sagaciously retained the land in his own name, but imposed a perpetual rent charge of 30,000 sesterces per annum upon it as a grant to Como.²³

In accord with the alimentary institutions, the state also took a more direct interest in public education. The ancient world had been very slow to awaken to this need. Sporadic examples of public education developed in Hellenistic Greece, but the first known instance in Rome was Vespasian's payment of salaries to teachers of rhetoric. Juvenal, however, satirizes bitterly the utter dependence of the secondary teachers on their pupils for their wretched pittance. Hadrian and the Antonines followed the example of Vespasian in subsidizing education. Primary education spread throughout the Empire, and teachers were treated with much more respect. Educational opportunities were extended to the middle classes, but not to the masses, and it was neither free nor compulsory. A noble example of private philanthropy for the education of children is the wise plan of Pliny for a school at Como by which his payments would depend upon the amounts raised for teachers by the community.²⁴

Public Works and Building

The expense for public works and buildings, especially in the reigns of Trajan and Hadrian, must have been an enormous drain on the state treasury. Trajan built a new highway across the Apennines from Beneventum to Brundisium, which the Arch of Beneventum commemorates. He also built the Aqua Traiana, which is still in use as the Acqua Paola, improved the

²¹ M. P. Nilsson, *op. cit.*, p. 336, by permission of the publishers.

²² For Italian agriculture in the second century and the bearing of the *alimenta* upon it, *cf.* Chapter Twenty-three, Sec. II.

²³ *Letters*, VII, 18; *cf.* I, 8. On this and the several other known cases of such private philanthropy, *cf.* B. W. Henderson, *op. cit.*, pp. 222 ff.

²⁴ *Letters*, IV, 13. On public support of education, *cf.* also Chapter Twenty-six, Sec. I.

drainage of the Fucine Lake, and expended large sums on harbors at Ancona, Centum Cellae (Civitavecchia), and especially at Ostia. Hadrian built a new bridge over the Tiber and gave generous subsidies for public works in many provincial cities. A mere listing of some of their chief buildings will suggest the vast expense.²⁵ Trajan's magnificent new Forum with its Hall of Justice, splendid libraries and other buildings involved the additional cost of leveling a hill of perhaps 800,000 cubic meters. To these must be added his Baths, his new theatre, his restored Odeum, his Column with its elaborate reliefs, his enlargement and beautification of the Circus Maximus, and his arches in Rome and Italy, especially at Beneventum.

Concerning Hadrian, Fronto wrote to his pupil, Marcus Aurelius, "You may see memorials of his journeys in most of the cities of Asia and Europe," and his biographer tells us that he erected some building "in almost every city."²⁶ His special love among provincial cities was Athens, where he built a "new city" separated from the old by an arch that still stands. Here, besides completing the great Olympieum, he built many other temples, a gymnasium, and other public buildings. But his most elaborate expenditure for building was in Rome and vicinity. Outstanding among these were his imposing Mausoleum, now known as the Castle of St. Angelo, and his noble Pantheon, both of which, robbed of their splendid marbles, still stand as his monuments. His Temple of Venus and Rome was said to be the largest of Roman temples. Many others of his temples, besides basilicas and baths, once graced Rome. At enormous cost was built his splendid Tibur Villa, seven miles in circumference, with its once innumerable statues and reliefs, and, within the grounds, its theatres, baths, porticoes, and temples, whose grass-grown remains may still be seen near Tivoli. These vast and largely unnecessary expenditures for building were made possible for Trajan by his rich Dacian treasure and the income from the Dacian mines, and for Hadrian through his peace policy and the general prosperity of the Empire during his reign.²⁷

Aggressive Warfare and Defense

The heaviest drain on the Roman treasuries in the second century was for war and defense. Trajan's conquest of Dacia required six years of costly campaigns and the heavy expense of a permanent army of occupation and new frontier fortifications. It was partly compensated for by the Dacian treasure and the income from the Dacian mines, but he was obliged to make heavy requisitions on the provinces. His annexation of Armenia and the Parthian provinces was accomplished at still greater cost through over four years of campaigns, and the new frontier required much larger garrison forces. There was little compensation for the excessive cost, since the conquests were soon abandoned by Hadrian. The later attempt to repeat the work of Trajan in the East by Avidius Cassius, general of Marcus Aurelius, was only temporarily

²⁵ For a description of these, cf. Chapter Twenty-five, Sec. II. On Hadrian's subsidies to provincial cities, cf. Dio, LXIX, 5, 3. Cf. Pls. XVIII and XX.

²⁶ Cf. the citations of B. W. Henderson, *The Life and Principate of Emperor Hadrian*, London, 1916, p. 246, n. 2; *Historia Augusta* (Hadrian), 19, 2.

²⁷ For further detail on building in this period, cf. Chapter Twenty-five, Sec. II.

successful and resulted in bringing west the most devastating plague of Roman history. The Jewish rebellions against Trajan and Hadrian caused further costly campaigns. Hadrian's policy of thorough military preparedness and his elaborate new frontier fortifications, as in Britain, Upper Germany, and Raetia, meant a heavy peacetime drain on the public treasury. Above all, the repeated campaigns of Marcus Aurelius through fourteen years against the Marcomanni and other German invaders across the Danube frontier not only exhausted the great surplus of 2,700,000,000 sesterces left by Antoninus, but reduced the emperor to the necessity of auctioning off the crown jewels and royal furnishings and of depreciating the coinage by twenty-five per cent. Evidently the Roman treasury, while able to strike a fair balance under ordinary conditions, could not face successfully any prolonged crisis.²⁸

The Cost of Paternalism and Bureaucracy

An additional financial burden, especially from the time of Hadrian, was the rapidly growing salaried bureaucracy²⁹ resulting from the centralizing of government and increasing imperial interference in the local affairs of the provinces. Though probably not felt as an impossible burden in the prosperous days of Hadrian, it later became a significant factor in the final breakdown of an impoverished Empire.

2. REVENUES AND A BALANCED BUDGET

The primary source of revenue was still the provincial tribute, both land and poll tax. Other chief sources were the income from state lands and mines in Italy and the provinces, indirect taxes, including imposts on imports and exports, liturgies, and such special dues as the five per cent inheritance tax. The income from confiscations and forced gifts did not bulk large under the "five good emperors." The ordinary revenue was greatly supplemented in Trajan's reign by his Dacian conquest, both from the treasure of Decebalus and the mines, but he had to make special requisitions from the provinces to finance his wars.

Despite the many sources of heavy additional expense, the emperors, until Marcus Aurelius, kept a balanced budget, and with economy and peace Antoninus could leave a handsome surplus of 2,700,000,000 sesterces. This they were able to do, though they wrote off large tax arrears as bad debts. Nerva remitted the Jewish tax to the Jupiter Temple, Hadrian gave immunities to importers of certain essential products to Rome, and all frequently granted exemption from tribute to towns that had suffered calamities. Only through the great plague and the grave crisis of the Marcomannic Wars in the reign of Marcus Aurelius was this happy balance between income and expenditure broken. The secret of the long period of financial solvency in spite of vast expenditure was largely due to the general increase in the revenues from taxation resulting from the internal peace and prosperity of the provinces under efficient and honest administration.

²⁸ For details on the above campaigns, cf. below, Sec. VI.

²⁹ For details, cf. above under Sec. III.

3. CHANGES IN FINANCIAL ADMINISTRATION

The Republican collection of direct taxes, the land and poll tax, by means of tax farmers had been hit hard by Julius Caesar, Augustus, and Tiberius, and had since gradually died out. In their place the local magistrates and senates of the cities undertook the task. In the second century, however, the onus was shifted from the community to a select group of ten leading citizens (*decemprimi*) of each municipality, a change from "collective to individual responsibility" of a few.

The collection of indirect taxes had remained in the hands of the tax farmers, though their activities were carefully supervised by imperial procurators to protect both the treasury and the provincials from injustice. Nevertheless, many of the old evils continued until Hadrian, following the probable lead of Vespasian, abolished the system, substituting for the tax farmers well-to-do men of the community, who were responsible for the full collection of the tax. These *conductores*, or tenants-in-chief on the imperial domains, sublet most of the lands to *coloni*, collecting from them the state rents. In return for their service the *conductores* had the right to have their "home estate" worked by the *coloni*. On each imperial domain, or groups of estates, was a resident imperial procurator who imposed terms and served as judge. Since the remuneration was by no means commensurate with the responsibility, the position was later looked upon as a state burden, or liturgy, to be avoided, making compulsion increasingly necessary. This whole method of shifting the responsibility for collection of both direct and indirect taxes from the community to certain individuals was later to have grave consequences in impoverishing the middle class.³⁰

In this change, as in other phases of financial administration, the reign of Hadrian was epochal, introducing a new efficiency and more direct imperial control. He instituted a careful supervision of public accounts. A financial bureau was more thoroughly organized as a distinct branch of the civil service with a knight at its head. Special curators were also substituted for tax farmers as collectors of the five per cent inheritance tax, and a new official, an *advocatus fisci*, was appointed to plead the cause of the treasury against individual offenders in Italy and the provinces. All these changes entailed the addition of new bureaus, with a bevy of paid clerical assistants, but the returns at first probably more than repaid the cost.

V. PROVINCIAL ADMINISTRATION AND THE MUNICIPALITIES

The era of internal peace and prosperity for the provinces was offset by the rapid growth of centralized control from Rome and a more exacting system of tax collection. The series of trials of governors for malfeasance in office at the opening of Trajan's reign, probably due to the laxity of Nerva, revealed both the inefficiency of senatorial government and the thoroughgoing attitude of the

³⁰ For more detail on the above, cf. the illuminating analysis of M. I. Rostovtzeff, *op. cit.*, pp. 339-342, 594, n. 45.

emperor. His careful supervision, when necessary, is well illustrated by his detailed correspondence with Pliny, his special executive in the senatorial province of Bithynia. In his concise answers to Pliny's questions, he is sensible and businesslike and shows a minute interest in the local conditions and problems, even to an unnecessary fear of the petty artisan corporations. Pliny had his successors in Bithynia, and this province was not the only example of Trajan's intervention. He even interfered through a special commissioner in the financial affairs of the "free" Greek cities of Achaia. His answers to Pliny, however, show some consideration for local tradition and a desire to avoid the impression of dictation.³¹ Trajan's personal interest in the provinces also appears in his extensive public works, for which epigraphic evidence exists from at least a dozen provinces in all sections of the Empire.

It was the cosmopolitan traveler, Hadrian, however, whose interest centered primarily in the provinces, and who had a more firsthand acquaintance with them than any other Roman emperor. He made systematic journeys of inspection, and in his two grand tours of 121-126 and 129-134 he visited all but a few of the remotest corners of the Roman world. He was partial to Greece and the Hellenized East, especially to Athens, where he spent many months. Over half his reign was spent in travel outside of Italy, and through his many buildings and public works, as well as the numerous inscriptions in his honor, he has left memorials of himself in every Roman land. Though pursued partly in the curious spirit of the cultured tourist and to furnish an escape for his restless energy, the main object of his travels was doubtless to acquaint himself firsthand with the actual conditions and problems in each province that demanded his attention. His careful inspection of the frontiers and close contact with the legions throughout the Empire also furthered his policy of military preparedness, both against invaders and internal revolt.³² In his travels from province to province, he punished severely any evidences of malfeasance in office, offered occasional subsidies for local public works, corrected abuses, or granted a temporary remission of taxes to some unfortunate community. As a supplement to his own travels, he required regular detailed reports from Roman officials in the lands visited.

Following the example of Trajan, Hadrian sent out *correctores*, or special administrative experts, to rehabilitate disordered finances of cities or provinces. Four or five such appointments by him are known, chief of which was the wealthy Herodes Atticus to administer the "free" cities of Asia. Hadrian sent to some of the imperial provinces trained jurists to aid the governors in the administration of justice. Even a boundary quarrel between two petty towns of Thessaly received his direct attention. The Antonines followed the same general policy of paternalism, though not with the same energy and ability. Antoninus never left Italy during his entire reign, except for one visit to the East. M. Aurelius, however, was forced repeatedly to inspect the Danubian provinces in defense against the German invaders and made a two-year tour of the

³¹ Pliny's *Letters*, X, would repay reading in full in this connection. Cf. also VIII, 24, and above, Sec. III.

³² For full geographical, chronological, and other details on Hadrian's travels, cf. B. W. Henderson, *Hadrian*, Chaps. v-viii, and Appendix C.

Eastern provinces. Never, on the whole, was the welfare of the provinces a matter of such personal concern as with the emperors of the second century.

Following the liberal example of Claudius and the Flavians, they carried the enfranchisement of the provinces far towards its completion in the early third century. To this policy their cosmopolitan spirit, their interest in Romanization and provincial welfare, and their own provincial origin impelled them. After Trajan, there was little distinction between colonies and municipalities or native cities. Either status was readily granted to any native town that was sufficiently Romanized or Hellenized. Perhaps the grants were first in the form of "Latin" rights, as a step toward full citizenship, and were most numerous in the Danubian and Eastern provinces. Hadrian was especially liberal both in extending and in enlarging the meaning of Latin rights. Whereas formerly only elected magistrates of Latin towns received full citizenship, he conferred it on all of senatorial status. The object, however, was probably to make their office more attractive, now that they were individually responsible for tax collection. A still more important innovation of Hadrian was in granting municipal rights to towns which had grown up at the permanent military camps on the frontiers. Heretofore such grants were not made while the community remained the headquarters of a legion. The more liberal policy was wise in encouraging Romanization and the growth of towns where they were especially needed—on the boundaries of the Empire.

A brief consideration of the provincial municipalities and their relation to the imperial government will illustrate more fully the policies of the second-century emperors.³³ A landed aristocracy largely composed the governing class, and property qualifications were often required for magistrates. But the prosperous bourgeois element found easier access to political recognition than at Rome, and even sons of freedmen might gain entrance to the municipal senates. In the first and early second centuries the popular assembly was still active in election of local magistrates, but the local senate gradually took over this function.

Until the second century the local aristocracies gave a fair account of their stewardship, showing public spirit, a generosity in financial support of community projects, and a readiness to stimulate civic patriotism. The Roman policy had always been to grant the municipalities a large degree of autonomy in local affairs, but from the time of Trajan it was becoming increasingly necessary for imperial officials to intervene in the interest of orderly government and financial stability. Several factors contributed to this condition. The Greek custom of expecting the governing aristocracy to give generously for public purposes, often even imposing a large specific sum as the prerequisite for office, gradually depleted the resources of the best families and turned them from interest in an official career. Thus local government became less efficient, and civic pride declined. Too frequently, also, municipal officials wasted their contributions on doles and shows to win popular favor, or an expensive public work was started without counting the cost and left unfinished.³⁴ Naturally,

³³ For more detail on the municipalities, cf. Chapter Twenty-four, Sec. III.

³⁴ For examples, cf. Pliny, *Letters*, X, 37, 39.

also, undue dependence upon the munificence of the governing families robbed the citizens of responsibility for municipal taxes, making it necessary to meet the ordinary expenses of the state by borrowing. As a result, the cities were chronically in a state of financial embarrassment.

The inevitable result, especially in an age of growing paternalism in government and passion for efficiency, was imperial intervention to bring financial order out of chaos. Pliny's *Letters* to Trajan reveal the growing lack of financial foresight, wise administration, and civic initiative in the municipalities, and the frank disregard of local autonomy by the emperor. Municipal liberties in the old Greek sense meant very little to him or his successors, as we have seen, even in Italy. By the close of the century there are about a score of cases where *curatores* were named to take over the financial management of Italian towns. The deceptive compensation to the cities for this encroachment on their old liberties was temporary financial relief and occasional imperial subsidies. But the intervention, at first gladly accepted, rapidly became the rule, and with the loss of municipal control of finances went the old local independence. The growth of centralized control also meant a more direct and exacting system of tax collection that shifted the burden from the community to a few individuals, as we have seen, later entailing the final ruin of the upper middle class.

VI. ROMAN EXPANSION AND THE FRONTIERS

Aside from later rectifications of boundaries, the last important expansion of the Roman Empire was the work of Trajan, who definitely broke from the Augustan tradition of limitation. At the close of his reign in 117 A.D. five entirely new provinces had been added, raising the total area of the Empire to about 1,700,000,000 square miles, its greatest extent.

I. THE CONQUEST OF DACIA³⁵

The treaty of Domitian with Decebalus of Dacia in the year 92 was at best a necessary compromise and no honor to Roman arms. Decebalus had taken advantage of it to extend his territory³⁶ and strengthen his fortifications by the aid of Domitian's engineers. As an experienced and able general, Trajan realized the essential instability of the peace and was irked at the annual subsidy. He therefore spent his first winter on the Danube, preparing to curb his enemy. The mountains and forests of Dacia made the Roman invasion very difficult, giving the strategic advantage to the Dacians, but before his first campaign he cut a road through the rocky gorge along the south bank of the Danube to the

³⁵ In view of the unfortunate loss of Trajan's *Dacica*, except for five words, the only literary account is Dio, LXVIII, 8-14. Cf. also Pliny, *Letters*, VIII, 4; X, 74. The chief source is the graphic account on the spiral reliefs of Trajan's great Column in Rome with its some 2,500 figures, portraying the significant incidents in the campaigns in approximately chronological order, but the interpretation of the scenes is a subject of interminable controversy. His statue, which once graced the top, is now anomalously replaced by that of St. Peter, the representative of the Prince of Peace. For a detailed interpretation of the Column, cf. B. W. Henderson, *Five Roman Emperors*, pp. 252-285, 296-298.

³⁶ Whether in accord with or contrary to the treaty depends on the application of the words "the evacuation of captured territory." Cf. B. W. Henderson, *op. cit.*, p. 246.

Iron Gates near Orsova. Here he also began building a bridge with twenty great stone piers. The enthusiastic Dio makes the piers 120 feet high and 170 feet apart, connected by arches, an impossible span. Still the bridge was a great accomplishment of Roman engineering. Except for its timber superstructure, it was still intact in Dio's day, and in very low water the foundations of sixteen of its piers are still visible. It forms the subject of one of the scenes on the Column. The first campaign of Trajan in 101 A.D. was only preliminary, but the next year his troops advanced to the Dacian capital and forced Decebalus to surrender. Trajan destroyed some of the Dacian forts and placed Roman garrisons in the rest, disarming Decebalus, but left him as client king in his realm.³⁷ Trajan returned to Rome to celebrate his triumph, taking the title *Dacicus*.

The peace was unsatisfactory to both, however. In 105 A.D. Decebalus destroyed a Roman garrison and made a raid into Moesia. Trajan now undertook a permanent conquest. He had learned in his first campaign that he could not reach his objective with an insufficient force. In the second war, therefore, he assembled an overwhelming army of twelve legions numbering at least 120,000 troops besides auxiliaries. This strong force and the last five scenes on the Column are evidence of the stubborn character of the struggle. But after two hard-fought campaigns the Dacian capital was taken in 107, and the king committed suicide. Dacia was now made a Roman province, though probably it did not include more than a small part of the old realm of Decebalus. To such an extent had the Dacians been exterminated that Trajan resettled the country by forcible colonization from "all over the Empire," especially from the Danube lands, Asia Minor, and Syria. The colonists brought their gods and customs with them, and thus Dacia became the most cosmopolitan of all the Danubian provinces.

The conquest was extremely popular at the time and was glorified by later writers, though some ancients and moderns have doubted its wisdom.³⁸ It meant a much extended and less determinate frontier and a greater burden of defense. Hadrian, therefore, seems to have thought first of evacuating it, but could hardly abandon Trajan's colonists to their fate. On the whole, the conquest was probably an advantage to Rome. Aside from securing the rich treasure of Decebalus and the valuable mines of salt, iron, and gold, annexation meant an almost unbroken peace for sixty years, and the province stood as a great citadel against northern invaders for a century and a half. Many native villages and Roman garrisons became *municipia* and *coloniae*, and Romanization proceeded rapidly. Many evidences of the Roman occupation still persist in the country, especially the great monument to Mars Ultor at Adamklissi in Dobrudja. Its circular core of earth alone still stands, but most of the rude sculptured plaques may be seen in the museum at Bucharest.

2. THE EAST FRONTIER: ARABIA, ARMENIA, AND PARTHIA

Trajan was also responsible for a vast extension of the Roman frontiers in the East. On the death of Herod Agrippa II, his small principality of Transjor-

³⁷ For the treaty, cf. Dio, LXVIII, 9, 5-7; 10, 1-2.

³⁸ Eutropius, VIII, 2. Cf. map opposite p. 334.

dania was added to Syria.³⁹ A far more important addition was the quiet annexation of the client kingdom of Nabataean Arabs as a Roman province, probably because of its strategic situation on the trade routes from the Arabian Desert and the Red Sea to the coast of Palestine. Trajan's interest in encouraging Roman trade is also seen in his futile attempt to restore the old canal of the Pharaohs between the Nile Delta and the Red Sea. The new province of Arabia Petraea extended from the south bounds of Damascus, which was added to Syria, to the Red Sea, and the borders of Egypt. A fortified road was built from Damascus to the Gulf of Akaba, and a caravan route ran from the capital, Petra, through Bostra to Damascus. The new province grew rapidly in wealth and prosperity under Roman rule, and Petra and its other towns were greatly enriched by the new stimulus to trade. Their imposing ruins still bear eloquent witness to the wealth of their merchants and the imperial glory of Rome.⁴⁰

Armenia and Parthia

Especially radical was Trajan's break from the long-standing Augustan policy, toward the close of his reign, in expanding beyond the old frontier of the upper Euphrates. Probably he would hardly have undertaken such a drastic move at his age had the Parthians given him no occasion for attack. But he had been irritated by evidence of their relations with Decebalus of Dacia, and now in 113 A.D. their king Chosroes renewed Parthian interference in the Armenian succession, thereby breaking the fifty-year accord with Nero. When the new Armenian king, a protégé of Parthia, heard that Trajan was mobilizing all his forces, he hastily dispatched an embassy to him in Greece, offering to accept him as suzerain. But Trajan was in no mood for peace. Instead, on his arrival in Armenia the next year, he deposed the puppet king, who was soon afterward killed, and made Armenia a Roman province.⁴¹

Trajan's annexation of Armenia was perhaps unwise, since it offered little advantage to Rome, while establishing a frontier much more difficult to defend and a standing challenge to Parthian attack. To hold it he must extend the frontier into western Mesopotamia, and this he set out to do. After a winter spent in building transports on the middle Euphrates, his troops marched in parallel columns down the two rivers, uniting in an attack on Ctesiphon, Chosroes's winter capital on the right bank of the Tigris, opposite Seleucia. The Parthian king escaped, but his daughter and gold throne were taken, later to grace the Roman triumph. As the conqueror of Parthia, Trajan sailed down to the Persian Gulf. In two short campaigns he had won all the land of the Two Rivers, and with it the control of the whole Mesopotamian trade for Rome. Had he been younger he might have hoped to repeat Alexander's feat by going on to India. He had not yet finished with Chosroes, however. In 116 A.D. the Parthian king regained the Eastern provinces and organized a

³⁹ The date is uncertain.

⁴⁰ On these, cf. Chapter Twenty-four, Sec. V. Cf. also Ammianus Marcellinus, XIV, 8, 13; Th. Mommsen's enthusiastic description, *The Roman Provinces*, Vol. II, pp. 153-159; M. I. Rostovtzeff, *op. cit.*, pp. 133, 137, 526, 532. Cf. map (B) opposite p. 334.

⁴¹ On the problems in the Armenian and Parthian campaigns of Trajan, cf. R. P. Longden, *Journal of Roman Studies*, 1931, pp. 1 ff.

general uprising against him. Seleucia and other cities rebelled, and a sympathetic revolt was incited among the Jews of Judaea and the Diaspora. But the Parthians were not what they once were, and Mesopotamia and Babylon were soon pacified. In 117 Trajan granted Ctesiphon and Babylon to a son of Chosroes as client king, but made the conquered lands of the upper Tigris-Euphrates into two new Roman provinces, Mesopotamia and Assyria.⁴²

By annexing Armenia and depriving Parthia of its main sources of revenue in the land of the Two Rivers, Trajan had struck straight at the problem that had vexed Rome since Lucullus and Pompey. But the conquest demanded a heavy drain in men and money which the Empire could then ill afford. Modern historians, therefore, justly criticize Trajan's policy of Eastern expansion as greatly overstraining both the human and financial resources of the Empire without adequate compensation. Trajan's repeated levies for his armies and colonies were largely drawn from Roman and Romanized lands and Italian cities. This fact and the greatly increased financial burdens imposed on them by his campaigns were sources of growing complaints throughout the Empire. At his death in 117 the condition of the Empire was critical both economically and politically, with Sarmatian invaders on the Theiss and the lower Danube and revolts in Britain, Mauretania, and among the Jews of Palestine and the Diaspora.⁴³

The severe strain on Rome's resources and the critical conditions in the Empire are a sufficient explanation for Hadrian's reversal of the aggressive policy of his predecessor, returning to a policy of peace and diplomacy with thorough preparedness and careful conservation. The revolts in various parts of the Empire were crushed, and the Sarmatian invaders were turned back, but their territory was not annexed. Mesopotamia and Assyria were returned to Chosroes, and his son was made client king of Armenia by an arrangement similar to that of Nero. Hadrian knew firsthand the problems of these lands and of the Empire as perhaps no other emperor and wisely gave up what he knew Rome could not safely hold. There was some basis for his boast that he had "won more wealth for Rome by his inaction than all other rulers had by war."⁴⁴ Even though decrepit Parthia was no longer difficult to conquer, to hold the new Eastern provinces would have imposed an impossible financial burden, which even the Mesopotamian revenues would not offset, while Assyria and Armenia could offer slight return for the heavy cost of occupation.

Peace continued in the East throughout the reigns of Hadrian and Antoninus, but in 161 A.D. a new Parthian king, Vologeses III, invaded Armenia and defeated the Roman governors of Cappadocia and Syria. In the interests of peace Marcus Aurelius might even have permitted the Parthian king to set his candidate on the throne of Armenia, but Vologeses refused all compromise. As a result, in 163-164 Avidius Cassius and his colleague reoccupied all Armenia and Mesopotamia for Rome, burning the Armenian capital, Artaxata,

⁴² Dio's excerpts are practically our only source for Trajan's campaigns. Arrian, a contemporary general of Trajan, wrote a *Parthica*, of which only the barest fragments have survived.

⁴³ Cf. M. I. Rostovtzeff, *op. cit.*, pp. 309-315, for an extreme indictment of the policy. For a somewhat brighter picture and a partial defense of Trajan, cf. B. W. Henderson, *Five Roman Emperors*, pp. 338-345. Cf. map (B) opposite p. 334.

⁴⁴ *Historia Augusta* (Hadrian), 10.

destroying Seleucia and Ctesiphon, and even raiding far into Media, the farthest east of Roman arms. In 165 the Parthian king agreed to leave Armenia under Roman suzerainty and ceded part of western Mesopotamia to Rome, by which the frontier was rectified. Aside from the heavy expense of the campaigns, however, the victory entailed a terrible cost, since the returning soldiers brought home the germs of the most devastating plague in Roman history.

3. JUDAEA AND THE JEWISH INSURRECTIONS

One factor influencing Hadrian's withdrawal from the Parthian provinces may well have been the concerted rebellions against Trajan in 116. The most dangerous of these was the general insurrection of the Jews in the most populous centers of the Diaspora, Mesopotamia, Cyrene, Egypt, and Cyprus, in co-operation with those of the homeland. The immediate occasion was the incitement to rebellion by the Parthian king, made possible by Trajan's withdrawal of Roman garrisons to the East. But the basic cause was the bitter memories of the destruction of Jerusalem, and the vain hopes of its recovery and the establishment of a Jewish kingdom under the promised Messiah. These hopes were nursed by the several surviving rabbinical schools, especially by their leading agitator, Akiba.

Taking advantage of Trajan's absence in the East, the Jewish rebels struck and swept all before them in Cyrene and Cyprus, where they instituted an indiscriminate massacre of all Greeks and Romans, "savagely offering them in hecatombs to Jehovah." In Cyrene, so devastated were the towns that Hadrian later found the land "empty." Salamis, the chief city of Cyprus, was destroyed, and one-fourth of the population of the island is said to have been slain. In Egypt the rebels worked their will to the wall of Alexandria, but in the city the Roman prefect withstood them, while the angry Greek populace took vengeance on their brethren.⁴⁵

Trajan's victory over the Parthians in 117 left him free to take vengeance on the rebellious Jews. Lusius Quietus, his Moorish general, first ruthlessly crushed them in Mesopotamia, slaughtering them by the thousand, after which he took charge in Palestine. In Egypt, Cyrenaica, and Cyprus the revolt was put down with the most savage retaliation. According to Jewish tradition, the sea was colored with the blood of the slain from the mouth of the Nile to the farther shores of Cyprus. No Jew was henceforth to set foot in the island, even if shipwrecked, on pain of immediate death. It is estimated that the total loss of life on both sides reached a million, and for nearly a generation extensive lands in Egypt and Cyrenaica lay waste for lack of cultivators. So harsh was the revenge that the Jews of the Diaspora never again caused serious trouble to Rome, except for a brief insurrection in Egypt in the year 136-137. Of the suppression of the revolt in Palestine no details are known, but a sufficient Jewish population survived to stage a stubborn revolt against Hadrian.

Like Trajan, Hadrian had at first favored the Jews in Alexandria, but on

⁴⁵ The ancient sources on these massacres are all Anti-Jewish and doubtless overdrawn. The more important are Dio, LXVIII, 32; *Historia Augusta* (Hadrian), 5, 2 and 8; late Christian writers. Dio's figures of 220,000 slain in Cyrenaica and 240,000 in Cyprus are clearly exaggerated.

his second tour he unwisely determined to settle the Jewish problem once and for all by the forcible assimilation of the Jews to their Hellenized neighbors. In 131 A.D. he issued an edict prohibiting the Jewish rite of circumcision and founded a Roman military colony, Aelia Capitolina, at Jerusalem, building a shrine to Jupiter Capitolinus on the site of the Jewish Temple. This was done in no spirit of arbitrary tyranny, but was in accord with his whole policy of assimilating the various peoples of the Empire into a homogeneous whole. The result was, however, a general revolt of the outraged Palestinian Jews, as in the days of Antiochus IV, whose similar attempt to assimilate the Jews ended in dire disaster.⁴⁶ When the governors of Judaea and Syria were unable to stem the revolt, under the able leadership of the pseudo-Messiah, Bar Kochba, Hadrian entrusted the command to his veteran general from Britain, Julius Severus, and additional troops were called from other frontiers to meet the crisis. But only by three years of methodical siege of stronghold after stronghold was the rebellion finally crushed. The revenge was ruthless, and Judaea was almost depopulated. It is plausibly asserted that 50 fortresses and 985 villages were destroyed, and 580,000 men were slain, aside from those who died from hunger and disease.⁴⁷ Hadrian assumed the title *imperator*, the only occasion during his reign, and his victorious general was granted the triumphal insignia.⁴⁸ The name of the province was changed from Judaea to Syria-Palaestina, and it was decreed that no Jew should enter Aelia Capitolina except once a year. The resettlement of Palestine was continued in accord with the previous plans of Hadrian by introducing non-Jewish colonists from the neighboring lands.

Antoninus revoked Hadrian's decree against the Jewish ritualistic law. The old ban upon proselyting was continued, but Jews born in the faith were permitted freedom of worship. Thus against the most extreme odds, though bereft of their national state, the Jews of Palestine and the Diaspora kept alive their national tradition in their synagogues and rabbinical schools.

4. AFRICA

Mauretania was never free from raids of nomadic tribesmen from the uplands. On Hadrian's visit to Africa in 123 A.D., he sought to check them by advancing the frontier to the foothills of the Atlas Mountains. But occasional raids continued, and in the reign of Marcus Aurelius the invaders even crossed to Spain. Hadrian moved the camp of the sole legion in Africa from Theveste to Lambaesis so that it might be nearer to Mauretania. Here has survived the best preserved of Roman camps, the *praetorium*, or general's quarters.⁴⁹

5. THE MARCOMANNIC WARS⁵⁰

The grave danger of pursuing an aggressive policy in the East at the expense of Western frontier defenses is well illustrated by the German crisis in the

⁴⁶ Cf. Vol. I, Chapter Thirty.

⁴⁷ Dio, LXIX, 14.

⁴⁸ This was the last occasion of this honor to a general in Roman history.

⁴⁹ For a description of the internal conditions in Africa and the other Roman provinces in the second century, cf. Chapter Twenty-four, Sec. V.

⁵⁰ The only literary sources are the meager accounts of Dio, LXXII, and the *Historia Augusta* (Marcus Antoninus). The scenes on the Column of Marcus Aurelius at Rome furnish valuable data.

reign of Marcus Aurelius. To provide troops against Parthia in 162, the Raetian *limes* and the Danube had been largely robbed of their legions. Soon after, all the German tribes on the Danube frontier were driven by pressure of their less-developed kindred from the North, the Goths, Langobardi, Vandals, Chauci, and Chatti, to cross the river into Roman territory. Chief of these were the Marcomanni and Quadi from the middle Danube. In 167 A.D. they swarmed across the river, overwhelming the weakened garrisons and capturing all except the strongest outposts from Raetia to Moesia. They defeated a Roman army of 20,000, ravaged the provinces of Pannonia and Noricum, even invading northern Italy as far as Aquileia, where their advance was halted. Meanwhile, nomads in the valley of the Theiss, aroused by their movements, overran Dacia.

Marcus Aurelius, the mild pacifist of the *Meditations*, had a Stoic's stern sense of duty and met the crisis with all the military energy of a Trajan. To raise the necessary funds for defense, he sold the crown jewels and costly furnishings of the palace and depreciated the coinage by twenty-five per cent. Troops were recruited from all classes, including slaves, gladiators, brigands, and urban police, legions were summoned from Cappadocia, Egypt, and the Rhine, and new fortifications were hastily raised at threatened points. Such desperate measures reveal only too well Rome's lack of financial and military reserves in case of crisis and the danger of Trajan's policy of Eastern expansion.

From the beginning of the wars in 167 until his death in 180, the Stoic advocate of peace was forced to spend the larger part of his time in camp. He repeatedly revisited the Danube frontier and died at the front in Vindobona (Vienna) when about to undertake a new offensive. Little is known of the campaigns, but Marcus Aurelius, both in his thorough preparation and in his conduct of the wars, showed the political and military ability of a great general. With steady persistence and farsighted strategy, he took the offensive and drove to his goal, despite the stubborn resistance of the barbarians. By 175 A.D. he had regained most of the lost territory and was about to undertake a great offensive, probably planning to make the territory of the Marcomanni and Sarmatians into a Roman province. But the treason of his trusted proconsul of the whole East, and conqueror of Parthia, Avidius Cassius, forced him to make terms with the Germans and march against the traitor to save his throne.⁵¹ The defeated tribes were forced to surrender over 160,000 prisoners and furnish military aid to Rome, and large numbers of them were settled on wastelands south of the Danube as cultivators, obligated to serve as auxiliaries when needed. Some of these were even settled in northern Italy to repopulate the lands devastated by the plague, but their later revolt at Ravenna caused all Germans to be excluded from Italy. The Roman victory was commemorated by the erection of another great Column at Rome, with reliefs portraying scenes from the war in imitation of Trajan's.

The Germans soon broke the peace, and Marcus Aurelius was obliged to

⁵¹ The assassination of Avidius Cassius by a centurion averted civil war, but the emperor continued his march to regain the loyalty of the Eastern provinces, returning to Rome the next year.

resume his campaigns against the invaders in 178. In two years he had again expelled them from all Roman territory and planned to advance the Roman frontier to the Carpathian mountains of Bohemia, in accord with his previous purpose. Had he lived to accomplish this, Rome would have been protected by a mountain instead of a river frontier throughout central Europe, and danger of future German invasion would have been largely eliminated. His untimely death made him stop short of his goal, but he had saved the Danube lands for Rome and given them a long breathing space. He had been repeatedly acclaimed as *imperator* and had honorably won the titles *Germanicus* and *Sarmaticus* by his victories. A true picture of him should include not only the mild philosopher of the *Meditations*, but the successful strategist in a great national crisis through thirteen years of fighting. Unfortunately, the records of his political and military accomplishments are largely lost. But his *Meditations* were not the product of monastic retirement by one who had renounced the world. They were written in camp on the German frontier by a great soldier who was giving his utmost to meet a great crisis. They were not written for publication as were the moral platitudes of Seneca, but were the secret communings with his own heart by which he rose above his circumstances and steeled himself for his hard task. Their very title (in Greek), *Eis Heauton* ("to himself"), reveals the man who found strength in solitude and self-communication to bear the weight of an empire on his shoulders. His fatal mistake and weakness, however, was in making his worthless son, Commodus, his successor, who immediately made peace with the German and other tribes.

Though the Rhine frontier was free from serious danger from German invasions during the second century, the weakening of the garrisons there made further fortifications necessary. Hadrian built stone defenses in Upper Germany and Raetia, and Antoninus carried through a palisade and military road on the ridges overlooking the Neckar. The civil government of Upper and Lower Germany was separated from Belgica, and the two were made separate provinces. Pannonia and Dacia were each divided into superior and inferior provinces.

6. BRITAIN

Owing to the almost entire lack of literary sources, practically nothing is known of Britain for a generation after the recall of Agricola, but peace seems to have prevailed. The meager written records for Hadrian and the Antonines, however, are quite well supplemented by the excavations. We know of at least two dangerous uprisings during the period and one distinct advance of the Roman frontier. Fronto, a contemporary of Marcus Aurelius, refers to grave Roman losses during the reign of Hadrian comparable to those suffered through the Jewish rebellion. His reference is probably to the destruction of the Ninth Legion in the serious revolt of 117-118, which must have endangered the whole Roman authority north of the Humber. Doubtless this accounts for Hadrian's early visit to Britain when he transferred the Sixth Legion there and evacuated the Scottish military zone established by Agricola between the Tyne and the Tay.

On his new frontier between the Tyne and Solway, a distance of about

eighty miles, he constructed a new line of defense, consisting of new forts, a mound (*vallum*), and a ditch from sea to sea. Somewhat north of the mound, between 122-127, he built a wall of hewn stone with core of concrete, having miniature forts, "mile castles," at every mile and signal stations between. Hadrian's wall, a massive structure twenty feet high and eight feet thick, is the best surviving example of Roman construction in England, as also of Roman frontier fortifications anywhere in Europe. It stood as a defense against the barbarians for three centuries, but marked the boundary for only two decades, for the raids of the Brigantes caused Antoninus to advance the frontier again to the line between the Forth and Clyde. He built a new wall of turf and clay on a stone foundation and constructed a great highway between it and Hadrian's wall. Since at this point the frontier was only thirty-six miles long, it was easier to defend, but the two walls were too far apart, and the Romans never succeeded in controlling the land between.

The building of these walls shows clearly that the era of military advance of the Roman Empire was about ended. Henceforth Rome was largely on the defensive. In 155 A.D. a third uprising of the Brigantes endangered the supremacy of Rome on both sides of the wall, and the Scottish territory to the north was never really pacified. When the wall of Antoninus was finally abandoned and destroyed is unknown, perhaps during the rebellions in Scotland soon after the death of Marcus Aurelius, but more probably about 197 during the temporary withdrawal of Roman troops to Gaul. Soon after, the emperor, Septimius Severus, advanced far beyond the frontier of Antoninus, but without permanent results, and Scotland was never subdued by Rome. Even in northern and western England, which was won and held with great difficulty, the archaeological evidences of Roman influence are very slight compared with the abundant remains of towns and villas in the Southeast and Midlands. Here Rome found little difficulty, and Romanization was extensive, as is evident from the furnishings, decorations, and utensils of the houses and the use of Latin as the written language even by artisans.⁵²

VII. THE SPIRIT OF THE AGE

During the second century A.D. imperial rule was much more stable and continuous in policy than in the first century. The Principate was now older and more established and was taken for granted by a senate that could no longer boast of much old Roman aristocratic blood. There was also less danger of individual rebellions. Especially did the happy settlement of the problem of succession, for the time, give more stability and insure stronger and more experienced administrators. Unfortunately, however, the second-century emperors undertook to solve their problems by excessive centralization of government through bureaucracy and assumption of absolute power, rather than decentralization and use of the provincial *concilia* to share the burdens of imperial

⁵² For full details on the walls and all the excavations, cf. R. G. Collingwood, *The Archaeology of Roman Britain*, London, 1930; also Sir G. MacDonald, *The Roman Wall in Scotland*, 2d ed., Oxford, 1934.

administration and give scope for local initiative. The purpose was good, a more efficient government, but it was attained at a heavy cost.

Despite their humanitarianism and policy of social relief, also, the emperors failed to grapple with the social cancers of slavery and the wholesale pauperization of the urban populations. Some constructive accomplishments stand to their credit, however. Their liberal policy in the extension of citizenship did much to transform the Empire to a commonwealth in which provincials and Italians were on a practically equal basis, and the highest offices were open to all with the necessary ability and education, regardless of origin. Through their efficient and beneficent administration and the *Pax Romana* which they upheld, probably never in history was the whole Mediterranean world so happy and prosperous, so free from internal strife or danger from foreign attack, or so dominated by a spirit of goodwill as in the age from Nerva to Marcus Aurelius.

Chapter Twenty-three

GOVERNMENT AND ECONOMY IN THE EMPIRE (70-180 A.D.)

I. PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

The imperial policies and public administration of the Flavians and Antonines have been sufficiently analyzed in the two previous chapters. It remains to summarize the great political and military tendencies of the period and interpret their significance for the future.

I. THE GROWTH OF AUTOCRACY AND THE DECLINE OF THE SENATE

Though all the emperors from Vespasian to Marcus Aurelius, except Domitian, ruled mildly and showed outward deference to constitutional forms, their régime was marked by the gradual growth of autocracy and a distinct decline in the senate. While the conferment of the *imperium* and the other powers and honors on the new princeps was recognized as the senate's prerogative until 282 A.D., it was largely an empty form. Vespasian reckoned his accession as emperor from his proclamation by his legions, and the second-century emperors appointed their successors practically independent of the senate.

In the course of the period the senate also lost most of its administrative functions in Rome and Italy. Its powers were gradually taken over by the princeps and his directly appointed officials. From the reign of Claudius the senators were being displaced by equestrian procurators in administration of the grain supply, public order, public works, and roads, and by the close of the second century senatorial curators were entirely supplanted. As the emperors gradually took over from the senate those departments of administration that were financially dependent on the public treasury and assumed control of some of the senatorial provinces from which the treasury derived its revenues, they also naturally began to assume oversight over it, and its importance as a senatorial treasury steadily waned.¹

The emperors also gradually encroached upon the senate's administration of the senatorial provinces, which were readily transferred from senatorial to imperial jurisdiction in the interest of order and efficient government. As we have seen, imperial procurators increasingly appeared in the senatorial provinces to secure the imperial revenues, and the emperor's special representatives, such as Pliny in Bithynia, were sent to rehabilitate the financial affairs of the provincial municipalities. The right of appointing governors to the senatorial

¹ For detail, cf. below under Sec. I, 4.

provinces was also assumed by the second-century emperors. Thus, by the close of the century, the senate's control of the senatorial provinces had become largely nominal, especially in financial matters. The distinction between the provincial jurisdiction of senate and princeps continued in theory for another century, but by the close of the Antonine period its meaning had already largely disappeared.

The same decline of senatorial power appears in its loss of elective and legislative functions. From the first the princeps had nominated his own candidates for the lower magistracies, and from the time of Nero this right was extended to the consulship. Furthermore this senatorial magistracy was greatly reduced in importance by the emperor's custom of appointing consuls to serve for only a fraction of a year in order to satisfy a larger number of his political patronage. Thus the elective power, which Tiberius had transferred from the *effete* assembly to the senate, was soon practically emptied of meaning.

The legislative function of the senate was also gradually lost. Especially from the time of Vespasian, the emperor's initiative in legislation gradually encroached upon this right, until by the opening of the third century senatorial decrees were merely expressions of his will or even his proclamations read to the senate to receive its formal approval. The second-century emperors increasingly assumed independent legislative authority. Hadrian's decrees or constitutions had the full force of law. His plan to codify the law, and thereby to end the growth of law from within through the praetor's edict, was in full accord with this development. Early in the next century senatorial decrees were entirely superseded by imperial. These were expressed by *edicta*; *decreta*, or judicial verdicts; *responsa*, or answers to petitions and requests of officials for advice; and *mandata*, or imperial orders to his officials. Originally, all except the *edicta* applied only to special or local situations, and the *edicta* were valid only during the life of the princeps. But gradually all came to have the full force of law until definitely superseded by another imperial ordinance.

The centralization of law was naturally associated with the gradual encroachment of the princeps upon the senate's sphere of judicial administration. Under the first emperors the Republican system of civil and criminal justice continued with little outward change. The praetor's courts and the *quaestiones* administered justice as before in Rome and Italy, likewise the proconsuls in the senatorial provinces. The senate, under the presidency of the consuls, continued its old jurisdiction over political offenses and criminal cases involving senators or other notables, as also over appeals from the decisions of its proconsuls. Though arbitrary condemnations of senators to death, even by such mild rulers as Vespasian and Hadrian, were not unknown, such acts were strictly unconstitutional until early in the third century.

In actual practice, however, the princeps had always exerted a determining influence upon the whole judicial machinery of the state. His right of holding preliminary investigations (*cognitiones*) was gradually extended, especially by the more autocratic rulers, to include the right of final judgment and execution of sentences, independent of the constituted courts. Until after the second century such action was always resented by the senate as distinctly illegal. But

since, by virtue of his *imperium*, the princeps had final jurisdiction over all cases arising in the army and the imperial civil service, and was the judge of appeals from the decisions of his provincial officials, this right was easily extended to include cases in Italy and the senatorial provinces. Such extension was legally recognized by the constitutional lawyers of Hadrian on the plausible ground that, as princeps, he derived his authority from the whole citizenship of the Empire.

An important step toward the complete subordination of the older tribunals to the authority of the princeps was Hadrian's extension of judicial functions to his four prefects at Rome.² This was a serious encroachment upon the function of the senatorial *quaestiones* in the city in criminal cases, and his extension of jurisdiction of the urban prefect to civil suits was a direct trespass upon the preserves of the city praetors. Their sphere was still further limited, as we have seen, by his appointment of four *consulares*, or judges, for Italy and by the *juridici*, later established by Marcus Aurelius.³ Though done in the interest of judicial efficiency, it was also a significant step toward autocracy. By the close of the century the urban prefect had supreme jurisdiction over all criminal cases in Rome or within a radius of 100 miles of the city, and he also had appellate authority in civil cases within the same territory, subject only to the review of the emperor. For the rest of Italy his praetorian prefect had supreme authority in both civil and criminal cases and, as the imperial representative, acted as the supreme judge of appeals for the whole Empire. By the third century, therefore, the originally wide judicial functions of the senate were entirely lost.

During the period under review the senate also gradually lost its important function as counselor of the princeps, and finally Hadrian developed a special council of men trained in Roman law for consultation on the greater problems of state. Thus, though the constitutional façade of the Principate continued to stand for another century, it had lost all practical significance by the end of the Antonine period. All legislative, administrative, and judicial authority now centered in the princeps. The Roman magistrates had dwindled to mere municipal officials of the emperor; and the senate, shorn of its powers and ever more limited in its military commands and provincial authority, must find satisfaction in empty honors and social prestige.⁴ Meanwhile the old Roman senatorial aristocracy had died out, being replaced by men of equestrian origin from Italy and the provinces through the nomination of the princeps. Thus the traditional antagonism of the senate to the imperial system was softened. Lacking in Republican tradition and aristocratic pride of descent, it loyally supported the Principate as the established order. Yet it ceased not to resent autocratic encroachment upon its old prerogatives, and even in the third century it still dared to question the authority of occasional emperors. Despite its decline, it was still the only responsible means of expressing public judgment on their administration. As the center of wealth and culture, the senatorial aris-

² The urban and praetorian prefects, the prefect of the grain supply, and prefect of the watch.

³ For details, cf. Chapter Twenty-two, Sec. III.

⁴ Senators were not finally excluded from all military commands until Gallienus (253-268), and from all civil authority in provincial governorships until Diocletian (284-305).

ocracy was still a powerful class and exerted a strong influence on public opinion and political policy in the state. Embracing as it did not only the wealthy landholders in Italy but throughout the whole Empire, it now enjoyed a greater prestige in relation to the other classes than ever before. This was reflected in the hereditary title, *clarissimus* ("most eminent or noble"), which by the close of the Antonine period had become the regular title of senators.

2. THE GROWTH OF PATERNALISM

An inevitable result of the advance of autocracy and centralized government was the growth of paternalism and the loss of local autonomy in the municipalities of Italy and the provinces. In the previous chapter we have traced in some detail the gradual development of such imperial intervention by the second-century emperors, through their curators, in the financial affairs of the cities. Though this seemed necessary in the interest of efficient government, financial stability, and tax collection, it inevitably led in the next century to the loss of civic initiative and the final impoverishment and enslavement of the municipalities.

The early Empire presented the peculiar structure of a practically absolute monarchy superimposed upon a multitude of largely self-governing cities. Direct imperial intervention was only sporadic and limited chiefly to a supervision of the collection of direct taxes by the city magistrates. Religion, even the imperial cult, public works, education, and the local administration of justice and public order were still largely a local concern. But as the towns fell into financial difficulties and the demands of the imperial government on them for taxes and personal obligations grew more pressing under Trajan, Hadrian, and especially M. Aurelius, government intervention and direct control in the affairs of the municipalities rapidly increased. Special imperial commissioners or permanent curators were sent who increasingly dominated the cities.

Especially in financial matters were the municipal magistrates ever more overshadowed by the officials of the emperors. Under Marcus Aurelius, his special legates became practically governors of their districts. Direct government control was extended to the collection of indirect as well as direct taxes by officials appointed by and responsible to the emperor. Gradually the financial pressure for imperial revenue and the decline of local initiative in the cities to secure safety of communications and public order led to the encroachment of the imperial officials in these fields also. Especially rapid was this development in the reign of Hadrian and his successors. Thus the history of the municipalities of the Empire is a story of a gradual decline from an almost complete local autonomy to a condition of tutelage under the imperial government of Rome, in which the elected representatives of the towns were finally displaced by the paid officials of the emperor. In this development a by no means negligible factor was the influence of the Egyptian system, whose towns had never known self-government. But the most potent factors were the ever-increasing burden of taxation, the decline of local initiative, and the growth of autocracy and bureaucratic government.

3. THE GROWTH OF BUREAUCRACY: THE CIVIL SERVICE

The growth of centralized government, autocracy, and paternalism entailed the development of an imperial civil service whose officials were entirely dependent for their position and promotion upon the emperor. We have traced the gradual growth of this imperial bureaucracy through two centuries from the establishment of an equestrian career of civil service by Augustus to the vast network of officialdom under Hadrian and Marcus Aurelius. Their model was at hand, in the complex bureaucratic system of the Ptolemies in Egypt. Under Claudius, as we have seen, the whole civil service was systematized by the creation of a number of permanent, high-salaried secretaryships within the imperial household, manned by his most capable freedmen.⁵ This was a distinct step toward centralization and the establishment of the civil service as a regular system with a fixed preliminary career and order of advancement. Through the enormous power and wealth of these chief secretaries of Claudius also, many of the minor procuratorships were opened to freedmen.

Finally, Hadrian changed these secretaryships of the imperial household to secretaryships of state and substituted equestrians of procuratorial rank for imperial freedmen. Henceforth freedmen were admitted only to the minor offices. Hadrian was also responsible for a great increase in the number of imperial procurators. This was due to his substitution of direct collections of the revenues through imperial officials for the old system of tax farming, his establishment of an imperial post service throughout the Empire, and his extensive intervention in the affairs of the municipalities. Thus by the middle of the second century had developed a career of civil service and advancement leading to the highest prefectures. The Roman tradition of preliminary military service for high civil office largely continued, and at the close of the century the emperor, Septimius Severus, even made veteran military officers eligible to such civil posts and established the praetorian prefect, his chief military official, as the head of the whole civil administration.

Another important innovation by Hadrian, the organizer, was his grading of all the procuratorships in Rome, Italy, and the provinces into four classes according to salary, 60,000, 100,000, 200,000, and 300,000 sesterces. The last named were the imperial secretaries of state, who were exceeded in salary only by the four chief equestrian prefects above named. Like the senatorial order, the equestrians were granted honorary titles relative to their official rank, which were greatly coveted, *vir eminentissimus* ("most eminent") for praetorian prefects, *vir perfectissimus* ("most perfect"), and *vir egregius* ("honorable" or "excellent").

Just as the senatorial order was increasingly replenished from the upper ranks of the equestrians in Rome, Italy, and the provinces, so were the resulting vacancies in the equestrian class filled from the lower orders, including wealthy freedmen, low-commissioned army officers, and the municipal aristocracy throughout the Empire. Thus, like the senate, the equestrian class became

⁵ For the names and functions of these chief secretaryships, or bureaus, see Chapter Eighteen, Sec. IV, 2.

ever less Roman and more cosmopolitan in character. During the second century the proportions from Africa and Asia Minor constantly increased as compared with those of Italian or Western origin, and in the third century equestrians from Syria, Egypt, and Arabia increasingly predominated. The numbers from the freedman class also constantly increased. In this we see the gradual tendency toward leveling of Rome and Italy to the provinces, the shift from the old aristocratic to bourgeois leadership, even in the emperors, and the constantly increasing influence of the Orient in Roman government and society.

4. IMPERIAL FINANCIAL ADMINISTRATION

The central problem of Roman civil administration was public finance. In this department, as elsewhere, the tendency was toward a complete centralization of authority in the hands of the princeps. We have seen that Augustus recognized two centers of state finance, the old *aerarium Saturni*, or senatorial treasury, and the imperial finance, each receiving revenues from its respective provinces. He did not centralize the administration of the imperial revenues, but organized a special *fiscus*, or treasury, for each of his provinces. The first step toward creating a central imperial treasury was taken, however, in his establishment of the *aerarium militare* at Rome, with special revenues devoted to the pensioning of the veteran troops. He also distinguished between the public revenues administered by him, for which he gave a strict account to the senate, and the income from his own vast private wealth. Claudius, as we have seen, took the natural next step by abolishing the provincial *fisci* and made the imperial treasury the nucleus of an imperial *fiscus* for all revenues of the princeps, administered by the financial secretary, *a rationibus*. Thus from his time two independent treasuries existed, the imperial and the senatorial, and the emperor ceased to give account to the senate for his expenditures from the imperial *fiscus*. Thereafter, with the growth in the power of the princeps, the imperial treasury rapidly increased in importance and revenues at the expense of the senatorial, until the latter ultimately dwindled to insignificance as a mere municipal treasury.

During the Julio-Claudian period, however, the distinction between the public and private income of the princeps was strictly retained, and his private *patrimonium* was separately administered by a special procurator. When Vespasian inherited the patrimony of Nero, however, the private property of the princeps was henceforth recognized as state property. Meanwhile, this personal estate of the princeps had grown to such vast proportions through legitimate bequests and the wholesale confiscations of Caligula and Nero⁶ that it was organized as a co-ordinate division of the imperial finance, the *patrimonium privatum*. With the growth of autocracy, the next step was taken by Septimius Severus at the close of the second century, who frankly included in his personal estates the immense properties confiscated wholesale from his political opponents, instead of adding them to the imperial *fiscus*. This *patrimonium privatum* was henceforth administered by a new financial department, the *ratio* or *res privata*. The old *patrimonium*, on the other hand, was made

⁶ Cf. Chapter Eighteen, Secs. III, V.

a subordinate division of the *fiscus*. Thus, in accord with the developing autocracy of the princes, his private income was placed on an equal basis with the public revenues in administration. The consummation of the process in the late third century was the assimilation of the *fiscus* to the *res privata*, when the treasury, like the Empire, became the property of one man, who was the state.

5. THE ARMY AND IMPERIAL DEFENSE

Our account of Roman military activities and defense from Vespasian to Marcus Aurelius has revealed some basic problems, which, never successfully solved, eventually proved ruinous to the Empire. The first was Rome's inability to recruit and finance a sufficiently large army to hold her far-flung frontiers and furnish enough reserves in time of crisis. The widespread rebellions in the reign of Trajan and the Marcomannic crisis of Marcus Aurelius are striking examples. Despite the great extension of frontiers since the founding of the Principate, Rome had increased her legionary force by only about 30,000 and her auxiliaries by about 70,000 in two centuries. The total was therefore about 400,000 at the end of the period, besides 9,000 or more praetorians and a contingent of cavalry with each legion. This was perhaps sufficient in the first century, but not later, especially in time of crisis, yet it was all Rome could finance. The ordinary military budget in the first century was at least 200,000,000 sesterces a year, a huge sum considering the total income of the state and the far greater value of money at that time.

The difficulty, however, was to recruit as well as to finance a sufficient army. As a result, the more settled provinces had only a skeleton force, the legions were usually not stationed in the interior, but on the frontiers, and the army was hardly ever used as a striking force in the early Empire. The emperors tried to compensate for the lack by shifting troops from the more settled frontiers in time of crisis, fortifying the frontiers and building roads for swifter communications between different frontier districts. Discharge at the end of the stated term of service was often postponed for lack of recruits. Even at the death of Augustus the soldiers bitterly complained that toothless old men were held in the legions. Under the Flavians, also, the term of service of the legionaries was raised from twenty to twenty-five years. The pay was also repeatedly raised, though this was partly due to the rise in the cost of living. In his last years Augustus himself raised the wages of praetorians from 2,000 to 3,000 sesterces per annum, and that of the legionaries from 600 to 900. After Nero the praetorians received their grain in addition. Domitian increased the amounts to 4,000 and 1,200 respectively, and after Marcus Aurelius the pay was repeatedly raised, until early in the third century it reached the extreme figure of 10,000 and 3,000 sesterces. Little is known as to the pay of the auxiliaries, but the usually accepted figure at the beginning of the Principate is 300 sesterces.

Distinct additions to the financial burden for the army were the *praemia*, or amounts paid to the soldiers on their discharge, 20,000 for praetorians, and 12,000 for legionaries. The auxiliaries received only citizenship and the right to contract lawful marriage. The burden was much increased by the custom, begun by Julius Caesar and followed by the emperors, of leaving bequests to

the praetorians and legionaries. Still worse, Claudius instituted the custom of making a donation to both, especially the praetorians to secure their support. In the case of Claudius and Nero it amounted to five years' pay, and Hadrian doubled this amount. At the close of the second century Septimius Severus bought his throne by purchasing the aid of the Illyrian and Pannonian legionaries against the praetorians at 20,000 sesterces per man. The supreme evil in all this, however, was not primarily the ever-increasing financial burden, but the growing class consciousness of the soldiers, who more and more dictated to the state and made it their legitimate booty.

During the early Empire the supreme command of an army or of a legion was reserved for men of senatorial rank. The knights, including the municipal nobility, were eligible to serve as commander of a squadron of cavalry or of a cohort of auxiliaries, or as a legionary tribune. If one continued in the service, he might rise to a procuratorship or might even become governor of a small province, and finally praetorian prefect or prefect of Egypt, the two highest positions in the Empire.

Centurions, captains in the legionary divisions, were regularly chosen from the praetorians in Italy, though Italian birth or descent from a Roman military colony was the only prerequisite. Ordinarily, they must pass through many grades from junior to senior rank, though promotion was often much more rapid. They were frequently transferred so as to see service in different armies and provinces. The centurion was the key to the whole military system. He was the real trainer of the troops; it was his responsibility to whip the raw recruits into a Roman army. His pay was high, 10,000 sesterces under Augustus for ordinary and double for senior rank, with later proportional increases as the pay of the army was raised. As a climax to his career, he was granted equestrian rank and might, if especially efficient, be promoted to a position as legionary tribune, prefect of a cohort, or even procurator. In several instances a centurion even became praetorian prefect. With the gradual passing of the old aristocracy and the leveling of Rome and Italy toward the status of the provinces, differences in position or birth became ever less of an insuperable obstacle to promotion to the highest military posts. Competence, education, and training were increasingly recognized.

Another basic problem which the emperors were ever less successful in solving was to preserve the supremacy of Rome and Italy in the army and the Empire. Augustus had attempted to insure this by admitting only Roman citizens to the legions. But even he found it necessary also to admit freeborn natives of the provincial municipalities who received citizenship on entering the legions. He also granted citizenship to the auxiliaries on their retirement, and after the disaster of Varus he was forced to recruit a legion from Galatia. After him the policy of restriction was gradually abandoned. Claudius and Nero brought throngs of provincial citizens into the army. From Augustus to Vespasian, sixty-seven per cent of the legionaries were from Italy and seventeen per cent from Romanized Narbonese Gaul. After the Gallic rebellion Vespasian replaced the three disloyal legions by freedmen from the marines. The proportion of provincials increased rapidly from Vespasian to Trajan. The mili-

tary records from Lambaesis and elsewhere in Africa in the time of Hadrian list chiefly Africans and Numidians and no Italians in the legions. Hadrian introduced the significant innovation of territorial recruitment, so that henceforth the soldiers were largely natives of the region where they served. After Antoninus practically no notice was taken of citizen birth for the legions. A striking evidence is the fact that from Tiberius to Marcus Aurelius the proportion of legionary soldiers of Egyptian origin in Egypt rose from twenty-five to sixty-five per cent. A similar tendency to break over the old restrictions also appeared even in the Praetorian Guard, though it made only slight headway until the close of the second century.

This transformation of the legions to an army of provincials was in full accord with the gradual fading of the distinction between Italy and the provinces and the growing liberalism in the granting of citizenship. But its chief cause was the growing pacifism and aversion to military service of the residents of Italy and the more Romanized and civilized provinces. They preferred the dangerous method of having their culture upheld in a military sense by the more barbarous members of the Empire.

Hadrian's policy of territorial recruitment and of having the soldiers serve in their native province was also an important factor in this change. The more cultivated were displaced by the less civilized and more warlike element on the frontiers. He even opened the Praetorian Guard to provincials from Spain, Noricum, and Macedonia, and Septimius Severus, at the close of the century, recruited it from the already un-Roman legions, so that Italy and the Latinized parts of the Empire had practically no representation in the army. Hadrian also began recruiting auxiliaries from the border tribes. These *Numeri*, as they were called, were permitted to serve under their own officers and to retain their native language and methods of warfare, though they were commanded by Roman prefects. This tendency was carried further, as we have seen, by Marcus Aurelius, due to the necessities of the times. He permitted large numbers of Germans to settle in the Danubian provinces as *dediticii* on condition that they remain on the lands as cultivators and furnish military service when called. This was a distinct factor in the Teutonization of the army. It was increasingly recruited also from the sons of soldiers, and military service began to take on the aspect of hereditary succession. Thus, in the third century, the caste spirit was intensified over against the other classes and the state, which made the army dangerous to the public weal.

Rome's grave mistake was to change from a citizen conscript to a professional army which placed its own interests first.⁷ We have traced this development in the first century B.C. to Caesarism and the death of the Republic. Augustus sought to subordinate the professional army to the whole state by uniting the supreme military and civil authority in himself. But this also later proved dangerous, as the military always tended to dominate the civil. Aside from the year of civil war after Nero, however, when each division of the army placed its own interests above the state, the Augustan principle worked

⁷ Cf. M. P. Nilsson, *Imperial Rome* (translated by G. C. Richards), London, 1926, p. 282 f., though in elevating the Roman lesson to a universal principle and making universal conscription the *sine qua non* of democracy, he is guilty of an extreme generalization.

fairly well for two centuries. But the grave danger was that the ruler, as head of the army, would eventually espouse the interests of one class, the professional army, against the larger interests of the Empire and civilization. This danger became more menacing as the army became less civilized and more foreign and led to the chaos of the third century.

Another military problem which was not successfully met in the early Empire was the development of a sufficiently mobile army that would serve for more than frontier defense. As we have seen, Rome could not support a large enough army to be much of a striking force. Her soldiers were concentrated on the frontiers to the rear of permanent fortifications, and this contributed much to their growing immobility. As the frontiers became more established and the camps were built more permanently of stone, the frontier forces became increasingly like garrison rather than field troops. Towns or civil communities (*canabae*) sprang up about the camps to supply the needs of the army, and the soldiers intermarried and became identified with the life of the frontier district. Here the retired soldiers often settled on land belonging to the legion, and the sons followed their father's profession. Thus the army became ever less mobile and, hence, unable to meet the military crisis of the third century.

Under Hadrian, however, the soldiers were kept under thorough discipline by severe field training under his critical eye.⁸ When not otherwise employed, they built camps and roads, dug ditches, and raised walls and fortifications. Each legion had its own brickmaking plant and its staff of engineers, architects, and artisans of all sorts. At the important garrison town of Saalburg the types of tools found are as numerous as the kinds of weapons. The legionary camp at Lambaesis in Africa, the walls of Britain, and the defenses on the upper Rhine and Danube frontiers were all constructed by the soldiers.

At strategic points behind the frontiers the troops were stationed in fortified camps, both legionary and auxiliary. From these were constructed military roads to important points on the frontier to permit rapid movements of troops. These roads were called *limites*, or "boundary roads," a term which came to be used of the frontiers themselves. Among these *limites* were forts manned by auxiliary troops. The conquests of Claudius, the Flavians, and Trajan, however, had made it necessary to supplement these by the construction of elaborate permanent fortifications. By the close of the second century the German and Raetian frontiers were protected by a continuous line of permanent fortifications from below Cologne (Colonia Agrippina) on the Rhine nearly to the east boundary of Raetia. The earthworks and wooden defenses of Domitian were gradually replaced by permanent stone structures. After Domitian, also, the larger legionary headquarters gave place to camps of single legions at different points on the frontier as support to the auxiliary forts. This decentralization of the legions also made the mobilization of a strong force on short notice difficult. Trajan insured easy communication between the border provinces by constructing military roads along the northern frontier from the Rhine to the Black Sea. Throughout the 345 miles of the German-Raetian

⁸ Cf. B. W. Henderson's *Hadrian*, p. 97, for a translated inscription in which the Emperor praises the famous third Augustan legion in Africa for its excellent work.

frontier Hadrian raised a nine-foot palisade of split oak logs, rectified the line of the *limites*, and built new forts of earth close to the palisade. Antoninus continued Hadrian's policy of strengthening the border defenses by replacing the earthworks with stone, and Commodus substituted a stone wall for parts of Hadrian's palisade. Finally in the early third century Caracalla built on the Raetian *limes* a continuous wall of stone six to nine feet high and four feet thick for a distance of 105 miles. Even these permanent fortifications did not serve to stop large invasions, however, but only to defend against border raids and to control frontier communications.

In contrast to the German-Raetian *limites*, Hadrian's wall, and to a lesser extent that of Antoninus, above described, furnished a defensible system of fortifications. The Danube frontier, protected by the river, was at first defended only by a series of auxiliary *castella* and legionary camps on the Roman side. But the later advance beyond the north bank, especially the annexation of Dacia, led to a more permanent system of frontier fortifications and *limites* similar to the German-Raetian. Remains of such defenses are found in Moesia and on the northern and eastern frontiers of Roman Dacia. On the more settled frontiers, such as Asia and Africa, no continuous system of frontier defenses was developed. Here a series of small forts and patrol stations sufficed, with large fortified camps at strategic points some distance to the rear of the *limites*.

For the military policies of the first two centuries, which transformed the auxiliary forces into an immobile border militia, decentralized the legions, produced a foreign and barbarous army, a professional caste largely out of touch with civilized life and without respect for civil authority, and left the richest sections of the Empire without means of self-defense—for these policies Rome was soon to pay dearly. But despite its failings, the army of the earlier Empire was one of the most effective agencies for the spread of Roman civilization, both material and cultural. Its roads, bridges, and other public works were the forerunners of commerce in three continents. About its permanent camps with their warm baths and other comforts of civilization, organized towns sprang up as pioneer centers for the spread of Roman institutions and culture. Some of the most important Danubian and Rhine towns trace their origin to military camps or the adjoining *canabae*. Through the grant of citizenship at the end of auxiliary service the army sent out a constant stream of new blood into the Roman citizen body. The constant shifting of its legions to different parts of the Empire made it an important medium for the intermingling of diverse cultures and religions. Above all, for centuries it upheld the *pax Romana* on all frontiers, protecting Mediterranean civilization from being overwhelmed by barbarians. Only in the third century and after, when, as a result of the policies above analyzed, it had become thoroughly foreignized, an army of ignorant countrymen from the least-developed sections within and outside the Empire, did it become a factor in the destruction of Roman civilization.

II. ECONOMIC CONDITIONS AND TENDENCIES (70-180 A.D.)

I. AGRICULTURE

During the second century A.D. the Roman Empire attained both its greatest extent and its maximum of economic prosperity. In the more developed sections agricultural conditions were fairly well stabilized. Though the growth of *latifundia* and the decline of the peasantry in Italy were perhaps somewhat halted by the policies of the earlier emperors, the process continued, however, as is evident from the extensive "alimentary institutions" of Nerva and his successors to subsidize the small owners.⁹ Both here and throughout the Empire the distinct tendency was toward absentee ownership of large estates, and the decline of small independent owners, as Juvenal and Pliny the Younger recognize. The peasants of central Italy and the Po Valley were now largely tenants or laborers rather than owners.

Both private estates and imperial domains were now worked largely by *coloni*, or free tenants, rather than by slave labor. The vast imperial lands in Africa were administered by procurators, who leased them to tenants-in-chief (*conductores*). These in turn exacted from their *coloni* payments in kind for their lots, besides forced labor on the "home farm." The *coloni*, as "tenants of Caesar," could not be arbitrarily deprived of their holdings and might appeal to their imperial landlord against injustice. Hadrian, in his *lex Hadriana*, sought to protect them from oppression by stringent regulations of the procurators and *conductores*. There are also some evidences of similar attempts of Vespasian and Trajan to secure contented *coloni*.

Another method of securing reliable long-term tenants in Africa is illustrated by the *lex Manciana*, probably from the Flavian period, by which those who planted virgin soil might hold it in permanent tenure so long as they continued to cultivate it. If they planted it to fruit trees or olives, they might even mortgage it and bequeath it to their heirs. But continuous cultivation and permanent settlement on the land were required, otherwise it reverted to the original owner. Hadrian greatly expanded the above right. He sought to create a class of free owners, who had a permanent interest in the land, and to develop rural villages of *possessores* which might later develop to municipal centers. The rapid increase in olive production throughout Africa was doubtless partly due to this policy of Hadrian.¹⁰ He pursued a similar policy also in Greece and Macedonia.

The system of free tenancy, however, probably meant little or no perceptible improvement in cultivation over the old method of agricultural slavery, as Columella had anticipated. The *coloni* became steadily less free, more dependent, and more devoid of initiative. Of the actual condition of these country masses in the second century, we have little knowledge, except for Egypt, where the papyri reveal no improvement under Rome, but probably a

⁹ Cf. Chapter Twenty-two, Sec. IV.

¹⁰ On the management of the imperial estates in Africa, cf. J. J. Van Nostrand, *The Imperial Domains of Africa Proconsularis*; W. E. Heitland, *op. cit.*, pp. 342-361; M. I. Rostovtzeff, *op. cit.*, pp. 274-293, 321 f., etc.

steady trend after the first century for the worse, despite the marked development of private tenure. The same was probably true of most sections of the Empire. It is this condition that accounts to a considerable extent for the general decline in scientific agriculture, already evident in the latter half of the second century.

Agriculture was everywhere the outstanding industry and almost the exclusive one in most provinces. During the first two centuries of the Empire agricultural production was vastly expanded, cultivation was more intensive, and the emperors gave much encouragement to scientific farming and reclamation of lands by irrigation works. Especially was this true in Africa, Egypt, Syria, Transjordan, and in the less-settled provinces of the North and West. Spain and Africa, where the olive had not been native, now became the chief centers of oil production in the Empire, an interesting example of the shifting effects of colonization on the industry and commerce of the homeland. "Monte Testaccio," near the Tiber, a huge mound over 100 feet high and half a mile in circumference, whose core is composed of broken oil and wheat jars from Spain and Africa, dating from 50 to 250 A.D., is a monument to their exports to Rome. Italy was also displaced in the wine market by Asia Minor, Syria, Palestine, and the Greek Islands, and in the oil market by Asia Minor and Syria.

Thus, while agriculture was rapidly expanding in the less-settled provinces, in Italy it remained practically static. Viticulture, which Columella considered to be a first-class investment in Nero's day, was faced, before the close of the century, with a grave problem of overproduction, due to the growing competition with southern Gaul. Wine prices in Italy fell to such a ruinously low level as to cause a grave agrarian crisis. The embargo of Domitian on all new vine planting in Italy and the uprooting or "plowing under" of at least half the vines in the provinces may have brought some temporary relief, but the thriving wine industry of southern Gaul is strong evidence that it was never rigidly applied. In any event, this policy of scarcity failed to restore agricultural prosperity to Italy.

Neither Italy nor any part of the Empire ever suffered from overproduction of grain, partly due to the general spread of wine and olive culture throughout the West and East. Rome insured her own safety by strict regulation of the import of Egypt and by the control of the public lands of Africa, Gaul, Spain, and Sicily. But many Greek cities sometimes suffered, as in 93 A.D. Vespasian, Domitian, and Hadrian all took measures to promote grain production in the provinces.

2. THE CITIES OF THE EMPIRE AND THEIR ECONOMIC LIFE

The assertion of Aelius Aristides in 154 A.D. that "the whole inhabited world was one city-state," though rhetorical, was essentially correct, as he meant it. In this century urbanization reached its climax in the Roman Empire. Never before was so much of Europe, Asia, and Africa so civilized, wealthy, and comfortable. Numidia trebled its municipalities in the course of the century, and the ruins of Roman towns in modern Tunisia and northern Syria suggest

the former existence of an almost continuous city civilization. Even in Egypt distinct capitals, or *metropoleis*, developed out of the numerous agricultural villages and began, in the latter half of the second century, to take on at least the form of Greek municipalities.

Important nuclei for the expansion of city life on the frontiers were the civilian settlements (*canabae*), largely of native traders, about the permanent military camps. These centers grew by the influx of many retired soldiers, and many such frontier communities were later given the status of Roman *coloniae*, or *municipia*, by the Flavians, Trajan, and Hadrian. Of such origin were the modern Rhine cities of Bonn (Bonna), Mainz (Moguntiacum), Wiesbaden (Aquae Mattiacae), and Strassburg (Argentoratum), as also Vienna (Vindobona), Budapest (Aquincum), and Belgrade (Singidunum) on the Danube.

The natural tendency to urban development was also actively promoted by the emperors, especially by Trajan and Hadrian. Never since the Hellenistic monarchs were so many Greek towns named after the rulers. Trajanopolises and Hadrianopolises were many. These emperors sought to advance Hellenic culture, Romanization, and civilized life by the establishment of new citizen colonies, by introducing citizen groups into native settlements, by stimulating the expansion in industry, trade and agriculture, and by generous grants of municipal or colonial status. As a result, the citizen franchise gradually included the upper class in every city of the Empire except Egypt. Rapid urbanization ceased after Hadrian, however, and henceforth the trend was the other way. Never again was urban life to be so general and important in the regions comprised in the Roman Empire, until the nineteenth century.

Some appreciation of this remarkable urban development in the first two centuries of our era may be gained by a mere enumeration of a few of the more important cities.¹¹ Rome, the imperial and cosmopolitan center of world politics, trade, and culture, with its rich and varied life, great public works, splendid public and private buildings, suburban villas, baths, theatres, amphitheatres, arches, columns, spacious fora, and public and private gardens, was the peer of all. Second came the great provincial capitals of Alexandria, Antioch in Syria, Ephesus, Carthage, and Lyons. After these might be named a multitude of others, famous in ancient literature or known for their extensive ruins.¹²

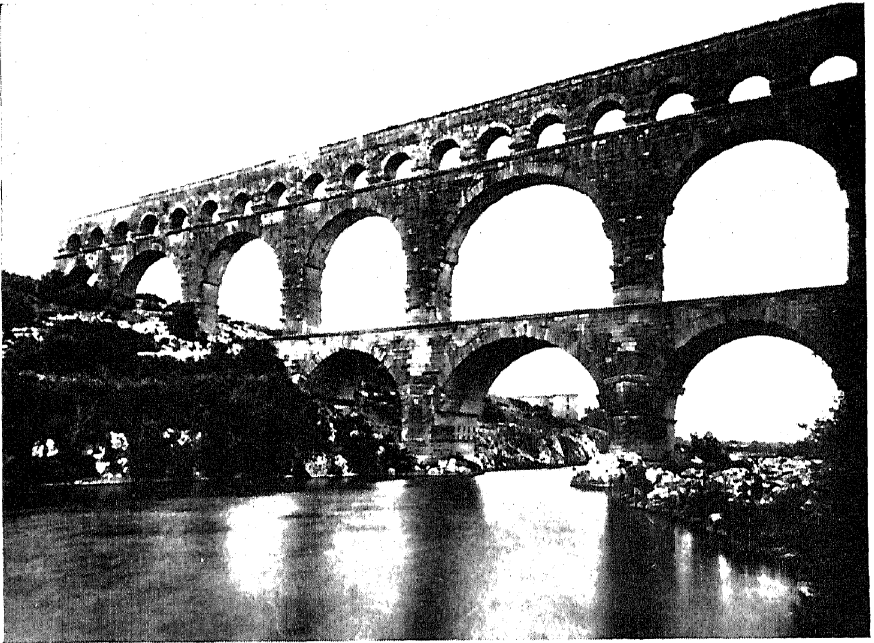
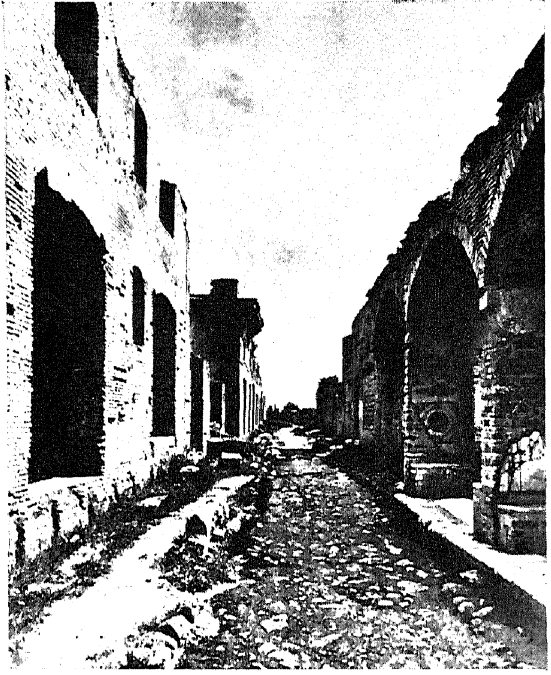
As always, the cities of the Empire varied widely, according to their origin, political importance, local conditions, and economic basis. The richest and most beautiful were the great commercial or industrial centers located on the coast or on navigable rivers or the great caravan routes. Others were provincial capitals or centers of a rich agricultural section. Multitudes of the smaller towns

¹¹ Ancient source material on the cities of the Empire is exceptionally rich: literary, Statius, Martial, Juvenal, and Pliny the Younger for Italy and the West, and Pliny, Dio Chrysostom, Lucian, Josephus, Philo, Aristides for Greece and the East; archaeological, thousands of inscriptions and papyri in Greek and Latin, vast numbers of coins struck by the cities, and many well-preserved remains of splendid cities, all revealing a vast amount of intimate detail on all phases of ancient city life.

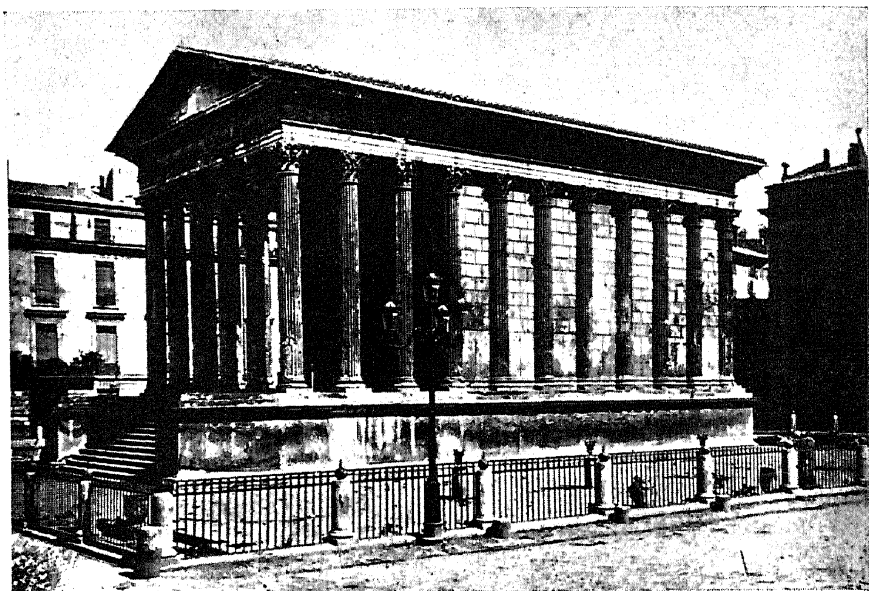
¹² For such a list, which as he states is very far from exhaustive, cf. M. I. Rostovtzeff, *op. cit.*, pp. 132 f. Most of these will be named or described in Chapter Twenty-four, Sec. V.

Right: Via della Casa di Diana. The houses at Ostia, a Roman metropolis, differed strikingly from the Pompeian house in design. Some of them were four or five stories high, and had neither atrium nor peristyle, but only a hall or court in the center, around which numerous uniform rooms were grouped. The House of Diana appears as a great modern apartment building with flats for rent. Large windows and balconies on the upper floors were common. Second century A.D.

(Anderson)



The Pont du Gard, Rome's splendid triple-arched aqueduct near Nîmes, France. Its length is 900 feet and height 160 feet. Early first century A.D.



Upper: The Maison Carrée, Corinthian Temple at Nîmes, France. One of the finest monuments of imperial Rome. First century A.D. *Lower:* The Pantheon at Rome, one of the greatest achievements in Roman construction. It was rebuilt by Hadrian in the second century A.D. The porch retained from the original rectangular building of the Augustan age still bears the inscription of Agrippa, its builder. (Anderson)

had developed from agricultural villages, as was especially true of most of the African and many in the Western provinces.

The cities throughout the Empire, and especially in the Hellenistic East, were remarkably modern in their provision for the comforts and culture of civilized life. They had their drainage systems, an abundant supply of pure water provided by aqueducts even to the upper stories of the homes, clean, and sometimes lighted, well-paved streets,¹³ spacious paved squares for market or forum, covered porticoes, elaborate public baths with central heating, public latrines, splendid temples, imposing halls and basilicas for municipal administration, and buildings for sport, exercise, entertainment, and education, such as gymnasia, palaestrae, theatres, amphitheatres, circuses, stadia, public libraries, lecture halls, and art galleries. The better homes were also roomy, with upper stories, and provided with such modern conveniences as private bath, running water, and means of heating. They were beautified by art, and many had their garden retreat to the rear, as in Pompeii. In short, the cities of the Roman Empire could outdo many European and American cities in beauty and could vie with them in public provision for comfort, cultural development, and even hygienic facilities.

For their regular revenue the cities depended upon a variety of land and other taxes on residents, both citizens and strangers. But their splendid buildings were largely erected by the generous gifts of their wealthier citizens. Aside from special building projects, however, the current expenses of Roman cities were very heavy, perhaps even relatively higher than those of modern cities. While they did not pay salaries to their magistrates and council, but rather profited by their bounty, they paid their minor officials. Other heavy expenses were for civic religion, maintenance and upkeep of the public buildings, public education, and, above all, to secure a regular and abundant food supply, for none of them were entirely self-sufficient. In solving this latter problem, the municipal officials received no assistance from the imperial government, but, on the contrary, it seriously hampered them by monopolizing large quantities of grain for Rome and the army and by its control of all the means of transport. Especially did the newer towns at a distance from the main sea or land highways find the problem difficult. Many cities, especially Greek, often had periods of dearth or famine, which led to social unrest among the urban masses. The problem of providing a sufficient and regular supply of olive oil for the city was only second in importance to the problem of grain.

From Hellenistic times Greek cities had taken more responsibility for public education, including physical training of the youth. The cost to the municipalities of the Roman Empire, especially the Hellenized cities of the East, was a considerable item, though education was limited largely to the privileged classes. It involved the building and maintenance of a gymnasium, palaestra, and halls, large sums for salaries of teachers, and a considerable expense for olive oil in physical training for those unable to provide for it. Endowments were sometimes provided for teachers by wealthy citizens or even by the em-

¹³ The old idea that the houses had "blind fronts" facing the streets has been proven erroneous by excavations at Ostia and Pompeii, as also the belief that the streets were dark at night. Cf. M. I. Rostovtzeff, *op. cit.*, p. 527, n. 6, for evidence.

perors, as we have seen. The expense for repair and maintenance of the many temples and for the numerous civic sacrifices, feasts, processions, and games also bore heavily on the treasuries of the cities. Public games were largely supported by the magistrates and wealthy citizens, but the cities were often obliged to supplement these funds to keep the proletariat satisfied.

To meet the heavy municipal budget the cities, like the early Greek democracies, leaned heavily on their wealthier citizens. To hold a magistracy or honorary post involved the payment of a specified sum to the city. Generous grants for municipal building and public works and for public games and festivals were also expected. In times of financial difficulty a "voluntary" loan was raised, to which the rich were practically forced by public opinion to subscribe generously. The old Greek liturgies were also brought back, by which the rich were expected to contribute for some public project. Until the middle of the second century, however, it was seldom necessary to resort to direct compulsion to fill the magistracies and other honorary official positions, or to secure aid in building and civic improvement. With remarkable generosity and civic pride, the wealthy citizens vied with each other in giving for the public good.

Most remarkable are both the number of wealthy donors and the size of their gifts, especially in the cities of the Greek East, but also in Italy and the West. Hundreds are known in Greece and Asia Minor alone who were usually also among the most cultivated men of their time. An outstanding example was Herodes Atticus of Athens, the ruins of whose splendid Odeum still grace the southwest wall of the Acropolis. The fact that such gifts constantly increased in number and size during the century from 50 to 150 A.D. is a sufficient evidence of the growing prosperity and strong civic spirit of the municipal aristocracy throughout the Empire. Wealth was no longer concentrated in a very few hands, but was held by thousands in all sections of the Roman world. Instead of Roman senators, the multimillionaires were increasingly among the freedmen and municipal bourgeoisie outside of Italy, as both the gifts and the splendid funeral monuments, all over the Empire, especially in Asia Minor, Syria, Africa, Gaul, and even in the newer Danubian lands prove.¹⁴

The outlook for the future, however, was not bright. The ambition of the cities for embellishment and expenditure beyond their means and the lavish generosity of their wealthy citizens depleted the resources of both, bringing financial difficulties and the intervention of imperial procurators. During the latter half of the second century the free gifts of the municipal bourgeoisie became increasingly compulsory, and the burden was enhanced by the growing demands of the imperial government. Ominous also was the fact that city civilization, even in the second century, was only a very thin veneer. The vast uncivilized country, largely untouched by the culture or comforts of the cities, still clung to its primitive local traditions, cults, and languages.

¹⁴ Cf. M. I. Rostovtzeff, *op. cit.*, pp. 141-145, 529 f., notes 13-15, for further data.

3. TRADE AND TRANSPORT

The chief source of large fortunes in the second century was probably commerce and transportation, whose profits were invested chiefly in land or loaned on real-estate mortgages. Trade was now more extensively and intensively developed than in the first century, reaching its climax in the age of the Antonines. The speech of Aelius Aristides, though rhetorical, correctly states the meaning of the *pax Romana* to trade and intercourse in his day. "What could be better and more advantageous than the present situation? Now anyone can go wherever he pleases unafraid. All harbors everywhere are alive with business, even the mountains are as safe for the traveler as are the cities for their inhabitants."

Foreign commerce beyond the frontiers of the Empire now bulked large. Coins of Trajan and Hadrian witness to sporadic trade with Ireland from Britain.¹⁵ Merchants penetrated by way of the Holland coast and up the rivers to Denmark. Others followed the amber route from the Danube, down the Vistula and across the Baltic to Sweden. The numerous coins of the second century found in Silesia and on the Swedish islands still tell the story. Roman coins and Roman pottery and glassware found in the tombs in the region of the Dnieper are evidence of active trade from the lower Danubian states. Roman commerce also brought new prosperity in the second century to the Greek cities on the north shore of the Black Sea, which exported grain, hides, fish, hemp, furs, and wax to Greece and the Roman armies in central Asia Minor and on the Danube.

In the East adventurous Greeks explored the coast of East Africa to Cape Delgado and penetrated toward the Great Lakes at the sources of the Nile. Egypt had commerce with the kingdom of Meroë and the recently established kingdom of Abyssinia (Axum), and, through their mediation, with central Africa for ivory.¹⁶ Especially active, however, was the commerce of Alexandria with Arabia Felix, which in no way limited the rich caravan trade between Arabia and Syria via Petra, Bostra, and Palmyra to Antioch and the Phoenician coast. As we have seen, the finest buildings, richest tombs, and most splendid funeral monuments of these caravan cities date from the second century, and the chief source of their brilliant prosperity was this trade.

A new impetus to overland trade with the Far East at the close of the century was given by the enterprise of the Han dynasty in China. In 97 A.D. a Chinese envoy made his way to Antioch and established direct relations with the governor of Syria. In his report of his visit he gave an interesting description of the Roman Empire, emphasizing its many cities and roads, the cheapness of gold, the honesty of its merchants (a relative matter), and the possibilities of a highly profitable trade. This commerce was much stimulated by Trajan and Hadrian, who probably had agreements with Parthia for free passage of Greek and Syrian merchants in transcontinental trade with China.

¹⁵ Cf. Haverfield, *English Historical Review*, 1913, pp. 1 ff.

¹⁶ Ptolemy's marked advance over Pliny in knowledge of this coast of Africa, as also of Abyssinia and the south coast of Arabia, is clear evidence of the great increase in commercial activity with these regions.

In any event, in Hadrian's reign or soon after, Greek merchants penetrated to Kashgar, and Greco-Syrian frescoes in Buddhist monasteries of western China prove that Greek or Syrian artisans reached the bounds of the "flowery land." Silk and embroidered woolen cloths, probably of Syrian manufacture, found in central Asia, are also evidence of such intercourse with the Far East.

The more popular trade route to the Far East, however, was from Alexandria via the Red Sea to India and thence to China. As we have seen,¹⁷ the discovery of the periodicity of the monsoons by Hippalus about 50 A.D., which freed Alexandrian merchants from the monopoly and mediation of the Arabs, gave a new impetus to trade with India and China. In southern India, the land of pearls and spices, multitudes of Roman coins of the Julio-Claudian period have been discovered. After the reign of Nero, however, the coins decrease in the south and are found more in the cotton regions of northern India. Roman trade with India was regular, not sporadic, and was by no means chiefly in luxuries. Both Ptolemy and the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* stress the number of merchants in Indian trade, and Ptolemy gained much of his information from men who had lived long in the country. Before the middle of the century Greek merchants had marked out open-sea routes across the Bay of Bengal, and at least one had crossed the Malay peninsula and sailed up the Annam coast to Tongking. Still later some Greek traders, who posed as an embassy from "An-Tun" (Marcus Aurelius Antoninus), were received at the court of the Chinese ruler at Loyang, and laid the basis for direct sea commerce between the Mediterranean lands and China. Literature, inscriptions, and coins testify to the stimulus to overland and sea trade with the Far East given by the emperors of the first and second centuries. They probably encouraged the direct route to India to avoid the loss of tolls and harbor dues to Parthia and the Arabs.

Regular trade relations with eastern India and China, directly by Greeks, however, were not established until too late, when trade was already declining and the Empire was soon to enter the chaos of the third century. Commerce with western India, on the other hand, was already very extensive in the first century, as is proven by the warehouses for Malabar pepper, which were built at Ostia.¹⁸ Overland commerce with the Far East continued for centuries after the decline of sea trade and was still regular with the Eastern Roman Empire under Justinian in the sixth century. A significant example of the penetration of Roman and Persian influence to the Far East is the expansion of Syrian-Nestorian Christianity over India and China.

Despite the remarkable development of foreign commerce in the Empire of the Flavians and Antonines, it could by no means compete with inter-provincial and provincial trade as a source of wealth for the large coast and river towns. This was true even for provinces like Syria and Egypt. The chief exporters of grain were Egypt, Africa, Sardinia, Sicily, Gaul, and Spain. The

¹⁷ Chapter Nineteen, Sec. I.

¹⁸ On transcontinental trade with China, cf. F. Hirth, *China and the Roman Orient*; on the sea route to India, cf. E. H. Warmington, *The Commerce Between the Roman Empire and India*; M. Cary and E. H. Warmington, *op. cit.*, pp. 77 ff. On both routes, cf. M. P. Charlesworth, *op. cit.*, Chaps. IV, VI.

finest olive oil came from Spain, but a cheaper quality was exported in large quantities from Africa for lamps and toilet use. The finest wines were produced by Italy, Greece, Asia Minor, and Gaul. The chief purchaser of these bulky necessities from the wholesale merchants was the imperial *annona* providing for the armies of the Rhine, Danube, and Euphrates, and the city of Rome. For this reason the numerous *collegia* of merchants and shipowners on sea (*navicularii*) or rivers (*nautae*) were encouraged and protected by the imperial government, as practically necessary to the welfare of the state. The large building at Ostia, housing the provincial and local *collegia*, which handled the *annona*, proves that this policy of organizing the large merchants and shipowners was already well developed by the reign of Claudius.

Interprovincial commerce was by no means limited to this chief item of the imperial *annona*, however. The merchants and transporters also served many large cities of the Empire, which were quite dependent on imported foodstuffs and many industrial products. Such trade very greatly increased in the second century. The security of travel by road or river under the Empire, the low customs duties, and the excellent Roman highways also produced a development of intraprovincial trade before unknown, especially in the newer provinces. The same may be said of the trade within the provincial cities, as the ruins of the shops and the numerous names of retail traders prove.

This extensive development of interprovincial and local trade meant prosperity for the provinces. But for Italy it meant the loss of the central position in world commerce, which she had held for two centuries and on which the prosperity of her industry and agriculture depended. The decline was, of course, gradual, but the inevitable trend appears in the gradual decay of Puteoli as the chief commercial and industrial center in the West, which was not due merely to the building of the harbor near Ostia by Claudius.¹⁹ Ostia did not take its place in export trade even in the second century, but remained as before the chief import harbor for Rome. It now counted its 100,000 inhabitants, and the excavated ruins of its great warehouses prove that it was second only to Alexandria in the volume of trade handled.

The commerce, industry, and agriculture of Gaul, with its splendid river system, reached a new height of prosperity in the second century. Lyons and Trèves thrived as the chief distributing centers for foods and other supplies to the imperial armies. Lyons was also the great industrial center for Gaul, Britain, and Germany. Its inscriptions and sculptures and the elaborately sculptured funeral monuments of Trèves witness to their commercial wealth.²⁰ The prosperity of Arlate and Narbo in southern Gaul, on the other hand, was largely based on their export of wine and other Gallic products to Rome, Italy, and even throughout the East. Gaul had no commercial rivals in the West, except Aquileia and the ports of Dalmatia, which largely monopolized the trade of the Danubian provinces.²¹ Aside from the extensive export of Spanish

¹⁹ Cf. M. I. Rostovtzeff, *op. cit.*, p. 150, for evidence.

²⁰ Cf. M. I. Rostovtzeff, *op. cit.*, p. 153-156, including Pl. XXIII, Industry and Commerce in Gaul.

²¹ This accounts for the continued prosperity of northern Italy while central and southern Italy decayed.

oil and African wheat and oil to Rome and Italy, the commerce of these provinces was largely internal.

The Eastern provinces were also regaining their commercial independence of Italy, which they had held before the Roman conquest, by supplying the needs of the imperial *annona* for the armies of the Euphrates frontier as well as for Rome. Their great trade centers of Egypt, Syria, and Asia Minor also thrived on their heavy export trade to Rome in both native industrial products and imported articles from China and India. The chief source of the commercial and industrial prosperity of the East, however, was the greatly widened market in the thriving cities throughout the Empire, for a multitude of products, such as fine textiles, artistic furniture, silver plate, perfumes, toilet articles, spices, and many art objects. Once luxuries, these had now become practically necessities for the comfort and culture of the large middle class.²²

In this rich trade Roman and Italian merchants had little or no share. Never able to compete successfully with the shrewd Greeks and Syrians, they turned their activities to the West. But Syrian and Egyptian merchants had maintained their agents and storehouses in Putcoli even from the second century B.C. On the establishment of the Empire, they practically monopolized Oriental trade with the West and increasingly displaced the merchants of Italy also in Italian and Western ports. Even in Gaul, Britain, and Dacia, Oriental traders were common, and local bankers in the provinces displaced Italian in providing capital and facilities for trade. Strangely enough, the imperial government, while actively encouraging commercial expansion and granting privileges to the merchants and shipowners throughout the Empire, continued largely its old policy of *laissez faire* and freedom of foreign and internal trade, making no attempt to stem the commercial tide against Italy. Even in Egypt the Ptolemaic monopoly on trade and industry by means of concessions was gradually discontinued.

Despite the multitude of *collegia* of wholesale and retail merchants, shipowners, and transporters in all the chief centers of the Empire, Roman commerce was still controlled by individuals rather than by large capitalized trade corporations. While more than mere clubs for social or religious purposes, the trade associations were in no real sense business corporations, but groups of individual merchants and shippers organized to protect their mutual interests and especially for convenient regulation of the relations between them and the state. There is no hint of the modern type of commercial corporation in Roman legislation on these associations (*societates*).²³

4. COMMUNICATIONS AND IMPERIAL POLICY

Unlike modern states, the Roman Empire had no strong national feeling, but as an all-embracing state coextensive with civilization, it had a certain

²² M. I. Rostovtzeff, *op. cit.*, p. 158, calls attention to the "astonishing number" of Alexandrian articles found even in the half-Greek cities of southern Russia.

²³ Cf. M. I. Rostovtzeff, *op. cit.*, pp. 160 f., 536 f., and notes on pp. 532 f. His only exception is the companies of merchants in Palmyra which seemed to have permanent presidents, but our data as to these companies are very meager. He believes, however, that their "parallel" is to be sought in ancient Babylon rather than in the Roman Empire.

economic unity. It was also united by a common, though bilingual, culture. Its chief bonds, however, were external, the army and the imperial administrative system that penetrated into every remotest section of the Empire and centered in the emperor. Yet in the last analysis imperial government, commerce, cultural bonds, and indeed the very existence of the Empire itself depended vitally upon the efficiency of its means of communication by sea and land. But despite their Mediterranean empire, the Romans were never a seafaring people like the Greeks. Occasionally, when crises demanded under the Republic, they temporarily faced the issue. Under the Empire, also, imperial fleets policed the Mediterranean Sea and Black Sea, making them secure from pirates. Squadrons were stationed at Misenum, Ravenna, Alexandria, Seleucia (the harbor of Antioch), off Britain, and in the Black Sea, and fleets policed the Rhine and Danube.

But imperial Rome never really faced the problem of sea communications. The Roman navy was always distinctly below the army in prestige. Its crews were drawn from freedmen and noncitizens, even its admirals were often freedmen, and its marines were at a distinct disadvantage in pay and term of service, compared with the legionaries. Sea trade also was never held in high repute by Romans, and Roman merchants became increasingly scarce in maritime commerce, as we have seen. Shipping actually declined after the Hellenistic age, under Roman rule, and in so far as there was significant exploration in the Roman period, it is to be traced to Greeks.

To be sure, the emperors recognized the vast importance of sea trade to the very existence of the capital, as is seen in their careful supervision of the imperial *annona*, in their encouragement of the merchant and shipmaster's associations, and in the ruins of the great food warehouses and halls for the *collegia* of merchants from all parts of the Empire at Ostia. But shipping and seafaring did not improve and expand with the development of the Empire. A striking evidence of this is the dangers, delays, and haphazard character of shipping on the Mediterranean as reflected in the story of St. Paul's journey from Palestine to Rome in the age of Nero.²⁴ This failure of the Roman state to develop improvements in shipping and sea transport in line with the expanding Empire was one factor leading to its later downfall.

Highly valuable for inland transportation of heavier goods were the lakes of northern Italy and Switzerland, the river systems of Gaul and Spain, and the Rhine and Danube, with their tributaries. Witnesses to the importance of such inland waterways for internal trade are the numerous inscriptions of guilds of shipmasters found in these regions. Yet the imperial government seems to have done little to expand and develop these natural waterways, except to restore the old Persian canal connecting the Mediterranean and the Red Sea.

In the matter of land communications²⁵ the policy of imperial Rome presents a striking contrast. Road-building was a chief concern of the imperial government, as indispensable to the security and prosperity of the state. Its far-

²⁴ Acts 27-28. Cf. above, Chapter Nineteen, Sec. I, 2.

²⁵ For an excellent description of the roads in the several Roman provinces, cf. M. P. Charlesworth, *Trade Routes and Commerce of the Roman Empire*, 2d ed., Cambridge, 1926.

flung system of splendid highways was one of the greatest aids to the advancement of world trade and civilization under the Roman aegis. The emperors spent vast sums both from their own and the imperial treasury for this purpose, using the army largely in the actual construction. The responsibility for building and maintenance of the lesser roads was left to the local municipalities, but even here the emperors kept increasingly close supervision.

Italy had been well supplied with main highways under the Republic, but the vast network of roads in the provinces was mostly the work of the Empire.²⁶ This network extended through Spain, from southern Gaul northward, connecting the main towns, from such centers as Lyons and Trèves in all directions, along the Rhine and Danube, throughout Britain, from town to town in Roman Africa, over the passes of the Alps to the Danube, down the Dalmatian coast, through the Balkans to Byzantium, over Dacia, throughout Asia Minor and into the Armenian mountains, through the Syrian Desert to Palmyra and the great Nabataean trade centers, from the north shore of the Red Sea to Petra, Bostra, and Damascus, through Palestine to Egypt, from the northeastern Red Sea halfway to Mecca, from Berenice to Koptos on the Nile, and even along the Nile to Assuan.

These splendid highways, well policed by imperial soldiers, were one of the greatest accomplishments of Roman civilization. Aelius Aristides says, "They linked together the nations of the world as one great family," and carried security, trade, and civilization to the most remote and backward sections of the Empire. The Romans, he declares, have surveyed the whole world, bridged the rivers, and cut roads in the sides of the mountains. No more need one fear either the Cilician Gates or the sandy paths of Arabia.²⁷ Until the nineteenth century there were no such facilities for secure travel in most of the regions comprised in the Roman Empire (and in many of the Mohammedan lands still) as existed in the Roman Empire of the second century.

The thoroughness of Rome's road construction, like her splendid bridges and viaducts, must command the respect of anyone. Such splendid structures as the great bridges over the Nar at Narni in Umbria, built by Augustus, over the Tagus at Alcántara in Spain, over the Danube by Trajan, and the Pont du Gard aqueduct near Nîmes, as also the great imperial system of permanent roads, are expressive of the far-reaching vision and solidity of the Roman imperial government of the first two centuries A.D. On the other hand, nothing better illustrates the tragic decline of the Empire and civilization than their later decay.

5. INDUSTRY

The prolonged internal peace in the Roman Empire from Vespasian to Marcus Aurelius and the rapid expansion of roads gave a strong impetus to the development of industry. Even in the country districts of the West the goods of city shop and factory penetrated to displace the old autonomy. The mines of Spain, Britain, and Dacia were actively exploited, and Spanish gold,

²⁶ The only important roads extending from Italy under the Republic were the Egnatian to Macedonia and Thrace and the Aurelian, continued by Domitian through southern Gaul to Spain.

²⁷ *To Rome*. For the Pont du Gard, cf. Pl. XIX.

lead, and silver, British tin, iron, and lead, and Dacian gold were extensively exported.

Naturally, the greatest expansion of industry was in the Western provinces, especially in Gaul, which even rose almost to an equality with Syria and Egypt industrially. Its excellent clays encouraged the development of the pottery industry on a large scale. Already in the Flavian period its *terra sigillata* ware from its factories at Graufesenque was beginning to compete successfully with the Arretine ware of Italy, as we have seen. The industry extended later to Lezoux (Ledoso), where have been discovered over 100 furnaces and almost 3,000 names of potters. In the second century other centers of the industry developed at Tabernae in the Rhine Valley (Rheinzabern), Trèves, Cologne, and elsewhere. The products of these factories were sent all over Gaul, and to Britain, Spain, Africa, Italy, and have been found even in Egypt. An unopened case of pottery found at Pompeii contained much from Gaul for Italy and beyond. Never in the ancient world did the pottery industry develop to such large-scale proportions as in Gaul.²⁸

Glass manufacture also, which had long been the monopoly of Egypt and Syria, now developed on a large scale in Gaul. The first industry centered in Lyons, but in the second century the large factories were in the Rhine Valley and especially in Normandy. Cologne glass was famed for its transparency, though it lacked the artistic form of the Alexandrian and Campanian products. Gallic glass was exported all over Gaul and to Britain, and after the first century the imports of Syrian glass cease. Other extensive Gallic industrial products were woolen and linen textiles, iron from the foundries of Lyons, bronze ware with Celtic decoration, armor, and tin and silver plating. Gallic woolen cushions and cloaks were in great demand. Thus, by early in the second century, Gallic pottery, bronze ware, and glass had largely displaced the Italian in Western markets, and even in Italy.

In the East industry continued to prosper and even made some advances. In Greece, Patrae (Patras), on the route from Brundisium to Corinth, now first rose to importance for its linen textiles. Purple dyeing continued to prosper, and Athens did a good business in statuary. But industry had largely forsaken Greece. Only Thessalonica and Corinth could compare with the other great cities of the Empire, and this was due primarily not to their industries, but to their position on the main trade routes. In the Hellenistic East, however, it was a different story. Asia Minor was famous for its fine woolens and purple-dyed fabrics, carpets, leather goods, and tents. In Syria industry especially thrived. Its soft silken stuffs of Berytus, linen textiles and purple robes of the Phoenician cities, Damascus blades of finest steel, and glass and leather goods were in general demand. Alexandria in Egypt continued to be a busy hive of industry, and its glassware, papyrus, leather goods, linen textiles, perfumes, cosmetics, and fine jewelry were sent throughout the Empire.

The most striking fact about industry in this period is its rapid diffusion throughout the newer provinces and the local centers. The expense of land transportation and the economic development of the Western provinces caused

²⁸ Belgica also produced a black pottery, and Vindonissa, in Helvetian Gaul, was a center of mass production of terra-cotta lamps.

them to develop manufacture for local needs and even to compete successfully with the older centers in export trade, such as the East and Italy. This decentralization of industry was not limited to Gaul. In every province local imitations of once-imported products were developed to supply its local needs. As Italy had lost to Gaul, so Gallic export industry in the age of the Antonines began to feel the effects of the diffusion.

Since there were no patents, all were free to imitate. The imperial government also did nothing to protect Italian industry as it did for the winegrowers, an evidence of the relative unimportance of factory industry in the total economy of the Roman world. Its predominant type was the small shop even more than in the Hellenistic age. Especially after Hadrian did the factory industry steadily decline. The chief reason for the halting of the development of capitalistic industry in the Roman Empire was not slavery, as is often asserted. There were many factors, as the abundant opportunity for safe investment in land, the lack of real competition through Rome's unification of the world in one Empire, and the lack of purchasing power of the vast mass of the people who grew rapidly poorer after the middle of the second century. But the outstanding factor was the tendency toward diffusion and decentralization. It affected not only interprovincial commerce, but trade within the provinces as well. Wherever there was no river system for easy transportation, as in Gaul, each inland town sought to become self-sufficient by imitating imported products.

This growing decentralization of industry inevitably meant a gradual decline in artistry and technique. The products became stereotyped, and new forms and methods ceased to develop. A comparison of the beautiful Arretine pottery of Italy with the Gallic imitation, and of the Gallic with the later imitations, reveals the gradual decline in taste and skill. A similar decline in fine craftsmanship appears in the jewelry, furniture, arms, and domestic utensils. It became most profitable to reproduce merely standardized goods, the finer and dearer products lost their appeal, and the factories and shops of central and southern Italy stood idle. The multitudes of industrial objects in the museums from the second century show practically no new discovery in technique.

Thus the rosy picture of Roman imperial prosperity in the second century painted by Aelius Aristides had its darker side on closer examination. Over against the wide expansion of agriculture, industry, and trade must be placed the steady increase in the size of the estates and submergence of the agricultural masses, a decline in scientific farming to a more primitive cultivation by small tenants, a decline in Italian and factory industry, and a gradual degeneration in industrial technique and artistry in favor of a stereotyped product.

6. LABOR AND THE "COLLEGIA"

Owing to the decrease of prisoners of war under the Roman peace and the constant increase in manumissions, the number of slaves had steadily declined. Yet industrial labor in small shop and factory was still chiefly slave. Hence no labor question arose in imperial Roman industry, and labor organization for distinctly economic purposes was practically unknown. Only in the large

industrial cities of Asia Minor do we hear of anything of the nature of a real industrial strike as distinguished from the flights of the quasi-serf cultivators and artisans of Egypt to the marshes of the Delta. Here, the associations of textile workers were not slaves or serfs, though belonging to a socially inferior class devoid of the full franchise. As a result, we have frequent mention of city mobs of workmen in shop and factory organizing to foment social revolution, as in the cities of Bithynia and Tarsus. But such conditions were limited to Asia Minor.

A striking feature of the Flavian and Antonine periods was the rapid growth of *collegia*,²⁰ or associations of persons who had some common interest. These were three general types, vocational or professional, religious, and the associations of humble folk (*collegia tenuiorum*) to secure for themselves and their families proper burial. Thus were built the *columbaria* (pigeon houses), or walls, in and near Rome, with niches to receive the ashes of the common dead. No rigid distinction can be drawn between the types of *collegia*, however, for social and religious interests were usually present in all types. The known industrial guilds increased from over twenty in the Republican period to 130 in the early Empire in Rome and Ostia alone, besides several hundred in the towns of Italy and the provinces. They were also very strong in Lyons and the industrial cities of Narbonese and Cisalpine Gaul. The marked increase in these artisan corporations was the result of the expansion of industry and commerce and the growing division of labor during the first two centuries of the Empire.

In organization the *collegia* were modeled after the municipalities. They had a well-to-do patron, similar officials, and a treasury which was supported by initiation fees of 100 sesterces, monthly dues of five *asses*, fines, special contributions, gifts, and legacies. This revenue ordinarily sufficed to provide for a place of meeting, sick benefits, occasional feasts or celebrations, and burial expenses, including the cost of a niche in the *columbarium* with a simple monument.

The dominant motive of the vocational colleges was also essentially social rather than economic. They presented no parallel either to the medieval craft guilds or the modern trade union. In an essentially slave economy, problems of collective bargaining, apprenticeship, wages, hours, and conditions of labor had little or no place, except to a slight degree under the peculiar conditions existing in Asia Minor. They were also not permanent companies or corporations for joint enterprise in the modern sense. This is true even of the strong *collegia* of merchants and shipowners. Each individual merchant or shipper pursued his independent business, though they sought protection of their mutual interests and perhaps concessions to the trade in the matter of taxes. The chief aims of the majority of colleges were to secure esteem for their services to the community or state as a group, to satisfy their social needs and stimulate morale by assembly for common worship, assuring decent burial even to the poorest, and aid in sickness or accident. Thus they would rise

²⁰ The word *sodalitas* (*sodalitium*), at first used of sacred brotherhood, was later also applied to dangerous political clubs. *Corpus* became more common for *collegium* after the second century.

above the level of the mass of the proletariat and make life a little more worth living.

Trajan authorized the free organization of the humble funerary associations (*collegia tenuiorum*) in Rome, however, and by the close of the century this right was extended to Italy and the provinces. M. Aurelius recognized them as legal associations with the right to receive legacies and to free slaves. But they were not allowed to meet oftener than once a month, and no person could be a member of more than one. In the *tenuiorum* were included not only free wage workers, but freedmen, slaves, and often women. Many laws were passed in the second and third centuries to protect these humbler colleges. Such laws as that of M. Aurelius and those of his successors, recognizing the right to inherit property and to bring action in law and incur obligations, are historically significant as giving to them attributes as ideal personalities in law with rights and obligations apart from their members, a fundamental quality of the modern corporation. Thus did Rome lay the basis of corporation law.³⁰

From the time of M. Aurelius, at least, and probably much earlier, the emperors gave imperial patronage, honors, and privileges to those corporations, such as the colleges of merchants and shipowners who served the state *annona* in providing oil, grain, and other necessities for the capital.³¹ This policy was expanded to the colleges of bakers (*pistores*), pork merchants (*suarii*), wine merchants (*vinarii*), and oil merchants (*olearii*) in the early third century, when the problem of feeding the masses in Rome became increasingly difficult and the state began distributing oil and cheap wine as well as grain. This resulted in the gradual transformation of these voluntary services of the *collegia* to public duties (*munera*), until by the close of the century all the *collegia* and their individual members were rapidly being regimented to the service of the state.

7. BANKING AND FINANCE

Banking and credit operations on a large scale developed rapidly during the first two centuries of the Empire to meet the needs of expanding agriculture, trade, and industry. But the banks continued to be individual affairs rather than joint-stock companies, though some were in the form of partnerships. The business was largely in the hands of Greeks even in the West. In Egypt Rome freed banking from government monopoly, and private banks received money on deposit, paid interest, advanced credit to finance business ventures or to pay taxes, made payments by transference of accounts, and dealt in exchange, just as elsewhere throughout the Empire. Their function as money-changers became less important with the Roman unification of the Mediterranean world and the consequent centralization of coinage. By the second century local coinage had largely disappeared, and, with few exceptions, the coinage of precious metals was reserved for the emperors. Copper was still minted by the Roman senate, however, and by many cities of the East because of the demand for small coins. In most of the larger cities of the

³⁰ Early English law of the corporation drew heavily on Roman law.

³¹ M. I. Rostovtzeff, *op. cit.*, p. 532, n. 22, plausibly holds, contrary to Waltzing, Kornemann, and other authorities, that these corporations were recognized by the state as its agents or concessionaires "from the very beginning."

Empire, also, businessmen issued their own token money (*tesserae*), usually of lead, specimens of which have been found in Rome, Ostia, Aquileia, Smyrna, and other centers. The banks determined the rate of exchange for small currency and served as centers for its distribution. The greatest investors, money-lenders, and bankers were the emperors and their imperial *fiscus*. National investment on a large scale by the second-century emperors must have been necessary for the *alimenta*.

8. SUMMARY

Our survey of the economic and political conditions and tendencies in the Roman Empire of the second century has revealed a brilliant civilization with splendid cities, vast resources, world-wide trade, and expanding industry and agriculture. But we have also recognized some basic weaknesses in its very foundations. The golden image pictured by Aelius Aristides, though idealized, was largely true to fact, but it was incomplete. He failed to portray its feet of clay. Despite the sincere and able efforts of great emperors to strengthen the foundations of the Empire, their very measures aggravated the problems, and with every serious war the whole vast structure was in danger of collapse by its own weight. The growth of absenteeism and tenantry brought a decline in scientific efficiency of agriculture. The free tenant cultivators throughout the Empire were gradually being degraded toward a quasi-serf status which had been their age-old condition in Egypt and Asia. It was to take only the chaos of the next century to complete the process. The very expansion of agriculture and industry, also, meant their decentralization and this meant loss of technique, and the gradual ruin of Italian agriculture and industry which had once prospered by their exports to the newer provinces.

The whole financial structure, imperial and municipal, lacked system. Both the cities and the imperial government lived too much from hand to mouth, with a lack of reserve resources. A great military crisis, such as the wars of Trajan or M. Aurelius, soon utterly exhausted the state. Though facing the constant danger of invasion from north and east, the imperial army had been permitted to become immobile and was insufficient in size and discipline to meet the grave crisis that was soon to break at the turn of the century. Through the aversion to military service on the part of the Italians and provincials from the more civilized provinces, the army was already being recruited from the least-civilized parts of the Empire, a menace rather than a defense to Roman civilization.

The splendid urban civilization so carefully fostered by the emperors was in grave danger of being overwhelmed by the vast weight of country masses, who bore it on their backs, yet had no share in its advantages. When expansion ceased with Hadrian, this dangerous social condition became fixed, and, henceforth, the chance for the masses to rise in the social scale was practically nil. On the contrary, with the ever-increasing pressure of the all-embracing state and the growing burden of taxation, they were still further submerged and had ever less impulse to individual effort. The urban leisure class lived a comparatively idle life as absentee owners and were also losing all urge to

improvement. Thus the nerve of economic progress was being cut with the loss of economic initiative and industry at both poles of society. The emperors honestly sought to check the evil tendencies, but they were working against the tide, and their measures only increased the overwhelming authority of the state and the crushing cost of its administration.

The cities were gradually losing their autonomy and civic initiative and were being brought more and more under the vast net of the imperial bureaucracy.⁸² Their well-to-do citizens were being drained of their wealth by their heavy municipal responsibilities and imperial taxation. Though the Empire had suffered neither a general exhaustion of the soil nor as yet a decline in population, as some scholars have insisted,⁸³ there were already clear signs of a decline in civic morale in the municipalities.

The age-old Egyptian system of requisitions of resources, liability of officials for losses incurred by the state, and compulsory work for the state, inherited by Rome, even before the end of the Republic, had spread as a disease to the Hellenized provinces of the East, and thence to Greece and the West.⁸⁴ Outside of Egypt, however, it was not at first imposed upon individuals or groups, but on cities. The real burden was therefore passed on to the peasants and workmen in the towns and was not at first performed by the propertied classes. Some of the emperors from Claudius on had sought to remedy the chief injustices of the vicious system, but made no attempt to abolish it. One of the most burdensome phases for land transportation was the compulsory provision for the imperial post from those who lived on the roads. Hadrian and Antoninus tried to organize the post as a state system, but this did not obviate the compulsory service. Another grievous imposition was the obligation to provide for the transport and other needs of the emperor and his train in his travels through the provinces. For sea transport, whether for the *annona* or other state purposes, the imperial government had resort to the *collegia* of merchants and shipowners at first by specific contracts. This accounts for the honors and privileges bestowed on them by the emperors. But the regimentation and burden inevitably increased, and the system rapidly degenerated to a frankly compulsory service.

More unfortunate was the gradual extension of the Egyptian system to the governing classes in the municipalities. An important factor was the change in the machinery for tax collection. For the collection of direct taxes, the municipal magistrates and senators were early substituted for the *publicani*, as

⁸² Bureaucracy and centralization of government are not necessarily bad in themselves. They may arise partly, as in the Roman Empire and today, as perhaps the only solution to problems which have become too vast and universal in their scope for local or provincial handling. They may make for greater unity, efficiency, and general welfare by envisaging the problems as national rather than sectional. Unfortunately, however, both tend to create a huge special privilege which becomes an end in itself and places political power and the absolute state above higher human interests. In the long run, therefore, they are always in danger of resulting, as they did in the later Roman Empire, in a further discouragement to civic and individual initiative and a crushing burden of taxation.

⁸³ Cf. M. I. Rostovtzeff, *op. cit.*, pp. 328 ff., 591, notes.

⁸⁴ The probably Persian term for compulsory work, *angareia*, used in the New Testament, signified the required supply of animals and drivers and ships for the state transport of men and materials.

we have seen. Gradually their responsibility was extended to the collection of indirect taxes, supervised by imperial procurators. The *conductores* were held responsible for the full collection of the dues from tenants on imperial lands. But since their own remuneration was not large, it was increasingly difficult to secure men willing to undertake the responsibility. Thus the service became compulsory, and the tax collection a state liturgy. In the next century the responsibility fell on ten leading citizens (*decemprimi*), together with the *decuriones*, or local senators. In the early Empire, to be admitted to the municipal senatorial order had been a coveted honor for which a citizen would gladly pay handsomely. But already by Trajan's time there were occasional signs that the honor was becoming a burden which was reluctantly undertaken, and this was becoming general by the end of the century.

The shift from collective responsibility of the municipality to individual liability was being gradually accomplished during the second century in connection with the general encroachment of the all-embracing state. In times of special stress the cities were reduced repeatedly to appeal for reduction of taxes and cancellation of arrears. Such appeals were granted by Hadrian and M. Aurelius, but at the cost of still more thorough imperial supervision of their financial affairs and the introduction of the principle of personal liability, which became everywhere the regularly accepted principle of the next century. Thus the vitality of the municipal middle class, the hope of the Empire, was gradually being undermined. The drain was not merely upon income, but upon capital. The public service that was once eagerly sought and paid for as an honor was later avoided as a plague, and both civic initiative and municipal resources were being blighted at their source. Already, the shadow of compulsory *munera* was dogging the heels of the municipal aristocracy, the artisans in the *collegia*, and the peasant cultivators alike, in the effort to meet the rapidly mounting cost of government and war, and to keep the machinery of production and distribution going. The brilliant age of the Antonines, when the Roman Empire seemed at its acme of civilization and prosperity, was essentially unstable in its foundations, especially in the face of such internal chaos and foreign invasion as were soon to follow, which would have taxed to the limit the resources of the most stable government.

Chapter Twenty-four

THE PROVINCES UNDER THE FLAVIANS AND ANTONINES

To gain a true understanding of the Roman state and the high quality of its government under the Flavians and Antonines, we must survey the provinces. For to quote the great pioneer in this field: "It is in the agricultural towns of Africa, in the homes of the vine-dressers of the Moselle, in the flourishing townships of the Lycian mountains, and on the margin of the Syrian desert that the work of the imperial period must be sought and found."¹ Here in the provinces we may best appreciate the meaning of Rome's civilizing mission, the high quality of the imperial government, and the beneficent character of the Roman peace. The true bond of the Empire was its city culture, which spread wherever Roman power extended, from Britain and the borders of the Sahara to the remoter parts of Asia Minor and Syria. The enormous debt of Western civilization to Rome, as well as the multitude of splendid ruins of once-thriving towns, where now reign only wilderness or shifting desert sands, bear eloquent witness to this far-flung civilizing influence of imperial Rome.

Gradually the old differences in status of the provincial towns were wiped out as they had been earlier in Italy. The circle of Roman citizenship ever widened, and the cities of the Empire were advanced by degrees from allied communities to the status of Italian allies, colonies, and free Roman *municipia*. Thus by the close of the second century, Julius Caesar's dream of a homogeneous, equally privileged Empire had been realized, for the Roman Empire had become practically as one state.

Despite its enthusiastic rhetoric and lack of originality, the best contemporary picture of the Roman Empire of the second century is the speech of the Greek Aelius Aristides, *To Rome*, delivered in the imperial capital in 154 A.D. It is an interesting sketch of the political, military, social, and economic character of the Empire and reveals the very mentality of the age.² He pictures the Empire as a highly civilized world community, an aggregate of cities, or rather as one great city-state of free, equally privileged men, where distinctions of Greek and barbarian, native or foreigner, no longer exist, yet where the best men, well-to-do Roman citizens, drawn from every section of the Empire, rule and the untutored masses obey. Through the *pax Romana*,

¹ Th. Mommsen, *The Provinces of the Empire*, I, 5, Dickson translation, Scribner, 1906.

² Cf. M. I. Rostovtzeff, *op. cit.*, p. 125 f., who rightly disagrees with the usual extreme criticism of the speech. The oration reflects the enlightened opinion of an Eastern Greek of the imperial government. A similar view is expressed by the Greek historian and Roman official, Dio Cassius, half a century later, though by his day he could not overlook the evidences of decay.

the efficient and beneficent imperial government, and the protecting power of the army, the whole civilized world has attained a degree of general well-being, security, and urban civilization before unknown. Aristides is, of course, a eulogist, but the general lineaments of his picture are substantially in accord with the contemporary literary and archaeological data.

From the death of Augustus to the death of Hadrian the number of provinces increased from 28 to 45, including Egypt. The increase was partly due to conquest, but especially to subdivision for better administration or to break a dangerous military command. A number of client kingdoms were also annexed. Since the newly organized provinces were regularly imperial, these increasingly outnumbered the senatorial. As occasion arose, some senatorial provinces were taken over by the emperors, until finally, during the third century, all the senatorial provinces passed into the hands of the princes, and the old distinction vanished.

I. GOVERNMENT

In the period under review only the senatorial provinces of Asia and Africa were governed by ex-consuls, though all senatorial governors bore the title of proconsul. Their appointments, which carried no military command, were doubtless approved by the princes, and five years must elapse between a magistracy and a promagistracy, as under the Republic. Imperial governors were either *legati Augusti*, proconsuls, or procurators, the latter, also called prefects, at first being of the equestrian class and holding lesser military commands over auxiliary troops. Only the equestrian prefect of Egypt, from which senators were excluded, had legions under his command. The imperial procurators also supervised the financial administration in their provinces.

The Augustan policy of enlightened imperialism for the welfare rather than the exploitation of the provinces continued through most of the second century and was largely responsible for their prosperity. Senatorial governors and resident Roman capitalists, as well as imperial governors, were carefully supervised by the emperors to guard against injustice or corruption.³ Oppressive governors still occasionally appeared, even in the humane second century, but they were summarily punished. Though senatorial governors were still limited to a term of one year, efficient and experienced imperial officials were retained at important posts indefinitely.

II. TAXATION

The general system of provincial taxation and collection of revenues established by Augustus⁴ continued with some changes through the second century. Its basic principles were taxation according to ability to pay and just collection, instead of the Republican method of wholesale exploitation. The direct taxes

³ For detail as to each emperor's policy from Vespasian to Marcus Aurelius, *cf.* the relevant sections in Chapters Twenty-one and Twenty-two.

⁴ *Cf.* Chapter Fifteen, Sec. VII. For changes during the next two centuries, *cf.* the relevant chapters.

(*tributa*), paid only by provincials, included both poll and land tax and a tax on certain trades and vocations. The chief indirect taxes (*vectigalia*) were still customs dues (*portoria*), a five per cent impost on manumitted slaves, probably one per cent on sales, and a five per cent inheritance tax, the latter only on Roman citizens. In the senatorial provinces the land tax was a definite amount (*stipendium*) assessed anew annually according to the ability of each community to pay, while the imperial provinces paid a fixed proportion of the annual agricultural product.

The above, however, does not tell the whole story, for there were also extraordinary obligations to provide supplies (*annona*) to imperial troops and officials on call, to entertain visiting emperors or officials with their retinue, to furnish horses for the imperial post, and to perform special liturgies or services for the public welfare. Theoretically such special requisitions of goods or services were remunerated by the state, but they became an increasing burden in the second century, since they were usually imposed at a time most inopportune financially for the taxpayers. Their very irregularity also gave more opportunity for unjust exactions by imperial officials. The wars of Trajan and the military crisis under Marcus Aurelius made such special requisitions necessary.

Augustus had probably abolished the vicious system of raising the direct taxes by *publicani* in the imperial provinces and in Asia. In the other senatorial provinces they were continued for a time, but were gradually displaced by the proconsuls, aided by the communities themselves, and later by imperial officials. In all provinces, however, the collection of indirect taxes long continued to be in the hands of corporations, though carefully supervised by imperial procurators. Instead of contracting to furnish a fixed sum to the state with the right to pocket the balance, the *publicani* now received a certain per cent of the amount collected. Only with Hadrian did the companies begin to be displaced by individual contractors, or *conductores*. After Marcus Aurelius the collection was entirely by imperial procurators.

III. THE MUNICIPALITIES

Aside from the extensive imperial domain lands in many provinces and a multitude of tribal and village communities in the less-developed sections, the Empire of the second century was a vast federation of municipalities with a large measure of local self-government, which served as a basis for imperial conscription, taxation, and administration. The only bonds were a common Greco-Roman culture, universal Roman law, and the central imperial government with its ubiquitous officialdom, military and civil. The uniform policy from the beginning of the Principate was toward the development of rural and tribal communities into organized municipalities with local autonomy. The old distinctions between free and federate, free and immune, and tributary communities also gradually disappeared, but to the disadvantage of the free communities. At the same time the number of Roman and Latin communities greatly increased by new colonies and through Roman and Italian settlement in native provincial towns. The proportion of tributary

communities was now far greater, however, and continued to increase. In the time of Vespasian, even in so Romanized a province as Baetica, Spain, they were double all the Roman colonies and municipalities and Latin towns combined.

The Hellenic municipalities differed in some respects from those of the Latin West. They were either continuations of the old city-states of Greece and the Hellenistic East before the Roman conquest, or later towns of the same general character. Their traditional Greek political institutions were modified by Rome only to limit the franchise and control of the council and magistracies to the propertied classes. Under Rome, the magistrates rather than the assemblies had the initiative in legislation, and the local council became increasingly a body of ex-magistrates, like Roman senators holding their seats for life. Yet the old democratic framework persisted through the third century, despite the shift to the Roman oligarchic form.

The municipalities in Italy and the West, being largely the outgrowth of Roman conquest and colonization, were modeled closely after the Roman government. For all public servants, except such dignified officials as senator and consul, which were reserved for the capital, they employed the same titles as the Roman. The general constitution, made uniform for Italian municipalities by Julius Caesar,⁵ spread with the Roman conquest over Africa and the entire Roman West, including the Danubian provinces. As is evident from the later municipal charters, the general form of constitution, following that of the Julian municipal law, was essentially the same for Roman and Latin colonies and *municipia*.

As in Rome, the municipalities had their senate (council, or *curia*) of well-to-do citizens, their plebs, and their consuls, called *duoviri* or *quattuorviri* according to whether there were two or four, as well as the lesser magistrates, both political and religious. The hundred members of the council, or *curia*, largely ex-magistrates, were called *decuriones*. They supervised the whole municipal administration, including the work of the magistrates. The popular assembly voted by *curiae*, as in the early Roman Republic. As in Rome, it had lost its earlier legislative powers, but continued to elect the magistrates.

Though all officials were elected by popular vote, a property qualification existed for both franchise and office. Until well into the second century, the office was sought as a high honor, but as it became an ever heavier financial burden it was increasingly avoided. As a result, in event of no candidacies, nominations were made by the council, and the nominee elected was obliged to serve. Though receiving no salary, on assuming his office he must make a special donation (*summa honoraria*) to the city treasury or undertake some public work at his own expense. In the early Empire the wealthy burgesses vied with each other in showing civic patriotism by lavish gifts for festivals, public works, or splendid buildings.

The life and vigor of Roman imperial civilization centered in its municipalities. But despite their seeming brilliance and prosperity in the second century, they were already showing some signs of economic decline and

⁵ Cf. Chapter Eleven, Sec. IX, 2.

loss of civic initiative. Many causes have been assigned for this, such as the impoverishment of the aristocracy through extreme financial demands upon them as officeholders, the resulting aversion to office and preference for imperial salaried positions as a result, the growing burden of imperial and local taxation, mismanagement of imperial finances, the decline of agriculture, which was the chief source of municipal wealth, and the gradual passing of the free landed peasantry, as in Italy, on whom municipal industry and trade had depended for their market. All these were quite universal tendencies in the second century, except the decline of agriculture, which was true only in certain sections. The devastating plague and long Marcomannic Wars of Marcus Aurelius gave an added impetus to the decline. But the death knell of municipal prosperity came with the internal anarchy, foreign invasion, and complete state regimentation of the next century.

IV. THE PROVINCES IN RELATION TO ROME AND ITALY

Over two centuries of internal peace, protection from foreign invasion, and good government were the great services of imperial Rome to the provinces. The result in many parts of the Mediterranean world was a material prosperity and brilliant civilization in the second century unparalleled before or since. Meanwhile Rome and Italy gradually lost their privileged position, while the provinces rose to ever greater importance. By the middle of the second century the army and the senatorial and equestrian orders were largely of provincial origin, as were also the emperors of the period. Rome was still the administrative center of the Empire, but its advantages over the stronger provincial municipalities consisted chiefly in political and social prestige and the grain dole for the urban masses. It had to pay for these advantages, however, by being much more dominated by the central government. By the time of Hadrian Rome was no longer the proud queen of the Empire, but only its capital, and in less than two centuries more even this preferred position was lost.

The gradual shift from private to public tax collection and the replacement of private economic interest by state organization also ended Rome's domination in the money market and stimulated the prosperity of the provinces. Thus, in the long run, world conquest resulted badly for Rome and Italy. The Po Valley retained its prosperity, but central and southern Italy decayed.⁶ Italian culture met a similar fate. After the early second century the leadership in both Greek and Latin literature passed especially to the Eastern provinces. Rome and Italy failed to dominate the world that they had conquered, and Rome's preferred position became increasingly an anachronism. The confused mixture of different relations and rights with which the Principate began⁷ was gradually wiped out as subjects became citizens, and all

⁶ For detail, *cf.* Chapter Twenty-three, Sec. II.

⁷ These were citizens of Rome and Italian municipalities, Roman colonies, *municipia*, Latin colonies, free allies under treaty, free allies without treaty, tributary, the status of Egypt, and client kingdoms. The Augustan distinction between senatorial and imperial provinces may also be added.

citizens became subjects of a far-reaching imperial bureaucracy. Imperial Rome had destroyed national loyalties throughout the Mediterranean world and had failed to construct political machinery by which provincial communities could have part in imperial administration. Thus as the municipalities declined and lost their civic initiative and prosperity in the next century, the provincial population lost every vestige of independent political life, except the right of presenting occasional complaints through their provincial councils.

V. A GENERAL SURVEY OF THE PROVINCES IN THE SECOND CENTURY

Though the Roman Empire was one in imperial government, law, and Greco-Roman culture, its unity was marked by great diversity. Its history was therefore largely not the history of Rome, but of its provinces. In language and institutions it fell naturally into two divisions, Africa and the Latin West, including the Danubian provinces, and the Hellenic East. The latter was Greek in language and long far superior in culture and economic development. Each province also had its characteristic differences in economy, culture, and historic background.

I. SICILY, SARDINIA, CORSICA, AFRICA, AND THE LATIN WEST

Sicily, though originally Greek and Punic in race, language, and culture, had been thoroughly Latinized. Though still an important granary for Rome, it was rapidly being displaced by Egypt and Africa. The island was divided into the Greek coast cities with their territories, the imperial domain lands, and the interior and old Phoenician West, which were largely without cities. The old Republican division of the towns into several classes had been largely wiped out, and all, except a very few cities, paid the annual tribute. Imperial policy made no attempt to revive city life as it did elsewhere. Here, as in Italy, the *latifundia* grew, and the imperial domains were greatly increased.

Sardinia continued to be important to Rome for its grain and mineral resources. Aside from its ports, the island was still under tribal organization and showed little effect of Roman civilization. Corsica was a land of forests and pastures, devoid of towns. Since the emperors made no attempt to Romanize the island, its history is almost a closed book to us.

The African Provinces (Africa Proconsularis, Numidia, and the Two Mauretunias)

Africa Proconsularis differed from the Celtic and Danubian north in having a highly developed urban civilization before the Roman conquest. But under Rome as under Carthage, the masses in the African provinces were still Berber and only slightly affected by Roman civilization. Under the Empire the Roman element consisted chiefly in veteran colonists, for the Italian landlords were largely absentee owners. The legion also was increasingly of native stock, and new colonies were few during the second century. Latin was the

official language, but the Berber and Punic dialects persisted, as did the native religion, beneath the veneer of Greco-Roman and imperial cults. Romanization and urbanization were actively encouraged by the second-century emperors, however, and the towns in old Africa and Numidia were very numerous, though most of them had only a few thousand population. Roman authority and culture were gradually extended over Numidia and Mauretania, and Vespasian and his successors pushed the bounds of civilization far to the south against the encroaching Berbers and the desert. In the first century the administration was divided between a senatorial proconsul and the *legatus* of the legion, but later the legate had supreme control.

Africa rivaled Egypt in fertility. Even before the Roman conquest the coast land was a veritable garden of vine and olive and a center of scientific farming. Agriculture and city life were also beginning to flourish in Numidia. Under the Empire the African provinces were among the most important to Rome, furnishing one-third of her grain and much oil, stock, and other products. Though grain was probably the primary product on the large estates, olive, vine, and fruit culture were increasingly important, especially in the second century, when new lands were opened to the south less fitted for grain. The quality of oil was now greatly improved and had a wide market extending to Alexandria. Roman Africa remained chiefly agricultural, relying on Italy and Later Gaul, for industrial products. Its real era of urbanization began with Augustus and became especially active under Vespasian, Trajan, and Hadrian.

From the time of Nero, who confiscated the vast estates of the Roman nobles in Africa, the imperial domain lands continued to expand there.⁸ Rome did a great work in conserving the water supply and developing great irrigation projects, whereby vast areas were opened to cultivation as a basis for a prosperous urban life. The great cisterns, aqueducts, and other extant remains of the Roman irrigation system are most impressive. One cistern of Carthage now houses a whole Arab village. The Roman system is being carefully traced out by archaeologists and engineers under the direction of the French government, with a view to its restoration.

An especially impressive evidence of the remarkable civilization, prosperity, and power of imperial Rome is the abundant ruins of the multitude of cities and farmsteads in Roman Africa, many now in the midst of the desert sands.⁹ Most of these sites, however, are not earlier than Hadrian, and the greatest age of African prosperity was during the half century after the Antonines. In the Latin West, Carthage was next to Rome in size, though the surviving ruins would not indicate this. African cities were too numerous to list. In an extensive tour of several weeks through the interior of Tunis and Algiers, one may now see only a few wretched Arab villages. But he will constantly come upon ancient ruins of farms, villages, towns, graves, cisterns, and irrigation works. In no section of the Roman West have archaeologists done their

⁸ On the method of cultivation and the policies of Vespasian and Hadrian in Africa, *cf.* Chapter Twenty-three, Sec. II. On the provinces, *cf.* map opposite p. 334.

⁹ So many ruins were preserved because civilization in Africa decayed only after the sixth century A.D.

work so thoroughly as in the African provinces, except in the Rhineland. Multitudes of sites have been thoroughly excavated, and the museums in Tunis and elsewhere are packed with over 2,000 African inscriptions and other interesting materials revealing the civilization. African mosaics depict the life in detail, and imposing triumphal arches are as numerous as in all the rest of the Roman world combined, including Italy. Some of the finest examples of the excavated cities of Roman Africa, besides Carthage, are Hadrumetum, Cirta, Hippo Regius, Caesarea, Thugga, Thuburbo Majus, Leptis, Theveste, Lambaesis, Tingad (Thamugadi), the "African Pompeii," and Thysdrus, whose amphitheatre can nearly vie with the Flavian at Rome.¹⁰ Their well-paved streets, copious water supply, drainage systems, public libraries, theatres, amphitheatres, spacious fora and markets with imposing public buildings, public baths and lavatories, covered porticoes, triumphal arches, temples, Christian churches (later), guildhalls, and private houses reveal a brilliant and prosperous civilization, emphasizing both material comfort and a refined culture.

During the first and second centuries the population in Roman Africa steadily increased. Urbanization and Romanization advanced and the municipal upper classes were gradually assimilated to Roman citizenship. In the second century Roman Africa was a center of high culture, producing such literary lights as Apuleius and Fronto, and such an eminent jurist as Salvius Julianus.¹¹ The Carthaginian schools of rhetoric and philosophy were famous, and knowledge of Greek as well as Latin literature among the cultivated classes was common. During the next three centuries Africa was an outstanding center of Christianity and produced several of the greatest names in early Christian literature. Nowhere is the contrast between Roman prosperity and later decay more startling. Had the Berbers and Arabs not later dominated the country in the seventh century, it might perhaps have been a Romanic land today. Yet this civilization was only an affair of the towns. The country masses remained largely untouched by Roman influence, and culture had little place in the life of even the average townsman. His idea of life is well expressed in the well-known inscription in Tingad, "to hunt, to fight, to gamble, and to laugh—that is life."

Spain (Baetica, Tarraconensis, and Lusitania)

Spain was a medley of racial elements before the Roman conquest, with the Iberians the dominant race. Even after centuries of Romanization, the natives remained in the vast majority. Italian immigration was not extensive after the first emperors, and tribal interests and native language and religion persisted in the more backward sections. The most thoroughly Romanized province was Baetica, almost like Italy, while the uplands of Lusitania and Hither Spain were least touched by Roman influence.

The Spanish provinces were especially valuable for their mineral wealth, which was thoroughly exploited under the Empire. In the second century,

¹⁰ For these and others, cf. M. I. Rostovtzeff, *op. cit.*, pp. 132 ff.; for plan and cut of Tingad with explanation, p. 134 f. Cf. Pl. XXI.

¹¹ On these, cf. Chapters Twenty-five and Thirty.

however, the production of precious metals declined. The mines were the property of the imperial *fiscus* and were farmed out to *conductores*, who sublet them, while the work was largely done by slaves and criminals. Agriculture was a close second to mining. The harvests of Baetica rivaled those of Egypt, and grain, oil, and wine were exported to Rome. Imperial domain lands were extensive, especially in southern Spain, and were continually expanded from the time of Nero. Spanish prosperity reached its zenith in the second century.

Spain was also of great military importance to the early Empire for its supply of recruits for the legions and cavalry. But after Vespasian only one legion was stationed there, and in the second century the country furnished only its own legion, an evidence of its advanced civilization. Urban life greatly increased through the active encouragement of the emperors, though the number of large towns was limited. Even under Augustus there were fifty Spanish towns with full franchise and an equal number with Latin rights. At this time Gades (Cadiz) had 500 men of equestrian fortune. Some extensive ruins of the cities, though not as well preserved as in Africa, still witness to the prosperity of Roman Spain. Some of the best are Tarragona, Italica, and Merida, with its bridges, aqueduct, and temples. The more Romanized parts of Spain were among the most highly cultured sections of the Empire. Even in the last decades of the Republic, Spain was beginning to supply some Roman consuls, and, in the next century, many Roman senators. Vespasian extended Latin rights to all organized communities, as we have seen. Many of the chief literary figures, scholars, and statesmen of the first and early second centuries, such as the two Senecas, Lucan, Martial, Quintilian, Columella, Pomponius Mela, Trajan, and Hadrian, were natives of Spain.¹² The schools were famed for their excellence, and tourist travel to Rome was very common. But the culture was, after all, only a thin veneer of the urban well-to-do classes, and the masses were only superficially Romanized.

Gaul

Narbonese Gaul was so thoroughly Romanized by the first century A.D. as to be practically "one and the same" with Italy, as Pliny the Elder observed. Its high prosperity as long the source of supplies for Gaul and the Rhine legions is attested by the splendid ruins of its towns and its elegant monuments. Such are the theatre of Orange, the amphitheatre of Arles (Arelate), the graceful Maison Carrée at Nîmes, the splendid aqueduct, Pont du Gard, near Nîmes, the city gates of Autun, and the triumphal arch of Saintes. Narbo, Arelate, and the Greek Massilia were wealthy commercial centers, and Vienne was in the heart of a rich agricultural region. The land was largely in great estates and imperial domain. The province furnished such notables in Roman history as Burrus, Agricola, Cornelius Gallus, Pompeius Trogus, and the emperor Antoninus Pius.

Gallia Comata remained far less Romanized in the second century. Racially the three provinces were quite diverse, Aquitania being chiefly Iberian, Lug-

¹² Cf. Chapters Twenty and Twenty-five on these.

dunensis purest Celtic, and Belgica strongly German. Their primary value to Rome was to maintain and support the two German provinces and the army of the Rhine. Gaul was the recruiting ground for the Rhine legions. Thus Rome retained its tribal organization in sixty-four districts, with an administrative center for each, and Lugdunum as the general political and religious capital. In Gallia Comata the contrast between city and country was least marked, and outside of Aquitania towns were not numerous. The basis for Gallic prosperity was a thoroughly capitalized and efficient agriculture on the great estates of Roman and Gallic capitalists, to which the hundreds of ruins of large and small Gallo-Roman villas in France are still witness. In the Vosges, where are now forests, were once villas with plowland and pasture, and the names of many modern towns in France may be traced to the owners of villas. Gallic mines were not extensively exploited, but industry was highly developed, both in a multitude of small shops and in factories for pottery and glass.¹³ Industrially as agriculturally, Gaul was the great provider for the Rhine army. Its forests furnished abundant fuel for the shops, and its splendid river system greatly facilitated trade.

Romanization was far from thorough in Gaul, despite the relationship of the Celts and Latins in language and race. Celtic dress and houses continued, as did the Celtic speech in many sections. Celtic sermons were preached even in Lyons in the second century, and in the next century the native language was still allowed in official documents. Old Druid religious customs also persisted beneath the Greco-Roman cults, especially at local shrines. Assimilation of Roman and Celtic deities under one name and a mingling of Gaelic and Roman temple architectures were also common. The only town in northern Gaul where extensive Roman ruins exist is Trèves, called the Rome of the north, with its noble gateway, Porta Nigra, basilica, and public baths almost equal to the Roman. But many sculptural reliefs and monuments from the Gallic villas depict scenes from daily life and work.

Britain

Britain was never as civilized as Gaul and never paid Rome for the cost of its occupation. The highlands of the north and west were little affected by Roman influence. Even in the time of the Antonines, only the lowlands and towns were Romanized, and the Roman villa system did not reach its height until the fourth century. But the massacre of thousands of Romans in the revolt of Boudicca indicates extensive Roman colonization after the conquest. By the reign of Hadrian, such towns as Lincoln, Gloucester, York, and Colchester had become well established, as also such tribal centers as Verulam, Silchester, Winchester, and Leicester. London, the richest commercial center, held the same place in Britain as Trèves and Lyons did in Gaul.

Britain's economic development was similar to that of Gaul and the two Germanies. Its chief consumer was the army, to which it sent its surplus wheat, hides, and meat products. It was a land of large estates and villas rather than of peasant proprietors, and some excellent ruins of villas have sur-

¹³ Cf. Chapter Twenty-three, Secs. II, 3, 5.

vived, especially those at Chedworth.¹⁴ Silver, lead, tin, iron, and some gold were mined, and coal was known as early as the Antonines. But Britain depended largely on Gaul to supply its industrial needs, as also for oil and wine.

Beneath the Roman veneer, society in Britain remained distinctly Celtic, though the Latin speech became fairly common in the towns. While many archaeological evidences of Roman occupation have survived, especially the roads, forts, and walls, the architectural ruins are not impressive. The theatre and triumphal arch at Verulam and the forum and temple at Colchester are the sole examples. The finest remains are the baths at Bath, with their great hall, 68 by 111 feet.

Roman Germany

Upper and Lower Germany were made Roman provinces in the Flavian era. Vespasian had extended Roman conquest beyond the upper Rhine to secure new lands for his veterans and connection of the army of the Rhine with the army of the Danube. This was followed by the extensive fortifications and road-building from Domitian to Hadrian. The population of Roman Germany was mixed Celtic and German. Some of the most important Roman towns still existing are Cologne, established by Claudius, Nymwegen and Xanten by Trajan, and Mainz, Strassburg, Regensburg, and Augsburg, but the existence of the modern cities has made excavations practically impossible. On the other hand, such ancient sites as Kempten and Nida have been thoroughly excavated, revealing Roman theatres, a fine forum, large public buildings, and pottery factories. The detailed knowledge of the Rhineland under Rome is one of the triumphs of archaeology. Lower Germany was a paradise for the land capitalist and merchant, furnishing grain, wine, clothing, shoes, wool, lumber, leather, metals, and pottery for the Rhine legions. Trèves, though included in Belgica for administration, was the economic center for the whole region of Lower Germany as well, thereby accumulating great wealth. A relatively dense population therefore developed in the whole region, which M. Cumont has called a land, "*non de villes mais de villas*." The many ruins of fine villas and the costly funeral monuments in the whole district, especially near Trèves, still tell the story of its prosperity.

Lower Germany was entirely on the left bank of the Rhine, while the upper province included both sides of the river to the Main and Moselle. Though also rich agriculturally, Lower Germany was far more sparsely populated and had many Gallic settlers. Much of the land was imperial domain, which was let to natives and veterans or sold to immigrants. Here were no luxurious villas, as in Gaul and Upper Germany. The country was organized largely on a tribal basis as in Gaul. Roman Germany was especially important to Rome economically and politically as a means of controlling the Rhine waterway and as a recruiting ground and additional source of supplies for the frontier legions.

¹⁴ For a plan of the villa and a restoration, cf. M. I. Rostovtzeff, *op. cit.*, p. 214 f.

The Alpine Provinces (Raetia and Noricum)

The two Alpine provinces were economically similar to northern Italy. Their towns were originally Roman military colonies, the chief of which were Augusta Vindelicorum (Augsburg) and Castra Regina (Regensburg). Both provinces were strongly Celtic, but many Italians had penetrated into the valleys and towns of Noricum and developed a high degree of prosperity. Claudius organized communities on the model of Italian towns and these later developed to *municipia*. Iron was extensively mined in both provinces, and Noricum was rich in lead and forests. Southern Noricum had much good arable land in the valleys, which was largely in the hands of the rich city middle class. Of the inland provinces, Noricum was one of the most advanced culturally and exerted considerable influence in the Romanization of southern Pannonia.

Dalmatia, the Lower Danubian Provinces, and Thrace

Dalmatia, a part of the old Illyricum on the eastern Adriatic shore, was a mixture of Illyrian, Thracian, and Celtic stock, and long remained rather primitive and tribal in the interior. The port towns, however, had been transformed into Roman colonies in the time of Augustus and his successors and were almost pure Italian. Vespasian began active urbanization and extended municipal rights to numerous towns. The best lands were held by prosperous Italian residents and the imperial *fiscus*. These estates were centers of scientific agriculture on a capitalistic scale, producing grain, wine, and olives. The remains of many large villas and farmsteads witness to their ancient prosperity.¹⁵ The Dalmatian interior served as an excellent recruiting ground for auxiliary troops, and these, on their return as veterans, formed a partially Romanized aristocracy. Thus was the country gradually civilized. Agriculture, industry, and trade thrived. Some of the wealthiest aristocracy won equestrian rank, entered the imperial service, and were even honored with a senatorial status at Rome. But for military reasons the Roman government did not undertake thorough Romanization of Dalmatia. In addition to its military importance, Dalmatia was of great value to Rome for its rich iron deposits to supply arms for the Danube legions. These were imperial property, leased to special contractors under the supervision of imperial procurators.

The two Pannonias and Upper Moesia were the very center of the Roman military organization of the Danube frontier. Great roads from Aquileia connected them with Italy, and the Danubian frontier came to be more important in the second century than the Rhine. Ten legions were concentrated here, and Marcus Aurelius raised the number to twelve. By this time Pannonian soldiers predominated in the local legions. Urban life developed largely, therefore, in connection with the military centers. Many towns sprang up on the Save and Drave, and especially Vindobona (Vienna), Carnuntum, and Aquincum (Budapest) on the Danube.

Near the military camps native civilian settlements gradually arose, which

¹⁵ For a plan and restoration of one of these, the best example of a large villa of this type in the Roman world, cf. M. I. Rostovtzeff, *op. cit.*, Pl. 220 f.

were later dominated by ex-soldiers and other settlers, who organized them as Roman towns. They had their water and drainage systems, public buildings, theatres, and amphitheatres. Carnuntum boasted an amphitheatre large enough to seat 20,000 spectators. Finally such towns were granted full rights as *municipia*, or colonies. Those districts not connected with the military posts continued much longer under the native tribal organization, but gradually in the second and third centuries many urban centers also developed here. Roman religion dominated, and Latin appears everywhere on the grave reliefs, but native customs and rustic simplicity persisted even in the more Romanized parts. Manufactured goods were imported from Italian, Gallic, and even Alexandrian factories, but Gallic pottery, glass, and bronze ware were beginning to displace the Italian.

Dacia, north of the Danube, was originally Thracian in population, but during its conquest by Trajan the upper classes of the population had been systematically exterminated. The result was an influx of new colonists, chiefly from Asia Minor and Syria. The Italian colonists were not numerous, yet Dacia became a Latin country due to the presence of the army, the settlements of ex-soldiers, and the Latin influence from neighboring provinces. Its chief resources were extensive fertile lands and rich gold mines, which Rome actively exploited. Prosperous towns developed, ruled by wealthy landowners and merchants and settled by veterans and Greek and Oriental traders and artisans.

Lower Moesia was not organized as a province until after Claudius annexed Thrace, though it was practically under Rome from the beginning of the century. The numerous Greek cities on the west shore of the Black Sea readily accepted Roman supremacy, since through the protection of a strong power in this region and on the Danube, they hoped to regain something of their earlier prosperity. Rome then subdued the Thracian tribes of the interior and established strong forts along the lower Danube to hold the country. The province was thoroughly organized as a basis of supplies for the forts and cities. Rome also policed the Black Sea and encouraged friendly relations with the Greek port cities beyond the frontier and in the Crimea to secure the necessary imports for her army. Thus were Roman influence and military protection extended also to these cities.

After the Roman occupation of Moesia the land was divided among the military forts, the Greek cities, and the native population. The Greek cities took on new life, actively expanding their territories. Roman rights were freely extended to the wealthier citizens, who were recognized as belonging to the village council, or senate. In the native territories Roman citizens, mainly veterans and settlers from other Danubian provinces, became wealthy landowners and served as a Romanizing influence. But the Greek coast cities remained Greek, and the natives of the interior were never thoroughly Romanized. Had it not been for the later Slavonic migration, however, the whole region of Lower Moesia would now be Romanic.

The Roman province of Thrace included only a small part of the original Thracian people. This sturdy Indo-European people, similar in culture and religion to the early Macedonians, once extended over most of the region of the

middle and lower Danube, including Dacia, and mingled also with the Illyrians to the west. Attacked in vain by Scythians, Celts, Illyrians, and Macedonians, they finally succumbed to the Roman legions only after a long and stubborn struggle. Thrace proper, facing both on the Black Sea and the Aegean, comprised, in general, the country of modern Bulgaria. It was made a province by Claudius, but for about a century remained a land of tribal organization and peasant villages of farmers and shepherds.

These hardy peasants furnished a valuable recruiting ground for the Roman infantry and cavalry, and hence the imperial government wisely left the village and tribal organization intact. Trajan and Hadrian fostered urban development. Hadrian founded Hadrianopolis, modern Adrianople, and his aqueduct in Byzantium, repaired by the emperor, Valens, in the fourth century, still supplies Istanbul with water. Under Roman rule the Thracian farmers prospered through the new demands for their products for the Roman army and the Greek cities on the Black Sea and the Aegean. Some of their tribal market places developed into towns, and new trade centers were established by the Roman government. Roman citizens also settled in the more fertile sections and became well-to-do landowners. The Thracian interior, however, was never really Romanized or even Hellenized, despite the strong Greek influence. The peasant villages retained their native customs, language, and religion, and even today the Thracian peasant garb is still worn in the Bulgarian mountain districts.

2. THE HELLENISTIC EAST

Epirus, Macedonia, and Greece

Epirus, a Greek country, had never recovered from the terrible devastation by the Romans in revenge for their earlier defeat by King Pyrrhus, when seventy of its cities were destroyed and 150,000 men sold as slaves. Augustus established the city of Nicopolis in southern Epirus in honor of his victory at Actium and made it an important center for Greek athletic festivals. Rome encouraged urban development in the interior, and even the ancient oracle of Dodona was revived. The country was made a separate imperial province by Hadrian or Antoninus, including the Ionian islands and Acarnania.

Macedonia, including the opposite Adriatic shore, with the cities of Dyrrhachium and Apollonia and later Thessaly, was never highly urbanized, except for its Greek coast cities. Under the Roman Republic the country had declined in population due to barbarian attacks and devastation by the generals in the civil wars. Its strategic position on the main highway from Italy to the East caused Augustus to send out Roman colonies of veterans and other Italians to many of the more important towns. Many large estates were held by Romans. But despite the extensive Roman and Greek influence, the Macedonian interior remained largely a country of peasants and shepherds, living in their mountain villages, much as they had done before the Roman occupation.

Greece (Achaëa), after Antoninus, included all ancient Greece except Thessaly, Acarnania, and the Ionian Islands. The country had gained nothing from imperial Roman rule. Poverty and depopulation were general, and the province was weak and unimportant both economically and politically. Dio

Chrysostom's description of Euboea, written at the close of the first century A.D., is now generally recognized to be a rhetorical exaggeration, and some of his more extreme statements, even if true, cannot be applied to all Greece. Plutarch's description also needs some qualification, since his standard of comparison is the earlier golden age of Greece. His assertion that the whole country could not supply 3,000 hoplites is doubtless an exaggeration. Inscriptional evidence, on the whole, does not indicate that agriculture in second-century Greece was in such a desperate condition. The cities still supported a well-to-do landowning class, and the very wealthy Herodes Atticus doubtless had much of his fortune invested in Greece. The country had enough wealthy citizens to finance the Panhellenion with its great games, instituted by Hadrian.¹⁰ Yet Greece was decadent. The great religious centers no longer thrived, as the inscriptions of Delphi prove. Greek industry and commerce had greatly declined, only Corinth retained a fair trade, and Patrae a fairly active textile industry. The land was in a few hands, and the masses lived in wretched poverty as tenants. Population was constantly declining, while the ratio of slaves to freedmen had risen. Pausanias, in his second-century *Description of Greece*, mentions the ruins of many once-thriving towns.

Due to the very weakness of Greece and to a sentimental regard for Hellenic culture, however, the second-century emperors dealt kindly with the country. Athens and Sparta were theoretically free, and many towns were exempt from taxation. Nicopolis, Patrae, and Corinth owed their prominence to Rome. Hadrian adorned Athens with splendid buildings, as we have seen, and Herodes Atticus, its chief citizen and friend of Hadrian, lavished his wealth in elaborate building projects there. Much revenue also flowed into Athens from the tourist trade, and subsidized by Antoninus and Marcus Aurelius, it still remained the chief university city of the Roman world. Hadrian and the Antonines also favored Sparta, which still retained its conservative institutions and some degree of prosperity. But most of the rest of the Peloponnesus had sadly declined. Boeotia was even more decadent; the once great Thebes was now only a wretched village. The Greek islands and western Greece, except Naupactus, seem to have been especially desolate. On the whole, Greece was but a shadow of its former self, yet it could still produce an intellectual like Plutarch.

Asia Minor

Asia Minor, on the other hand, was at the height of its economic prosperity under Roman imperial rule, with many brilliant cities on which their richer citizens lavished their wealth. In the more developed sections the land was divided into private holdings, large or small, city territories, temple lands, and imperial domain. The mountainous districts were held largely by shepherds, who lived a practically nomadic life. Owing to the great diversity of the peninsula in different sections, it is necessary to characterize each of its provinces briefly.

Pontus and Bithynia were united in an imperial province in 105 A.D., including Byzantium on the European shore. The province had rich agricultural re-

¹⁰ Cf. M. I. Rostovtzeff, *op. cit.*, p. 561 f., n. 96.

sources in olive orchards and vineyards, as also in forests and pasture land. Extensive trade also existed with the Greek cities on the Propontis, Bosphorus, and Black Sea, which was policed by a Roman navy. Much attention was given to the upkeep of the main highways for inland trade, a strain on the finances of the cities. Financial difficulties caused party strife between the masses and propertied classes, bringing intervention by Trajan and Hadrian, as we have seen.

Culturally, the province was important, having produced such writers as Dio Chrysostom, Arrian, and Cassius Dio, who have revealed the social and religious conditions there.¹⁷ It was notable for its intense religious interest. Christianity was already very strong there in the days of Pliny, and here worked Marcion, the leader of its most dangerous heresy, Gnosticism,¹⁸ Lucian's bizarre account of the enormous influence of the oracle of the "charlatan-prophet," Alexander of Abonouteichos,¹⁹ especially reveals the intense religious superstition not only in Bithynia-Pontus but in much of Asia Minor.

Asia, the chief province of Asia Minor, is already quite familiar to us. Here the provincial prosperity and brilliance of the early second century appear at their best. Ephesus, Smyrna, and Pergamum, with their splendid buildings and rich economic and cultural life, were outstanding, but the whole eastern section of the province was highly urbanized. Asia was called a province of 500 cities. Nowhere are ruins of temples, public buildings, theatres, town walls and gates, cemeteries, and other archaeological remains more numerous. These fully support the fine description of the three great capitals by the rhetorician, Aelius Aristides. From the reign of Trajan there was increasing supervision by imperial curators in the interest of good government and taxation, and a Greek general assembly of elected representatives from the cities was established, which exerted considerable influence.

Asia was rich in fertile land, abundant timber, and marble. Its linen and woolen industries were famous, and its busy harbors served as the centers for trade between East and West. In the culture and education of the early Empire, the Greek cities of Asia were also outstanding. Here arose the new Sophistic movement, and Pergamum, Ephesus, and Smyrna were famous for their schools of medicine and museums. The cities were adorned with splendid public buildings, temples, baths, libraries, theatres, and gymnasia. Christianity had made great headway, especially among the lower classes of the cities, but Greek and native cults were still dominant. The presence of a strong Roman element in the province is attested by the number of Latin words and institutions that have survived.

The interior of Asia Minor was very mixed in race, and the native dialects and customs persisted, especially in the wild mountain districts. Lycia had a self-governing league of cities under imperial supervision. Both here and in Pamphylia trade and city life flourished in the second century, and an advanced Greek culture extended even to the remoter districts.

Galatia included all the territory as far as Pamphylia, as well as much to the

¹⁷ For these, cf. Chapter Twenty-five, Sec. III. ¹⁸ Cf. Chapter Thirty, Sec. II, 2.

¹⁹ Cf. Lucian, *Alexandros*, and *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. XI, p. 579 f.

north and west. But Pisidia and Lycaonia were made separate provinces by Vespasian and Antoninus. These provinces, representing so-called southern Galatia, had several flourishing cities, such as Iconium, Lystra, and Derbe, where St. Paul established churches. Northern Galatia was distinctly Celtic in race and still largely in language, owing to the invasion of the Gauls in the third century B.C. In Ancyra, the chief city, was the temple to Rome and Augustus, on whose walls was inscribed a copy of his *Res Gestae*.²⁰ Other important towns of northern Galatia were Pessinus, the center for worship of the Great Mother Goddess, and Tavium, an important trade center on the route to the East. The native Celtic culture stubbornly persisted, but in the second century A.D. the country was passing from tribal to city organization. The Galatians were valuable and loyal recruits to the Roman army.

Cilicia was again made a separate province after Vespasian and had a provincial assembly at Tarsus. Geographically it was divided into two divisions, the plain and the mountainous country. Roman rule brought great prosperity to the province, roads were constructed, and many flourishing cities and villages developed. The splendid funeral monuments now in a deserted hill country outside Seleucia testify to the brilliant culture and prosperity of that port city. Tarsus, the home of St. Paul, had a famous university and was enthusiastically praised for its culture and fine coinage by Strabo and Dio of Prusa. The culture of Cilicia was more Syrian than Aegean. Semitic influence was strong in Tarsus even in Hellenistic times, as is evident from the Semitic origins of the two founders of Stoicism, the prevalence of Syrian sun worship, and the early start of Christianity there.

Commagene, north of Syria, between the Euphrates and the Taurus Mountains, Cappadocia, and Lesser Armenia were Roman frontier provinces of the far interior. Still in the second century A.D., savage tribes continued in the mountainous districts. Vespasian annexed Commagene and joined it to Syria in 72 A.D. The Flavians and their successors built roads connecting it with the Aegean and Black Sea, thereby stimulating trade and a new economic life.

Cappadocia was annexed by Tiberius, having previously been under client kings. During the second century it was gradually urbanized through the development of civilian settlements about the garrisons. Imperial domain lands also greatly expanded during the period. Two of the chief towns were Samosata and Tyana, the home of the famous Neo-Pythagorean saint, Apollonius. The masses clung to their native dialects, but Latin became common around the garrisons, and Greek in the cities. The native religion had Hittite, Persian, and Greek elements, and was attended by cruel and sensual rites. The mountainous Lesser Armenia, between Cappadocia and the Euphrates, had a harsh climate and was little developed either economically or culturally. The language was Aramaic, and the Greek influence was only superficial. In religion the Persian fire worship had gained a strong hold.

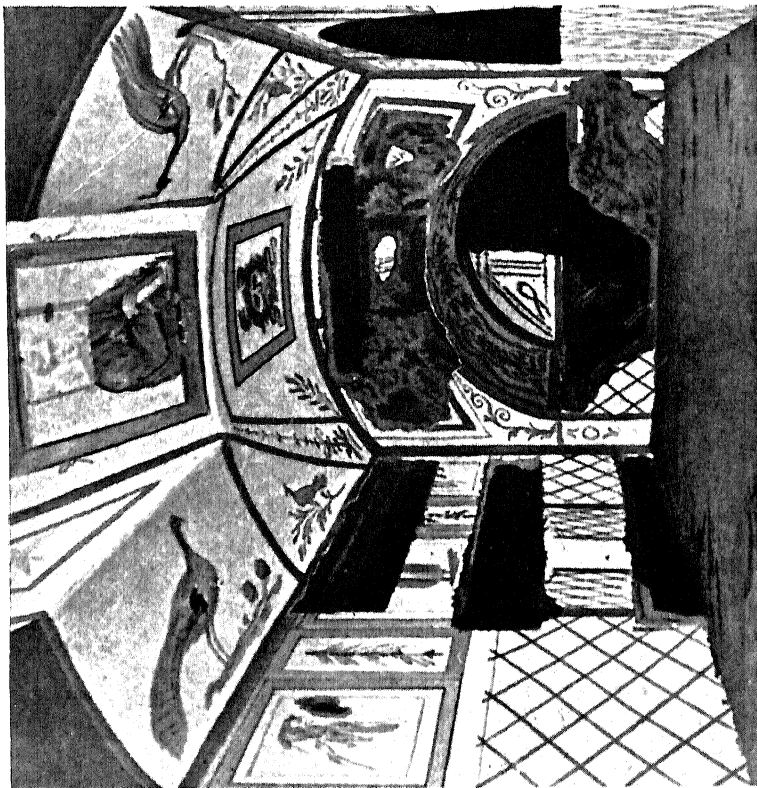
Syria

Syria was one of the most valuable of Roman provinces both for its military and economic importance. It was open to attack and trade from the Mediter-

²⁰ Cf. Chapter Fifteen, Sec. I.



Upper: Ruins of Timgad, Africa, showing paved road leading to the Arch of Trajan. Second century A.D. *Lower:* Ruins of the Temple of Bacchus at Baalbek (Heliopolis), Syria, seen from the south. One of three temples forming the sanctuary of Baal worship, in northern Syria. Late second and early third century A.D. (After Wiegand)



Left: Bas-relief of the Persian God of Light, Mithras, killing the bull. Found in a subterranean sanctuary (Mithraeum) in Hedderheim, Germany, where was once a Roman military camp. Third century A.D. Museum, Wiesbaden. *Right:* Cubiculum Oceani. Early Christian tomb of a wealthy man (named after paintings on the ceiling of the tomb) from the so-called Coemeterium Callixti near the Appian Way under the church of San Sebastian.

ranean, Mesopotamia, and Egypt, and was repeatedly invaded. Yet it remained Semitic beneath the dominant Hellenism, and the centuries of Roman rule made no essential changes in its civilization. The province was so varied that each of its several districts requires a separate treatment.²¹

The Aramaic district of northern Syria had extensive fertile lands held by the cities or private owners and worked by free but hereditary tenants. Unlike the rural villagers in Asia Minor, those of Syria had no part in the life of the cities. The region was highly urbanized and was especially notable for its four important cities: Antioch, on the Orontes, Seleucia, its seaport, Apamea, and Laodicea, on the coast. Since 1932 fruitful excavations have been in progress at Antioch and its suburb, Daphne. The literary information is also especially rich for the fourth century.²² Where now is the wretched village was once the third city of the Empire, with a main street four miles long, water and sewage systems, covered arcades, splendid buildings, and lighted streets. Its citizens were a fickle, pleasure-loving people, fond of festivals and shows. Its nobles and wealthy merchants had their country villas and lived a carefree life. The city was a great center of Greek liberal studies. Here also Christianity was planted before the conversion of St. Paul, and here its disciples were first called Christians. Apamea, on the Orontes, once covered fifteen acres and boasted its over 100,000 inhabitants, as we may well believe from its extensive ruins. In this region also, near the Orontes, stood over 100 other towns.

To the south and east in Transjordan²³ were the great caravan cities of Damascus, Emesa, Palmyra, and Doura. These were never Greek cities, as was Antioch. Damascus, the ancient Syrian capital, already over a thousand years old in the second century A.D., has not been excavated, since a great modern city stands upon the site. Doura, however, has been thoroughly explored in recent years, and its rich funeral monuments have revealed much about the art and life of the city.²⁴ Situated on the frontiers of Palmyra, near the Euphrates athwart the military and trade routes to Parthia, it developed from a military fortress to a prosperous city.

Palmyra, situated in an oasis in the midst of the desert, dominated a large territory of villages and nomadic tribes and won a brilliant prosperity as the center of the caravan trade with the East. Its period of greatest prosperity was in the second century after Trajan's annexation, and especially in the reigns of Hadrian and Antoninus, from which time its best sculptures, finest public buildings, richest funeral monuments, and the majority of its inscriptions date. This was due to the long period of peace and security after Trajan's humiliation of Parthia. The Palmyrene archers and camel-riders were a valuable addition to the Roman army in the East. In this section of Syria also, northwest of Damascus, was Heliopolis (Baalbek), the center of Syrian sun worship.

²¹ At the close of the second century, Septimius Severus divided the province into Coele Syria and Syria Phoenicia.

²² John Chrysostom. For the recent excavations, cf. *Am. J. of Arch.*, XV (1936), 1 ff., 166 f.; XLI (1937), 388 ff.

²³ The principality of Transjordan was annexed to Syria in 100 A.D. after the death of Herod Agrippa II.

²⁴ Cf. M. I. Rostovtzeff (and collaborators), *The Excavations at Doura-Europos*, six volumes to date, Yale University Press, 1929-1936.

Here stand the most imposing remains of temples extant from Roman times, begun in the reign of Antoninus Pius. These majestic and beautiful ruins reflect well the syncretism of the ancient Syrian religion with the Greco-Roman cults, as also the wealth and high artistic skill of the age that produced them.²⁵

The Phoenician coast cities were still important in trade and industry, though little is known of their history in the imperial period. The purple stuffs, silk and linen textiles, glass, artistic metal products, jewelry, perfumes, and ointments of Tyre, Sidon, and Byblos were exported throughout the Roman Empire, even to Trèves. Berytus (modern Beirut), a Roman veteran colony, was also an important commercial port and boasted a Latin school of law in the second century.

Palestine, aside from the old half-Greek coast towns of Jaffa, Askalon, and Gaza, and the newer settlements, such as Caesarea, Tiberias, and Sebaste, was largely a land of small peasant villages. Roman colonies were few, except Hadrian's Aelia Capitolina on the site of Jerusalem. Large estates, private and imperial, with their peasant cultivators, were quite extensive, but the naturally poor country had scarcely recovered from the devastations of the Jewish wars of the Flavians, Trajan, and Hadrian.

Most of Syria, however, was then more populous and far richer in fertile soil, trade, and industry than it has ever been since the decline of the Roman Empire. Syrian culture also, with its mixture of Greek and Semitic genius, was made famous by great names in literature, eloquence, philosophy, history, and law.²⁶

Arabia Petraea

Arabia Petraea was geographically a part of Syria. From the time of Pompey the Nabataean Arabs, with the capital at Petra, accepted a status of allies of the Romans. They flourished as an independent state until Trajan annexed the country as the province of Arabia Petraea in 106 A.D.²⁷ in order to secure control of the rich caravan trade from southern Arabia and the Red Sea. The Roman province extended from the Red Sea and the borders of Egypt northward to the southern borders of Damascus, and a Roman fortified highway with garrisons extended from the southern boundary through Petra and Bostra to the north.

Trajan's annexation was a blow to Petra, since Bostra now became both the political and commercial center. But under the Roman peace Nabataea reached its height of prosperity. Never was the land so intensively and extensively cultivated. In what is now a desert waste are bottle-shaped cisterns dug from the rock to conserve the rain water for irrigation, remains of stone oil presses, evidences of once-flourishing agricultural villages, heaps of stones, terracings, and ruins of aqueducts. Evidently Petra and the other great trade centers were not merely "caravan cities," as they are commonly called, but also centers of a rich agricultural section that fed a dense rural and city population. Remains of over 500 Nabataean watchtowers, fortresses, villages, and towns have been discovered in this old territory of Edom and Moab.

²⁵ Cf. Pl. XXI.

²⁶ For some of these, cf. Chapters Twenty-five and Twenty-six.

²⁷ Cf. Chapter Twenty-two, Sec. VI.

Petra, Bostra, and Gerasa found their chief source of wealth, however, in the rich caravan traffic from Arabia, the Red Sea, Egypt, and the Far East to Damascus, and from Mesopotamia to the Mediterranean and Asia Minor. Often there were hundreds of richly laden camels in one caravan, escorted by archers. In Petra, well fortified by nature, all routes centered, and goods were rerouted from there in all directions. The city also gained rich revenue from a heavy tax on goods in transit. Bostra also was a great trade center on the main route from the Red Sea, Galilee, and Damascus. The beautiful and imposing ruins of these once-thriving cities, with their splendid public buildings, temples, and rock tombs, still stand in the midst of the desert wastes as an amazing witness to their former high prosperity and civilization. But long before Trajan's annexation Nabataea was far from a loosely organized state of rich traders and caravaners centering in Petra to protect the trade routes. It was a highly organized kingdom, with strongly guarded boundaries and intensive agriculture, a prosperous industry, and a large settled population. Though chiefly Aramaic in language and culturally indebted to Syria, Parthia, the Greeks, and Egypt, the Nabataeans were one of the most gifted people of ancient history and developed a civilization peculiarly their own.

Egypt

The Ptolemaic administrative and financial system in Egypt was taken over with a few changes by Augustus, as we have seen, and this system continued essentially throughout the Antonine period.²⁸ There was no encouragement of urbanization, municipal self-government, or Roman citizenship. Hadrian founded about the only new city, Antinoöpolis,²⁹ with largely Greek population and government, and freedom from liturgies. Alexandria was repeatedly denied a municipal senate. Until the close of the second century Egypt retained its ancient organization in rural villages with an administrative capital in each *nome*, or district. But, though legally still only villages and a part of their respective *nomes*, these *metropoleis* had already taken on something like a municipal status. In the second century considerable civic pride and well-being continued, and the numerous literary Greek papyri from this period indicate a fair amount of culture and leisure.

The successors of Augustus continued his policy of restoring Egyptian agriculture and industry to their prosperity under the first Ptolemies. Temple lands were secularized, the Greek soldier's holdings were recognized, and thousands of Roman veterans were colonized on wastelands. Thus much land was reclaimed to cultivation, and a prosperous country gentry was developed. Much of the reclaimed land was planted to vine and olive, as a condition of the grant. But Egypt still supplied Rome with one-third of its grain.

During the first century there was a rapid growth of large estates in the hands of the imperial family and Roman capitalists. But after Nero the preference was increasingly for residents rather than Roman absentee owners as it

²⁸ Cf. Chapter Sixteen, Sec. II, 5, for the Augustan reorganization of Egypt. For the Ptolemaic system, cf. Vol. I, Chapter Thirty.

²⁹ For an interesting account of this free Greek city in Egypt, cf. *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. XI, pp. 650 f.

was difficult to enforce obedience, taxes, and liturgies on prominent Romans. The fear of revolution also caused the Flavians and Antonines to liquidate the large Roman estates. Private holdings were still encouraged, however, and the number of landowners continued to increase. In the second century these were chiefly village squires, veterans, or Greeks. Everywhere, next in wealth to the imperial family and Roman capitalists, were Greeks, who were the backbone of Egyptian business, the managers, bankers, transporters, concessionaires, and country squires. Thus prosperity continued for the middle class under the peace and security of the first two centuries and the Roman relaxation of the Ptolemaic system of state monopoly.

The millions of half-serf peasant cultivators and toilers in the mines, shops, and quarries, who populated the multitude of Egyptian villages, however, bore all the foreign exploiters on their back. Only rarely did one become Hellenized, rise to the middle class, and intermarry with the immigrants. The vast mass remained stolidly Egyptian. The problem was to keep them fairly satisfied, and the Roman government often shifted them to different groups to avoid disturbance. But organized rebellion was hopeless. When conditions become intolerable, their only recourse was to flee to the marshes of the Delta to live the life of a robber or stage a passive strike by taking refuge in a temple. Such strikes were increasingly common, as their condition grew steadily worse, but they were always fruitless. But the papyri probably record the darker side. Despite all, many tenants still offered themselves even for the less productive lands, and private estates were still profitable. The really fatal decline came in the third century.

As a result of the spread of the Jewish revolt to Alexandria and Trajan's harsh action against the rebels, the prosperity of the city was temporarily much impaired. But the conflicts between Greek and Jew were henceforth ended, and Trajan and Hadrian did much to restore its old commercial and industrial prosperity. Through its great port passed much of the commerce of Arabia Felix, Ethiopia, and the Far East to Asia Minor and the West. Creative culture, however, had steadily declined under the late Ptolemies and the Romans. The library was still remarkable despite the fire in Caesar's day, but the great scientific academy of the earlier Ptolemies had sadly declined. Yet, during the first three centuries of the Empire, Alexandria continued to be a center for Jewish, Greek, and Christian scholars.³⁰

During the second century A.D. there was a rapid development of cities all over Egypt, with many external characteristics of Greek towns in comforts and buildings, but not in constitution and rights. Thus the gradual change from isolation toward similarity with other provinces was only superficial. The vast mass of the population remained Egyptian. Hadrian's effort to change the peasant and to assimilate Egyptians and Greeks was foredoomed to failure, and with the growth of imperial despotism Egypt became increasingly the model for the other provinces instead.

³⁰ For these, *cf.* Chapters Twenty-five and Thirty.

Crete and Cyrenaica

Unlike Egypt, Crete and Cyrenaica enjoyed the typical senatorial provincial organization. Though united for administrative purposes, they were quite diverse in their economic, cultural, and political development. During the civil wars and early Empire much of the land had been taken over by private usurpers, but Claudius, Nero, and Vespasian recovered extensive tracts for the cities and imperial domain.

Crete, rich in resources, and on the direct trade route to Asia and Egypt, prospered under the Roman peace. Roads and aqueducts were built, and agriculture thrived on the large estates. The population was quite homogeneous, but Romanization was never very thorough. The Greek language remained dominant and the native religions continued. Christianity was early planted there through the Jewish communities, and Titus, whom Paul left there to organize its already existing churches, was the first Christian bishop. No great Roman ruins have survived in Crete, though Gortyn, the provincial capital, was restored by Augustus and Tiberius, and there was extensive building under the Flavians and second-century emperors after the earthquake of 46 A.D.

The history of Cyrenaica was more intimately related to the general imperial history. The main part of the province, with its towns on the coast and interior plateau, was separated from either side by wide stretches of desert. A new era for Cyrene began with Augustus. Inscriptions record the campaigns of his generals against the southern nomads, and a record of his work of restoring order and prosperity in the country is preserved in the Agora of Cyrene. Tiberius, Nero, and Vespasian also protected the provincials by successful suits against rapacious governors. As always in Hellenized provinces of the East, the imperial policy was to support Greek civilization without active attempts at Romanization. No Roman colonies were established there until after the Jewish rebellion under Trajan, no lands were granted to Italians, and though grants of Roman citizenship were gradually extended to well-to-do Greeks, they remained regular members of their own community. By the end of the second century half the population were Roman citizens. The rest were largely Jews and Libyan farmers who retained their tribal organization. Cyrenaica always remained chiefly agricultural, which the emperors encouraged by protection from nomad raids and by works of irrigation. The destructive effects of the Jewish wars on city and country were far more serious than the disturbance from nomad raids,³¹ but after the rebellion was ruthlessly crushed, Hadrian undertook extensive restoration. After his reign the country became increasingly isolated and suffered a general cultural and economic decline.

VI. BEYOND THE IMPERIAL BOUNDARIES

The Roman Empire was to a large extent closed to alien peoples by fortifications and customs barriers whether to the Parthians, the African nomads, the Scottish tribes, or the Germans beyond the frontiers of Rhine and Danube.

³¹ Cf. Chapter Twenty-two, and Dio, LXVIII, 32, 2.

Sporadic traders penetrated into Germany and even to Scandinavia. Parthia, the only highly civilized state outside the Roman Empire, except those in the Far East, though temporarily conquered by Trajan, and again partially at the close of the century, had little relation with the Empire. Its conquest by the Persian Sassanids in the third century made it a formidable danger to Roman power for a time, and the Persian religion exerted a marked influence throughout the later Empire.³²

Despite the active trade of Alexandria and the Eastern caravan cities with Arabia Felix (southwestern Arabia), it had no direct relations with imperial Rome. The failure of Augustus and later emperors to conquer it had significant results for future history in view of the later rise of Mohammedanism there. Trade relations with India and the Far East were encouraged by Augustus and his successors, but the impulse came almost entirely from Alexandria.

³² On Parthia, *cf.* Rostovtzeff in *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. XI, pp. 104-130.

Chapter Twenty-five

SOCIETY AND CULTURE (70-180 A.D.): SOCIETY, ART, PHILOSOPHY, AND RELIGION

I. SOCIETY

Our detailed picture of Roman society in the early Empire¹ is also largely applicable to the era of the Flavians and Antonines. It is therefore necessary only to point out significant changes since Nero.

I. SOCIAL CLASSES

The general social structure and classes remained substantially as before. The senatorial order was still held in high respect as the chief governing class, though its original powers under the Augustan Principate were now largely nominal, as we have seen. With the extinction of most of the old families, it had become a bourgeois body, recruited from wealthy equestrians, and the municipal aristocracy of Italy and the provinces. It was therefore an aristocracy of service rather than of birth. Large wealth was still required, but this was easily gained through public service or by imperial grant. As a body now constantly recruited from the lower orders and practically selected by the emperor, it was usually loyal to him, and the old aristocratic antagonism to the Principate was ended.

The equestrian order was also recruited from the municipalities of Italy and the provinces. The requirement of 400,000 sesterces (\$20,000) still held, but half of this amount might be earned in one year of office. It constituted, therefore, not a hereditary plutocracy but another aristocracy of officials, the backbone of the vast imperial bureaucracy which grew at the expense of the senate.

As we have seen, the governing class of the Italian and provincial municipalities was necessarily a body of large landowners and rich merchants, since the officials and *curia* were unpaid, must make heavy donations to the city, and bear increasingly heavy financial responsibilities for the imperial government. This wealthy middle class was replenished from below during the first two centuries of the Empire by the rise of natives and freedmen to its ranks, while the old families decayed and disappeared. This resulted in a gradual decline in the standards of culture in the municipal aristocracy, since the process of Hellenization and Romanization must begin anew each time with such recruits. It constituted the economic backbone and the responsible governing class throughout the Empire, however, and was chiefly responsible for the brilliant prosperity and culture of second-century urban civilization. But al-

¹ Chapter Nineteen, Sec. II.

ready, by the time of Hadrian, the honor was becoming a burden, and the growing regimentation and financial responsibility imposed by both emperor and cities were gradually destroying its resources, initiative, and civic patriotism.

Below were the petty bourgeoisie, small shopowners, retailers, money-changers, artisans, professional folk, and government clerical help. These held a much more important place in the Empire than under the Republic, as is evident from the great expansion of artisan guilds. They were the foundation of municipal economic life, and from their ranks the upper middle class was recruited. They have left little record in the history save the multitude of ruins of their shops and many inscriptional references to their *collegia*. These associations were also being gradually regimented to the service of the state, as we have seen. Here centered the social life of the artisans and petty traders.²

Below the petty bourgeoisie were the city proletariat in every municipality, free wage earners, slaves, and unemployed. The free wage was kept at a bare subsistence level determined by the cost of slave labor. Yet many could pay the small monthly fee to their funerary associations (*collegia tenuiorum*),³ to which slaves also were eligible. In the more humanitarian society of the second century they were now less harshly treated. Manumission was even more common than in the earlier Empire, and the slave system in agriculture and, to some degree, in industry was waning by the close of the century. As for the unemployed in Rome and the provincial municipalities, they must still have their "bread and circuses," which were always a heavy drain on the city budget. Beneath the brilliant exterior the social conditions in the cities were not very attractive. The splendid civilization was a thin veneer, created by and for a very limited minority. As in Rome, the masses everywhere lived in extreme poverty. It is therefore easy to exaggerate urban wealth and prosperity in the second century, especially considering the fact that the wealth even of the well-to-do middle class was based upon very flimsy foundations.

2. PUBLIC AMUSEMENTS

Public amusements for the Roman masses continued much the same as in the age of Nero,⁴ except that the number of festival days was now 130, almost double that at the beginning of the Empire. Domitian established a new festival for Capitoline Jupiter, which included Greek gymnastic, literary, and musical contests, and built an Odeum especially for the latter. The second-century emperors were even more elaborate in their public festivals, despite their Stoic emphasis on a simpler court life and less prodigality in spending. After the great increase in the public bathing facilities by the addition of the two new splendid *Thermae* of Titus and Trajan, the Roman masses wasted so much time there that Hadrian limited the hours when they were open to the public. On a smaller scale, the municipalities of Italy and the provinces provided similar facilities for the amusement of their urban masses, often to the point of depleting their resources. Tingad, Africa, a town of only about

² On the *collegia*, cf. Chapter Twenty-three, Sec. II, 6. ⁴ Cf. Chapter Nineteen, Sec. II, 6.

³ *Ibid.*

10,000 population, had at least twelve public baths. For the proletariat of the municipalities as well as in Rome, life was summed up in the amusements of the arena and the public baths.

3. HIGH SOCIETY IN ROME

The accession of Vespasian marks the beginning of a change in the high society of the court and capital from the prodigal luxury and unbounded moral laxity of the Neronian age. Especially in the second century was the life of the upper classes in Rome more sober and simple. This was largely due to the more austere spirit of most of the emperors of the period. But it also resulted from the passing of the old senatorial families and the rise of a new bourgeois aristocracy. One should not exaggerate the rapidity or extent of the change, however. All the evils in the high society of the Neronian age previously described were still almost as glaring at the turn of the century, if we are to believe Juvenal and Tacitus. Juvenal, writing in the days of Trajan, declares indignantly that no future age can possibly outdo the present social and moral degeneration of Rome. No Roman author has given a harsher indictment of Roman society or of the character of the upper-class women of the capital than he. Tacitus, a contemporary, praised the Germans, since, unlike the Romans, they made no mock of vice and did not consider seduction their chief social interest. M. Aurelius found it necessary to regulate the license of women, and even at the close of the century, according to Dio, the laws of Septimius Severus against adultery resulted in 3,000 cases in the consular and senatorial class alone. The gross immorality of the Roman theatre also still persisted, judging by Juvenal's picture of its effect on female morals.⁶ The mad scramble for wealth by the disgusting *captatio* and other questionable means, the boring reciter, the fawning parasite, and the slavish client, snubbed at the *salutatio* and insulted at banquets of his patrons, were still evils in the capital, as Martial, Juvenal, and Pliny attest.⁶

Probably, however, the Stoic spirit and simple life of the second-century emperors gradually mitigated the more glaring evils. The younger Pliny and his circle reflect a more refined type of Roman gentleman of the newer aristocracy, and his picture of Roman society is an excellent corrective for the exaggerated pessimism of Juvenal. Martial reflects conditions in the days of the tyrant, Domitian, and both Tacitus and Juvenal, while writing in the happier reign of Trajan, depict to a large extent the abuses in the same gloomy period, which they had both experienced. Tacitus definitely contrasts the changed conditions under Trajan with the evils of the previous age.⁷ On the whole the more repulsive evils of Roman society were probably less in the age of Hadrian and the Antonines than in the days of Nero or Domitian.

The wealthier classes in Italy continued to find relaxation in country villas and watering places, and this custom extended to the provinces as in Gaul, where many remains of elaborate countryseats have survived. Even a moderately well-to-do man of simple habits like Pliny the Younger had several in

⁶ VI, 62.

⁷ *Annals*, III, 55.

⁸ Cf. Pliny, *Letters*, II, 6, and Chapter Nineteen, Sec. II.

Italy. Travel and sightseeing, which were stimulated by the example of the emperor, Hadrian,⁸ were also a healthy diversion for the rich. Not only did tourists from all parts of the Empire come to see the marvels of Rome, but well-to-do Italian and Roman tourists in increasing numbers, armed with their guidebooks, visited the historic sites and art centers and the great cities of Greece, Asia Minor, and Egypt in truly modern fashion. This tourist interest and use of books of travel are reflected in the extensive travels of Pausanias and his guidebook, *Descriptio Graeciae*, the "Baedeker" of the ancient world, written in the age of M. Aurelius.

II. ART

I. ARCHITECTURE AND BUILDING IN ROME

The century after Nero was remarkable, not only for the rapid multiplication of cities, but also for their embellishment with splendid buildings by emperors and men of wealth. The epochal invention of the great hall, spanned by the cross vault, probably dating from Nero's day, now became the regular structure.⁹ Though Vespasian destroyed Nero's Golden House, Domitian rebuilt and enlarged the palace of Augustus on the Palatine as his residence (*Domus Flaviania*), the ruins of which are better preserved than those of any imperial palace of Rome. The greatest builder in Italy and the Empire was Hadrian, and by far the most extensive and splendid of all imperial residences of the century was his Villa at Tibur (Tivoli) near Rome, a whole town in itself. Of its former grandeur only a few scattering remains are left. The massive, drum-shaped Mausoleum of Hadrian, though now stripped of its marble splendor, is still an imposing figure on the horizon of modern Rome. During the later Middle Ages its massive strength and subterranean passages served as a fortress for the Popes, hence its present name, Castel Sant' Angelo.

The Flavians and Trajan beautified Rome and served the needs of the Roman public by establishing three new fora. The Forum of Vespasian was built to celebrate his triumph over the Jews. His Temple of Peace, which once graced its center, was reputed to be one of the finest buildings in Rome. Domitian and Nerva connected this new forum with that of Augustus by a narrower square called the Forum of Nerva. Later, by cutting away the Quirinal Hill to the north of the Forum of Augustus, Trajan built his Forum, the largest of all public squares in ancient Rome, about 200 by 350 yards. Recent excavations now enable us to gain some conception of its imposing effect. In its center stood the Basilica Ulpia, a great central hall surrounded by two colonnades, and an apse at either end. Beyond stood his famous Column¹⁰ and the Greek and Latin libraries, while at one end of the square was his temple built by Hadrian. Through the construction of these new fora, the original Forum Romanum was connected by easy passage with the Campus Martius.

⁸ On his travels and philhellenism, cf. Chapter Eighteen, Sec. I (end).

⁹ Cf. *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. XI, pp. 776 f.

¹⁰ On the Column, cf. above, Chapter Twenty-two, Sec. VI, 1. Cf. Pl. XVIII.

Besides his Forum and Temple of Peace, Vespasian built the first Arch of Titus, not now extant, and began the great Flavian Amphitheatre, or Colosseum, which was finished by Titus and Domitian. The building was elliptical in shape, covering six acres of ground and seating about 50,000 people. The seats, in tiers around the building, were reached by four corridors, each corresponding to a story. The lower stories were ventilated from without by eighty great arched openings separated by piers. Before each pier was a column, and around the top of the arches was a continuous entablature. The columns of the first three stories were, in order, Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian, while the fourth story had, instead of arches, a windowed wall embellished with pilasters.¹¹ It represents a structural change in this period to unify the whole building and give the effect of height. Underneath the arena were extensive substructures or dens whence the animals were raised in movable cages to the arena. But they could hardly have been kept permanently here, as the arena was occasionally flooded with water for presenting a sea fight. The building was remarkable, not only for its huge size, but especially for its wonderfully skillful system of entrances, exits, and stairways, whereby the vast crowd was handled without confusion, and for the vaulted substructure that supported the seats. The outside of the structure was once encrusted with marble and adorned with statues, and the seats were also of marble. A canopy might be drawn to protect the spectators from sun and rain, and the air was continually refreshed by ample ventilation and play of fountains impregnated with perfumes. Though treated for centuries as a quarry for medieval and Renaissance builders, the vast structure is still most impressive, even in its ruins. A monument to the architectural genius of Rome and an imposing symbol of her imperial majesty, it is also an index to Roman civilization, whose most characteristic amusements were the coarse and cruel sports of the arena.

Most of the splendid public buildings and temples of second-century Rome have not survived, but the type of temple architecture of Hadrian's day may still be seen in his shrine of Venus and Roma and his Pantheon. The former was apsidal in form with two cellas. The Pantheon was a temple dedicated to the deities of the seven planets, and is a monument to the tolerance of the Romans in religion. Only the portico of the original rectangular Pantheon of Agrippa was retained, which still bears the inscription of Agrippa. It was made the entrance to Hadrian's new structure, which is in the form of a great rotunda with a dome of solid concrete, 140 feet in diameter, with a thirty-foot opening in the center for lighting purposes. This vast dome, which was so constructed as to dispense with supporting columns, still stands, practically unimpaired by the ravages of 1,800 years, as the greatest achievement in ancient construction. The building is now a mausoleum for the kings of modern Italy.

The last of the great Roman aqueducts was begun by Nerva and completed by Trajan. After its construction the total volume of water supplied to the city by all the aqueducts was probably 100 gallons per head per day. Two

¹¹ The upper stories, as they now appear, date not earlier than the third century. Pl. XIV.

elaborate public *Thermae* were also built by Titus and Trajan. In splendid buildings second-century Rome was easily the equal of the finest cities of the East.¹²

Building in Italy and the Empire

The second century of the Empire was also a great era of building in the municipalities of Italy and the provinces. Wealthy citizens vied with each other in lavish spending for public buildings, and urban officials mortgaged the future municipal revenues to win for their city the title *municipium splendidissimum*. The most notable example of lavish expenditure for building by a wealthy citizen is Herodes Atticus, the ruins of whose great Odeum stand at the foot of the Athenian Acropolis. Emperors also furnished financial aid for public construction, as Trajan in Bithynia, or financed extensive building, as Hadrian in almost every province of the Empire, especially at Athens. The splendid ruins of many cities of this period in Italy, Gaul, Africa, and the East still witness to their civic spirit and prosperity.¹³ Even the smaller country towns sought to provide dignified public buildings.

Especially did the municipalities follow Rome in emphasizing adequate water supply and amusement centers. Several smaller amphitheatres were built even in Britain from 80-150 A.D., one holding 7,500 spectators, and in the more developed provinces were many much larger, holding 20,000 or more. Among significant remains of such amusement centers are amphitheatres at Arles and Nîmes, and the theatres at Orange, Thugga, Ephesus, Aspendus, and Perga. Even the caravan cities, Petra and Bostra, had their Roman theatres, and Biskra, on the borders of the Sahara, had its amphitheatre. Provincial architecture in the West was entirely dominated by Rome. In the East Roman arches are conspicuously absent, and gymnasia take the place of the imperial *Thermae*.

Aqueducts and bridges were also built on a grand scale wherever Roman civilization extended. Sometimes pipelines were laid on the siphon principle, following the contour of the ground, but usually they were borne over the valleys on great arcades. Two of the most imposing are the aqueduct of Segovia, Spain, built in Trajan's reign, and the Pont du Gard near Nîmes, possibly dating from the reign of the Antonines or earlier, whose splendid triple tier of arches rises to a height of 160 feet. These aqueducts, as well as the great bridges, such as that built by Trajan near the Iron Gates of the Danube and another over the Tagus at Alcántara, Spain, at a height of 150 feet, are monuments to the Roman engineering genius.

The most notable surviving examples of temple architecture in the provinces are the colossal pilgrim sanctuary of Jupiter at Baalbek, Syria (Heliopolis), rebuilt in the reign of Antoninus, and the great temple of Olympian Zeus in Athens, begun 650 years previous by the tyrant, Pisistratus, and completed by Hadrian. Several of its giant Corinthian columns still stand as a monument to him.¹⁴ The impressive temple ruins at the now deserted Baalbek

¹² On the brilliancy of Rome, cf. Chapter Twenty-three, Sec. II, 2. Cf. Pl. XX. ¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ On Hadrian's extensive building in Athens and other cities throughout the Empire, cf. Chapter Twenty-two, Sec. IV, 1. Cf. Pls. XIX and XXI.

are mute witnesses to the wealth, religious interest, architectural skill, and exquisite workmanship in decorative art in second-century Roman Syria. Imposing triumphal arches, like that of Trajan at Beneventum and the Arch of Titus at Rome, were also numerous throughout the Empire as monuments to Rome's artistic skill and conquering power.

In the late first and second centuries the newer quarters of the towns usually followed a regular system of city planning, with streets at right angles. An excellent example is Timgad, a colony of Trajan in the province of Africa.¹⁵ According to another plan, as at Gerasa and Palmyra, long colonnaded streets radiated from the central square of the city. Little is known of Roman residences. The ruins of the town houses found in Timgad and other second-century African cities are neither extensive nor impressive, but, in general, they follow the quadrangle plan of the Pompeian houses of the first century. In Ostia, the metropolitan port, on the other hand, the four-story blocks of apartments of red and yellow brick, usually stuccoed, with large windows and occasional balconies, are quite comparable to many modern middle-class apartments in European cities. In crowded Rome the tenements of the proletariat rose to at least the seventy-foot maximum prescribed by Trajan, or higher. In northern lands, as northern Gaul and Britain, a rectangular residence with a portico open to the sun was substituted for the usual Roman peristyle form.

The private architecture of the period is best judged, however, by the numerous remains of elaborate country villas in France, Switzerland, Britain, and Germany. These varied widely in plan and materials in different sections, but all alike were equipped with the usual Roman improvements, such as mosaic floors, glass windows, and central heating by hypocausts. Judged by the many remains and the detailed descriptions of his Italian country villas by the younger Pliny,¹⁶ they were spacious, with many rooms and probably luxurious in their comforts.

2. SCULPTURE AND OTHER ARTS

Sculpture vied with architecture in its profuse embellishment of the cities of the second century. The villas and residences of the well-to-do were rich with bronzes and all kinds of art products. Hadrian's villa at Tibur was a museum of art masterpieces, several of which are now in the Vatican Museum. Multitudes of indifferent copies of Greek masterpieces were made in this age of philhellenism, and, unfortunately, it was largely from these that the modern world gained its first conception of Greek art. Decorative art of fine taste and craftsmanship for the interior and exterior of buildings, however, had a vast scope. The same was true of monumental relief sculpture for triumphal arches, columns, trophies, and memorials.

Some idea of the richness and profusion of art in the age of the Flavians, which applies also in the second century, may be gained from Pompeii. Though a provincial town not notable for culture, even its smaller houses had at least one piece of art which would now be considered priceless, and

¹⁵ Cf. Pl. XXI.

¹⁶ *Letters*, II, 17; V, 6. Cf. II. II. Tanzer, *The Villas of Pliny the Younger*.

this was still more true of Herculaneum, a more cultivated center. What must have been the original artistic riches of such cities as Naples, Baiæ, and other wealthy resorts in Campania, to say nothing of Rome itself?

Yet the enormous art collections of Rome and the wholesale use of art in decoration and on monuments are no sure evidence of the spread of real artistic feeling. The impelling motive was largely a love of splendor, and the very profusion of the art which Romans had little part in creating dulled its finer effects. With the Romans art was generally a means to the celebration of persons or events, rather than an end in itself. Probably most wealthy Romans had very meager appreciation for the many fine works of art in their possession. It was more a matter of fashion with them. The gulf between the Roman and the Greek in genuine appreciation of art is seen in the striking difference in the attitude of their great writers to it. Scarcely a Roman poet or prose writer has shown any interest in, or knowledge of, great art, while the very opposite is true of the Greek.

In portraiture, in which the Romans were more original, they continued to produce excellent work until the middle of the second century. The portraits of the Flavians exhibit the same striking realism as do those of the Julio-Claudian period. The dour, coarse but good-natured face of the bourgeois Vespasian, the boyish frankness of Titus, and the hard, autocratic but intelligent expression of Domitian are all well portrayed in their busts, which are direct reproductions from life. They are remarkable for their vital realism and their faithful portrayal of the details of the features, flesh, hair, and individual character of the emperors.¹⁷ This emphasis on the facial expression is quite different from the classical Greek or even the cold and artificial Augustan portraiture.

The art of this period is at its best, however, in the anonymous portraits, which are free from the necessarily conventional limitations of imperial portraiture.¹⁸ Among these are two excellent portraits of children.¹⁹ The female portraits of the period reveal interesting changes in the coiffure from comparative simplicity to elaborate complexity.²⁰

The philhellenism of Hadrian gave impetus to a new Greek influence in portraiture, which resulted in an academic type lacking the vital realism of the Roman.²¹ Sculpture in the round and Greek relief predominated over Roman historical. With him also began the wearing of a beard like the philosophers, which made this the fashion for centuries. The statue of Antinous, the favorite of Hadrian, is the most characteristic example of the new Greek classicism. The finest Greek copies, the Antinous Farnese in Naples, the Antinous Dionysus in the Vatican, and the relief of the Villa Albani are comparable to the masterpieces of classic Greek art. Another excellent example of Greek Antonine sculpture is the so-called "Christ."²² The Roman portraits of the Antonine-Aurelian period are almost vapid and colorless in comparison, though the noble meditative type of the emperor-philosopher is well por-

¹⁷ Cf. Heckler, *op. cit.*, Pls. 218-220b. Cf. Pl. XIII.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, Pls. 222, 228b, 233, masterly in its realism.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, Pl. 235.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, Pls. 238-244a.

²¹ *Ibid.*, Pls. 246b, 250a.

²² *Ibid.*, Pl. 261.

trayed.²³ The Antonine portraits often give the impression of weakness and overrefined elegance, though some of the finest female portraits date from this period.²⁴ The masterly realism of the best Roman portrait sculpture is also seen in some of the coins of the century.

The finest artistic accomplishment of this period was in its historical relief sculpture. Worthy examples are the inner panels on the arch of Titus, portraying scenes from his victories over the Jews, the one a triumphal procession bearing the seven-branched candlestick and other spoils from the Temple of Jerusalem, the other, more restrained, picturing Titus in his chariot, crowned by Victory. Despite some faults of perspective, they are especially successful in their portrayal of stirring action and the impression of depth, unusual in Roman art. Their restless motion presents a striking contrast to the harmony and ceremonious dignity of the *Ara Pacis* of Augustus.²⁵ The same impression of vivid action is given by the vast "heroic epic in stone" on Trajan's Column, which presents in a continuous spiral band of 2,500 figures, as if on a painted scroll, the whole history of his victorious campaigns in Dacia.²⁶ The scenes are pictured with great freshness and originality. By a violation of the laws of perspective, the distant figures are made to stand out to the observer from below. The whole, with its confused multitude of details and scenes, is unified by the dominating figure of Trajan and by the climax of the dramatic epic in the death of his Dacian enemy, Decebalus. Less successful in attaining unity or avoiding monotony was the attempt to portray the Marcomannic Wars of M. Aurelius on his Column, though the individual figures compare well with those of Trajan's.

A cruder realism is seen in the art of the Western provinces, such as the war scenes and pictures of common life carved on the grave monuments of the Roman soldiers in Britain and Gaul or the scenes of country life depicted on the Gallic and African mosaics.²⁷ Something of the old Celtic vivid portrayal of life and movement also appears in the animal reliefs on the "Castor" pottery and in the sculptured "Corbridge" lion. But, on the whole, art outside of Rome was largely imitative and bound by the old conventions. It therefore became ever more stagnant. The older peoples in the East lost their creativeness, while the natives of the newer provinces, except the Celts, had never developed an independent art.

For an idea of the wall painting in the Flavian era, as in the Neronian, we must look to the later period of Pompeii and Herculaneum. Both the imaginary pictures of buildings and the subject pictures that decorate the central panels of the walls are characterized by a certain bold disregard for reality, a nervous action, and gayness of color that border on the baroque.²⁸ But espe-

²³ *Ibid.*, Pls. 265, 267a. Cf. Pl. XVII.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, Pls. 282, 284a.

²⁵ The panels of a relief of Trajan in battle and crowned as victor, which have been built into the Arch of Constantine, and the reliefs from the Rostra in the Forum representing his destruction of the debt rolls and founding of the *alimenta* have less of this restless motion. The reliefs on the Arch of Beneventum are more influenced by the neo-classic art. Cf. Pl. XIII.

²⁶ Cf. Chapter Twenty-one, Sec. V, 3.

²⁷ Cf. R. G. Collingwood, *The Archaeology of Roman Britain*, Chap. iv. On the art of Gaul, Africa, and other provinces, cf. also M. I. Rostovtzeff, *op. cit.*, Plates in Chaps. vi, vii.

²⁸ Cf. the picture of *Pan and Cupid Wrestling*, from the House of the Vettii, in *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. V of Plates, Pl. 74a.

cially notable in this so-called "fourth style" at Pompeii are the small painted friezes with Cupids, Psyches, satyrs, animals, and maenads, full of life and humor. Probably Roman historical painting flourished as did historical relief sculpture. What scanty remains have survived reveal a neo-classic style combining Greek and Roman elements. It is of interest that the names of painters given by Pliny the Elder are all Roman. The second-century paintings at Palmyra and Doura-Europos, on the other hand, present a mixture of Oriental and Greek, with novel elements quite different from those of the West.

Roman music was really Greek, transferred to Roman soil and adapted to Roman conditions. Like the Greeks, Roman musicians knew nothing of harmony, except as a unison of different octaves. Instrumental music was only solo and never developed orchestral form. It was also entirely subordinate to singing, as all music was to poetry. The chief instruments were the Greek flute, lyre, and cithara, but cymbals, drum, and the hydraulic organ were also used. Many Roman girls and boys learned to play the harp and sing, and choruses of youth were common in religious festivals. Greek musical contests, introduced by Nero, also continued. But the art was never on the same dignified plane as in Greece. Professional musicians held no high place in Roman society, and music was never a fundamental part of the educational curriculum as in Greece. In the Greek East the music was more refined and severe, but in Egypt and the Orient the blend of Oriental elements produced a more exciting and orgiastic type.

III. PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGION IN THE SECOND CENTURY

I. PHILOSOPHY

In general, the tendencies in philosophy and religion previously outlined²⁰ persisted during the century of the Flavians and Antonines, only with greater intensity. The only old philosophic sects that continued a vigorous existence were the Stoics and Cynics. Stoicism was harshly persecuted by Domitian, as we have seen, but under the mild emperors of the second century it won increasing favor at court, until one of its greatest representatives, Marcus Aurelius, sat on the imperial throne. This fact reflects well, not only a change in the spirit of emperors and Stoics, but a growing serious interest in ethics and religion. In Epictetus, the lame Phrygian freedman, and M. Aurelius this period produced two of the greatest exponents of Roman Stoicism.

Driven from Rome by Domitian, Epictetus settled at Nicopolis in Epirus as a teacher. With the accession of Trajan, he returned to Rome, where he continued in high imperial favor as a teacher probably until the earlier reign of Hadrian. He profoundly influenced M. Aurelius, and though he wrote nothing, his teaching was recorded by his affectionate pupil, Arrian. These works reflect well the high character of this noble of lowly origin. His philosophy is intensely practical, centering neither on science nor metaphysical speculation, but on how to live best. True education, he taught, consists in learning

²⁰ Chapter Twenty, Secs. III and IV.

to distinguish between one's own and what does not belong to him. Since men are the sons of God and of like nature, they can learn his will. They are also, therefore, bound up with the whole fabric of the world and with each other. Epictetus' ideal of the perfect missionary sage is one who is free from all ties of home, property, or family to devote himself entirely to the service of God. Yet he was no preacher of immortality. Almost in the spirit of Lucretius, he urged his listeners against false fears of death or the future. In an age when the tide was strong toward interest in the future state, he is an outstanding example of a profoundly religious man who felt no need of the immortal hope.

Marcus Aurelius, who held fast to his lofty moral ideal even under the crushing burden of twenty years of military crisis, impressed himself upon his contemporaries and later generations as have few men in history. His *Meditations* were written in Greek in the midst of a busy life as occasion offered, which accounts for their fragmentary character, as well as for their practicality and charm. They are strongly practical in character, presenting an ideal which, in its lofty spiritual and ethical emphasis, humanitarianism, and emphasis upon love, is strongly suggestive of the Sermon on the Mount, to which John Stuart Mill compared them. The work has done much to maintain Stoicism as a vital moral force in the modern world. The artificial, aristocratic, and harsh character of the older Stoicism, still evident in Seneca, is replaced by a simple sincerity and self-denying humanitarianism.³⁰

In any estimate of second-century Roman society, the fact that it produced such characters as Epictetus, Marcus Aurelius, and Plutarch must be given due weight. God to them is no longer a cosmic law, but a person with whom they can personally commune. Speculative reason had given place to emotion and mysticism. Philosophy had become a religion, an "art of saving souls," a way of life. The later Stoics veered to religious mysticism, and Stoicism was finally assimilated with a revived Platonism and Pythagoreanism.

Philosophic evangelism and moral preaching were dominant in the second century among intellectuals. The old rationalism was largely gone, represented only by the skeptical Lucian and Galen, the physician. Dio Chrysostom, though primarily a rhetorician and no professional Stoic nor Cynic, expressed the present trend. Converted from a dissolute life, he sought to conform his will to the divine and became a preacher of moral revival. In Plutarch, also, the moral and religious emphasis was always supreme, and theology was the crown of philosophy.

Maximus of Tyre represents the new religious spirit in its essence. In his discourses, which are most similar to the modern sermon, he sought to bring men back to communion with God and to recognition of their duty to God, themselves, and their fellows. Though a great Cynic preacher, he was, like Plutarch, strongly touched by the Pythagoreanism of the time. Man was a dual creature, akin to both beast and God. The soul was in a prison-house, but might later return to the Infinite through right living and a mystical, semi-ascetic abstraction from the evil material world. God is infinitely removed

³⁰ On the character of Marcus Aurelius, cf. Chapter Twenty-two.

from everything mortal or material, but the gulf is bridged by the lesser gods or daemons, whose home is in the stars. Thus by syncretism and allegorizing of myth, a new Pythagorean and Platonic mysticism was being assimilated to the old polytheisms to meet the religious yearnings of the time. Appearing as Neo-Platonism in the third century, the new religion was destined to have a long and significant future in the history of Christianity.

A pioneer example of this Neo-Pythagorean movement was Apollonius of Tyana, the evangelist of righteousness in Domitian's day, on whose career the third-century Philostratus wrote a bizarre romance. With its mysticism, asceticism, and miracles, it might well have served as a model for the medieval *Lives of the Saints*. Though essentially unhistorical, it clearly reflects the attitudes of this pagan revivalist.

The new philosophic evangelism had its appeal to the humbler, as well as to the more cultivated, sections of society. Wandering Cynic preachers, often as unlettered as their audiences, harangued large crowds of common folk on the street corners, in the squares, and from the steps of temples. The popular demand for such moral diatribes on right living naturally produced a multitude of charlatans, who brought all Cynics into disrepute. These disgusting "Mendicant monks of Paganism,"³¹ with their unkempt beard, rude manners, long dirty cloak, wallet, and staff, and scorn of all social conventions, casting their harsh epithets and coarse jests at the passers-by, were a common object of satire and attack by Martial, Epictetus, Dio Chrysostom, Lucian, and other writers of the period. Especially was their contempt of all social restraints resented by Romans. Doubtless there was abundant basis for their criticism. Yet there were also worthy Cynic preachers, such as the unassuming Demonax of Athens, who was revered by all. The large number of impostors proves in itself the wide popularity and social importance of the movement. Epictetus, who criticizes the counterfeit, paints his ideal of the true Cynic as a prophet of Zeus calling men from their errant way back to God. But the Stoic and Cynic preachers of morality could not permanently compete with the religious missionaries from the Orient with their gospel of salvation from sin and a sure, blissful immortality. After Marcus Aurelius, also, Stoicism emphasized increasingly an exclusively negative and passive ideal, thereby gradually losing its identity in Neo-Platonism and Christianity.

2. THE RELIGIOUS REVIVAL AND THE ORIENTAL RELIGIONS

The old civic religions had by no means entirely lost their hold, as is sometimes asserted. They were too intricately interwoven with the very fabric of Greco-Roman civilization to yield so easily. Reinterpreted and assimilated to other faiths, they persisted for three more centuries until the last bitter struggle of paganism with Christianity. Despite the tendency toward philosophic monotheism and a God infinitely separate from the world, the masses clung to their traditional gods. The vast gulf between impotent man and the absolutely pure spirit was filled by the intermediary demons of legend. Thus by a process of syncretism, the old polytheisms were not denied, but incorporated

³¹ S. Dill, *Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius*, Oxford, 1928, pp. 349 ff.

into the philosophies and religions of the day, thereby appealing to the educated and unlettered alike. Meanwhile, during the first and second centuries, the gods of the conquered peoples were assimilated with the Roman deities, with some of their characteristics surviving in the Roman. The tenacity of the national Roman religion also appears in the scrupulous attention of Domitian and Marcus Aurelius to their religious duties as *Pontifex Maximus* and their zeal for the civic faith. Despite the widespread philosophic teaching and enlightenment, the traditional ideas of the dark underworld were still common, and even cultivated classes were returning to the old beliefs which had long been discarded as irrational.

The second century was notable, not only for a revival of religion, but for a rising tide of mysticism and a marked increase of religious credulity and superstition. Oracles, omens, dreams, divination, and augury again became popular, even among the educated classes. The Oracle at Delphi was revived and was much consulted on personal matters. A new oracle was also established near Ephesus and became famous. Magic, sorcery, incantations, theurgy, stories of miracles and healing, were the order of the day. Plutarch's protest in his essay on superstition reveals how rampant it had become since the days of Lucretius and Cicero. Suetonius retails superstitious stories of marvels and special providences at every occasion with apparent credulity, and even Tacitus is not above it.⁸² The two Plinys believe in dreams, and the highly cultivated Plutarch recounts endless anecdotes of divine prevision. Practically all writers of the period, except Lucian, were more or less tinged with superstition. The bizarre story of Apuleius, with its strange combination of gross magic and spiritual aspiration, ascetic idealism, and utterly sensual imagination, is a good index to the growing degradation of the religious sense. Books on the interpretation of dreams were in high demand, miracle-mongers were common, charlatan healers played upon the credulity of the masses, and superstitious crowds were ready on slight occasion to recognize the appearance of deities in human form. Apollonius of Tyana was generally believed to have supernatural powers and to be a special representative of God. Faith in miracle was a matter of course with Christian and pagan alike, and even Christian writers against paganism at this time do not dispute the possibility of pagan miracles or oracles.

The most extreme example of the uncritical interest in supernaturalism in this period is the Greek historical *Miscellanies* of Aelian of Praeneste, probably written in the Antonine period. The fragment of his work on *Providence* is an amazing collection of miracles, oracles, prophecies, cures, dreams, and supernatural interventions. Aelius Aristides, also, the highly cultured rhetorician, a man of feeble health who had assiduously visited all the seats of healing, reflects the same mystic superstition in his *Sacred Orations*. He attacks free-thinking philosophers and shows a boundless faith in miracles and visions. The worship of Asclepius, the divine healer, was remarkably popular in the days of the Antonines, his temples were legion with their priests and pseudo-

⁸² One finds plenty of such stories in Livy in the Augustan age, but the attitude is somewhat different, a patriotic recounting of the early legends of Rome.

physicians, with patients flocking to them from all over the Roman world. One of his most famous temples was at Epidaurus in Argolis, whose acres of ruins and great theatre are evidence of its once great popularity as a center of healing.

A similar obsession about dreams as direct divine revelations was general. The late second-century treatise on their interpretation by Artemidorus of Ephesus to combat critical skepticism reflects the common attitude. But the outstanding case of superstitious credulity is the marvelous success of Alexander, the false prophet of Abonouteichos in Paphlagonia, of whom Lucian tells. By the aid of a magnetic personality, false oracles and prophecies, clever pretense, and propaganda, he persuaded the ignorant masses of a new epiphany of Asclepius and founded an oracle and seat of divine healing of the god of whom he claimed to be the direct representative. The fame and popularity of the oracle spread over Asia Minor and thence to Italy and the West, even among the educated classes, so that one Roman of high birth even married Alexander's alleged daughter by Selene. The charlatan profited from his clever deception to the amount of over \$30,000 a year. Lucian's is as a lone voice crying in the wilderness of superstition, but his persistent satires against it are another evidence of its prevalence.

Astrology, with its fatalist superstitions, had entered Italy as early as the second century B.C. and was taken seriously even in highest circles of the late Republic and early Empire. Augustus had his horoscope drawn, and this became increasingly common even among the most cultivated people. Tiberius and Nero followed the example of Augustus, as did the Flavians, despite their exile of some astrologers. But the superstition became much more general in the second century. Even the highly educated Hadrian did not discard the belief, and Marcus Aurelius consulted the astrologers and kept one in his train during his German wars.

A striking evidence of the widespread religious interest in the second century is the rapidly expanding popularity of the Oriental cults among the cultivated Romans as well as unlettered masses. Both sought a religion less formal and external, more emotional and personal. The authors of the period, on the whole, keep a cold reserve on the question of future life, though to Epictetus, Galen, and Marcus Aurelius it probably meant little. Only the elder Pliny and Lucian are definitely negative.³³ But the religious revival brought with it a growing interest in the future fate of the soul. The new Stoicism, with its more personal divine Father, stimulated the longing for eternal life with him. Still stronger evidences of the immortal hope appear in the growing popularity of the Neo-Pythagorean and Platonic movements. Immortality and transmigration were axioms to Apollonius of Tyana, and the Platonists, Maximus of Tyre and Plutarch, are apostles of the doctrine.

The immortal hope was satisfied especially, however, by some of the mystery religions of the Orient, which also had a special appeal for their mystic emotionalism, elaborate ritual, priestly mediation, and offer of personal salvation and healing from sin and evil. Through the influence of Greek philosophy,

³³ The general substitution of burial for cremation indicates no necessary change in the attitude regarding the future state.

also, they had been largely purified of their earlier sensual and immoral rites. Cybele, the Great Mother of Phrygia, had been established in Italy since 204 B.C., though her noisy worship, with its cruel and sensual rites symbolizing her love and grief for Attis, was long distinctly alien. But toward the end of the Republic, her cult received new recognition, catching the imagination of the great poets and Augustus, who restored her temple. Later, from the beginning of the Flavian era, purified of her grosser elements, she won increasing popularity. She appeared on the coins of Antoninus Pius, and her initiatory rite, the *taurobolium*, or baptism of bull's blood, was offered for him,³⁴ symbolizing cleansing and the assurance of immortality. With her love for Attis spiritually transformed, she became the universal mother, holding, as Isis, a place slightly analogous to the Virgin in later Christian worship.

The Egyptian cult of Isis and her partner Sarapis, long established in Italy in the second century B.C., won increasing popularity from Sulla to Nero, despite sporadic persecution. But it reached its triumph in the late first and second centuries A.D. when it spread throughout the West.³⁵ Her earlier easy moral code was also brought into accord with the Roman ideal. Her temples were everywhere; guilds were formed for her worship. She probably appealed especially to women as the woman universal who could sympathize with and aid them in their sufferings. But multitudes of men, of all grades of intelligence, now native Romans as well as Oriental and Italians, were also her adherents. Her initiatory rites and daily impressive ritual produced a profound effect on the Roman mind. In the melting pot of all religions, the cult had been greatly transformed. The Egyptian trinity, Isis, Osiris, Horus (or later Isis, Sarapis, Harpocrates or Anubis), was equalized in literature with Demeter, Dionysius, and Apollo. In Plutarch's treatise on Isis and Osiris, the syncretism has resulted in a veritable trinitarian monotheism, including a dual principle of good and evil. In the inscriptions Sarapis becomes only another name for Jupiter and the Invincible Sun (*Sol Invictus*), and Isis is the universal mother, who cleanses and comforts. The intensely sacerdotal spirit and highly organized priesthood of this as well as all the Oriental cults, so strikingly different from the old Greek and Roman religions in this respect, gave them special power in an age of growing mysticism and religious faith.

From the time of the Antonines, however, the cult of Isis and Sarapis seems gradually to have lost its dominant position to the Persian religion of Mithra.³⁶ Mithraism is the most interesting of the Oriental cults to moderns, not only because it became a strong opponent of Christianity, but also since it was the purest form of pagan worship. Through the Persian conquest of Babylon, the cult had taken over Babylonian magic arts, mystic numbers, and astral lore,

³⁴ When the *taurobolium* first appeared in the West is uncertain. The earliest-known monument of it is 134 A.D., but the first example directly connected with Cybele is 160 A.D.

³⁵ Only slight evidences of the cult have been found in Britain, however, and its appearance in the Rhineland was late.

³⁶ The discovery of the remarkable spread of Mithraism in the Roman Empire is one of the greatest achievements of modern archaeology. Little idea of the strength and character of the worship is given by the scattering references in classical and later ancient writers. The more recent tendency, however, is to correct a previously exaggerated idea of the dominance of Mithraism. Cf. Pl. XXII.

and the Babylonian sun-god, Shamash, was equalized with Mithra. Its later diffusion in Asia Minor had also brought borrowed elements from the worship of the Great Mother and Attis, including the rite of the *taurobolium*, which, through the powerful influence of Greek art, became the pagan sacrificial symbol corresponding to the cross of the Christians.

Originally a secondary power, attendant of the ineffable Ahura Mazda, god of light and truth in the religion of Zarathustra, Mithra became in the West a supreme deity, himself the unconquerable Sun and source of all light and good. At the close of the old era, he had been transformed by further syncretism to a male counterpart of Isis, with a similar imposing ritual conducted by a special priesthood. But, though resembling the cult of Isis in promise of immortality and elaborate ritual, Mithraism had a far stronger ethical emphasis and, as exclusively a man's religion, was free from the sensual associations of the Oriental religions. Retaining the old Persian dualism of the two ultimate principles, good and evil, in lasting conflict, it appealed to all men to join the forces of light and truth against Ahriman, the power of evil and darkness. Mithra was also a god for the poor and humble as well as for the upper classes, serving as mediator and comforter to the afflicted. His mystic blood sacrament, symbolic of spiritual cleansing, was associated with a gorgeous ritual which left a profound religious impression on the initiated of whatever class.

When the cult came to the West is uncertain, but a reference in Plutarch's *Pompey* suggests its appearance about 70 B.C. Doubtless it was long an obscure and alien worship. The first genuine inscription referring to it is from the Flavian age, but probably it was already becoming popular from the time of Tiberius and Nero through the incorporation of Cappadocia and Pontus as provinces. It was carried by Eastern soldiers to the Danube camps, especially to Carnuntum, its sacred city, and by the Oriental colonists to Dacia. Mithra had at least four temples at Ostia in the second century, and the interesting Mithraeum under the church of St. Clement at Rome dates from the last years of Antoninus Pius. Over one hundred inscriptions and over seventy-five Mithraic sculptures, as well as many chapels, witness to the powerful hold of the cult in the capital in the second century and later. It was especially popular among the soldiers. Apparently with the tacit or active support of the second-century emperors, the cult spread from camp to camp, even to the legions of the Rhine and northern Britain. Through Oriental merchants, slaves, and freedmen it also spread widely among the civilian population of Italy and the West, not only in the cities, but in the lonely country places as well. From north of the Danube to Hadrian's wall its continuous record can be traced along the rivers and great roads.

Of all the Oriental religions, Mithraism was nearest to Christianity in its lofty moral appeal, and in emphasizing the positive doing of good and brotherliness rather than a merely negative ethics. It revealed also many other interesting resemblances both spiritual and external to its chief competitor. Some of these are its mediatorial doctrine, story of miraculous birth, adoring shepherds, gifts, miracles, baptism and blood sacrifice, last judgment, Satan, lasting debasement for the wicked, and stages of purification of the just until they

reach the final heaven to live forever with Mithra in eternal light. Like its rival, also, it included among its elements the conflict of good and evil, the promised future return of Mithra when the dead shall arise to meet him, one day in seven sacred to the Sun, the twenty-fifth of December as the chief annual festival, holy water, consecrated bread and wine, and a dying, resurrected god. It is easy to exaggerate the importance of such resemblances, however. They were largely superficial, while the differences from Christianity were fundamental.⁸⁷

From the second century the church fathers saw in Mithraism their chief competitor and a profane parody on Christianity. How far some of the above resemblances were due to a common basis of religious ideas in the Mediterranean world and to what extent there was any conscious mutual borrowing between the two is impossible to determine. They followed different paths, to a considerable extent, Christianity in the cities and Jewish colonies, Mithraism in the military camps. But each may have affected the other to some degree in that age of syncretism. The church accommodated itself to its environment and Christian converts brought with them into their new faith their old religious beliefs. Both religions developed a system of secondary beings to be worshiped as mediators between man and the infinitely pure Spirit, and both were the unfortunate inheritors of the magic and fatalistic star lore from Babylonia. But Mithraism was far more dominated by such superstition, especially in the first centuries of Christianity. It was also more harsh; less pure and spiritual, and had the great disadvantage, as confined to males, of excluding half the population from its worship.⁸⁸

IV. SUMMARY: THE SPIRIT OF THE AGE

The century from Vespasian to M. Aurelius was a period of humane and efficient government, when peace, security, general well-being, good will, prosperity, and freedom from the strain of internal strife largely prevailed throughout the civilized world. The era was notable for the splendid civilization of its thousands of cities, the expansion of Roman commerce directly with the Far East, the brilliant conquests of Trajan, and the vast number and splendor of its public buildings throughout the Empire, including the bold architecture of the Pantheon. Never before were education, literacy, and reading so widespread; never were humanitarianism, ethical idealism, and religious aspiration so dominant, and never had religion and all that makes for the highest human values been more ethical and spiritual. The general spirit of good will, humanity, and ethical idealism is reflected on every page of M. Aurelius, in scores of Pliny's letters, in Quintilian's noble ideal of education, in multitudes of epitaphs of common men and women, in the more humane

⁸⁷ Cf. W. R. Halliday, *The Pagan Background of Early Christianity*, Liverpool, 1925, Chaps. 1-14; F. Cumont, *Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism*, London, 1911 (translated by G. Showerman); *The Mysteries of Mithra*, London, 1910.

⁸⁸ On account of its integral character, and to avoid repetition, the discussion of the development of Christianity in the Roman Empire from Vespasian to Constantine has been reserved for final treatment in Chapter Thirty, Sec. II.

spirit of Stoicism and Roman law, in the refinement and moralization of the old religions, and in the growing interest in child welfare.

Yet the second century was a time of comparative equilibrium, a rather unheroic age, lacking in strenuous activity, movement, and adventure as compared with the previous century. There was perhaps too much an air of serenity and smug self-satisfaction as of a culture that had arrived and become static. Roman civilization had reached its zenith and was soon to enter upon its long period of decline. Civic patriotism was already on the wane. The army must be increasingly recruited from foreigners and the less-civilized provinces, and citizens everywhere were yielding their freedom and civic initiative in return for the aid of a humane and paternalistic but increasingly bureaucratic and autocratic government. Clear thinking was giving place to emotionalism, mysticism, and often to gross superstition. Aside from Tacitus and the Greek, Lucian, literature lacked vigor or creativeness in either thought or expression. Only Tacitus and Juvenal show any profound and genuine feeling. Rhetoric dominates the scene, with its worship of words rather than ideas, its shallow unreality, and disregard for fact.

The Roman Empire was by no means yet decadent, however. M. Aurelius, after two decades of conflict against the German invaders, left, at his death, the frontiers as secure as they had ever been. Rome was still strong enough to survive the ordeal of internal anarchy and foreign invasion of the next century and emerge with a new lease of life for another two hundred years.

Chapter Twenty-six

SOCIETY AND CULTURE (70-180 A.D.): EDUCATION, LITERATURE, AND LEARNING

I. EDUCATION IN THE SECOND CENTURY A.D.

During the century from Vespasian to M. Aurelius the earlier tendencies in Roman education continued, only more intensively, and education became much more the concern of the state. It was endowed and organized, and literary culture became quite universal. Even the bourgeois soldier, Vespasian, was well educated in Greek as well as Latin. He knew his Homer well, and despite the grave financial burdens which he faced as emperor, he established professorships of Latin and Greek rhetoric at Rome at an annual salary of 100,000 sesterces to be paid out of the public treasury. Domitian restored the losses to the public libraries of Rome from the disastrous fire of 79 A.D. Trajan's public library in his Basilica Ulpia was superior to all its predecessors. He established an endowment for the public instruction of 5,000 poor boys. Hadrian, the philhellene, was one of the most liberally educated of all emperors. He founded many schools in the provinces and at Rome and pensioned some of the professors when they were no longer able to teach. His Athenaeum, or Academy, at Rome for public recitals of rhetoricians and philosophers was a monument to his broad cultural interests. Antoninus subsidized from the *fiscus* the higher municipal schools. M. Aurelius established chairs for each of the schools of philosophy in Athens at an annual stipend of 10,000 drachmas, and both he and Antoninus granted special privileges of exemption from taxes and military service to teachers. At the close of the century Septimius Severus had classrooms built for poor students and established maintenance scholarships. This state aid to public education later inevitably led to an increasing interference of the state in the appointment of teachers, though this was not particularly evident in the second century.

Public subvention of higher education was also now more common in the provincial municipalities, notable examples of which are the eleven known instances in Gaul.¹ Less common was public provision for the lower and less showy education. But the need was partly met by private generosity, such as the gift of the younger Pliny to his native town of Comum for secondary education and a library.² The library of 23,000 volumes at Timgad in Africa was also due to private philanthropy. Never before in the ancient world had opportunities for elementary education been so general or literacy so widespread, as is proven both by the many thousands of inscriptions on stone or

¹ Cf. T. Haarhoff, *Schools of Gaul*, Oxford, 1920. ² Cf. Chapter Twenty-two, Sec. IV, 1.

bronze and the multitude of scribbles of common men on the walls of excavated towns.³ The comparative advantages of public and private education were discussed by contemporary thinkers like Quintilian, who decides emphatically for public education. Many, however, still continued to have their children taught at home by a tutor, and Pliny the Younger was often requested to suggest suitable tutors.

Quintilian reflects well the nature of public education and the educational ideals of one of its greatest teachers.⁴ The curriculum and methods were about the same as earlier. Technical grammar was not emphasized in the secondary school, but rather the art of speaking correctly, an appreciative understanding of the poets, and the art of reading aloud (*declamatio*). The aim was liberal rather than vocational. In the higher schools for the few, philosophy, rhetoric (including oratory), and other advanced subjects were pursued, but all for the more perfect acquisition of oratory. Unfortunately rare were those who, after escaping from the rhetorical training, entered upon any thorough philosophical study.

The growing humanitarianism of the second century is reflected in the less harsh and more humane attitude of the fathers toward their children. The child had now a much more important position in the family. Parents lived more for their children and were more concerned for their education. Plutarch urges that too much should not be required of growing children and emphasizes the need of recreation with study. The extensive correspondence of Fronto with M. Aurelius reveals a tender affection of the emperor for his children, and a deep concern for their little ailments. He enjoys talking about the "charming little brood," and he is said to have spent about as much time on them as on his onerous imperial duties. This more humane attitude to children also appears in public life, in the prohibition of some of the old cruel practices and the establishment of public institutions for the care of abandoned waifs, as was done by Trajan. The *alimenta* was also an example of this tendency on a large scale.⁵ Unfortunately tenderness toward children in the home was frequently overdone, making for the undue weakening of paternal authority, enervating of the young, and corruption of their morals, as Quintilian and Juvenal complain.⁶ A tragic example was the moral degenerate, Commodus, whose fond father M. Aurelius made his successor.

By the second century Latin and Greek had won a practically complete victory over all other written languages in the Empire.⁷ Manuscripts were multiplied by copyists, and the price of books was now so moderate that even Juvenal's poverty-stricken Codrus could afford to own a few favorite classics, "whose divine lays were being gnawed by unlettered mice."⁸ Authors could also now hope for a far wider market for their literary productions. Pliny is

³ Over 20,000 such inscriptions are known from the province of Africa alone. Cf. the 8,000 scrawls on the walls of Pompeii. Such writings have been found even in faraway Britain.

⁴ Cf. below, Sec. II, on Quintilian and his educational ideas.

⁵ Cf. above, Chapter Twenty-two, Sec. IV.

⁶ Cf. Juvenal, *Satire*, XIV, for an extensive passage on the right and wrong ways of bringing up children.

⁷ On the expansion of Latin in the West and even in the Balkan lands, cf. F. F. Abbott, *The Common People of Ancient Rome*, New York, 1911, Chap. I. ⁸ *Satires*, III, 206 f.

pleased to learn that his books are being sold at Lugdunum, Gaul, indicating that "people living in entirely different sections" are agreed in their appreciation of him.⁹ Martial was even more widely read throughout the Roman Empire.¹⁰

The emphasis upon rhetoric and poetry in secondary and higher education became even more dominant in the second century and exerted an enormous influence, largely unfortunate, on the literature. The chief aims of education were an appreciative acquaintance with the best poetry in Greek and Latin, and thorough training in effective speaking. As with the Greeks, grammar had a far wider connotation than it has with us, including, as Quintilian says, both correct use of language and critical appreciation of poetry. By this was meant far more than a mere general acquaintance with literature. It implied also a liberal education in philosophy and other fields.

The methods of training in declamation were the same as in the day of the Senecas.¹¹ In general, the aim and methods were essentially narrow and divorced from real life. Style was emphasized to the neglect of content, and rhetoric was victorious over philosophy. Juvenal's picture of the woes of the secondary teacher who is bored to death by the eternal dinning into his ears of "the old trite themes in the same old way," though a caricature, doubtless reflects well the actual conditions. The "stale cabbage," repeatedly served, was finally the death of the wretched masters.¹² The vitiating influence of the clever tricks, artificialities, disregard for fact, posing for effect, false mannerisms, and declamatory bombast in such education is increasingly evident in much of the post-Augustan Latin literature.

In the Hellenistic East the dominant rhetorical interest of the Greek renaissance of the second century was represented by the so-called "Second Sophistic" movement of itinerant rhetoricians, lecturers, and teachers, which spread also to the West and Carthage. While the movement emphasized a purer Attic style, it was characterized by the same unfortunate disregard for fact and truth. The vitalizing Greek influence was also soon lost in the West. Already by the middle of the second century there are clear evidences of decline, both in education and in the literature. The *grammaticus* gradually restricted his training to mere preparation for the rhetorical schools, and rhetorical education became ever narrower and more imitative. The increasing result in the literature after Hadrian was voluminous leaves without fruit.

II. LATIN LITERATURE AND LEARNING

The period from Vespasian to Hadrian is known as the Silver Age of Roman literature.¹³ While the writers, except Tacitus, fall far below the genius of the Golden Age of Augustus, they represent a real literary revival and re-

⁹ *Letters*, IX, 11, 2.

¹⁰ *Epigrams*, V, 13, 3; VIII, 61, 3; in Vienne, Gaul (VII, 88); by the centurion among the Getae (XI, 3, 3); and in Britain (XI, 3, 5).

¹¹ Cf. Chapter Twenty, Sec. I, on the works of both Senecas and the education of Nero's day; also below, Sec. II, on Quintilian.

¹² *Satires*, VII, 153 f.

¹³ This term is sometimes applied to the whole period from Tiberius to M. Aurelius, and again only to the Flavian period.

action from the exaggerated rhetoric and bad taste of Nero's day toward the dignified manner of the Augustan writers.

I. LITERATURE UNDER THE FLAVIANS

Poetry (Valerius Flaccus, Statius, and Martial)

C. Valerius Flaccus, the earliest poet of the Flavian period, wrote an epic, *Argonautica*, on the legend of Jason and the golden fleece. Though he closely followed the Hellenistic epic of Apollonius of Rhodes,¹⁴ sometimes even to literal translation, in character painting, psychological insight, descriptive power, probability of the narrative, and omission of much of the erudition, he is above Apollonius. An outstanding example is his portrayal of the mental struggle of Medea, torn between love and duty, in Book VII. Though he exerted some influence on his contemporaries, Silius and Statius, his poem was soon forgotten until the first four books were recovered by humanists in the fifteenth century.

Silius Italicus¹⁵ wrote a voluminous epic on the second Punic War (*Punica*), with Hannibal as the hero. The poem is a slavish imitation of Homer and Virgil, but especially of Lucan. Not only the style but all the outworn trappings of the Homeric epic were stupidly carried over bag and baggage, as if the Punic War were as legendary as the adventures of Aeneas or Odysseus. The poem has no spark of genius or poetic inspiration and is insufferably dull. Pliny well describes its author as having composed with "more pains than genius," though Martial praises him as an immortal.

More worthy of the name, though far from being a great poet, was Publius Papinius Statius. Born of a distinguished and literary family at Naples in 40 A.D., he spent most of his life in Rome. He was patronized by Domitian, and his shorter poems are marred by fulsome flattery of the tyrant.¹⁶ His chief poem is the *Thebais* on which he spent twelve years, an endless epic in twelve books of 10,000 lines on the already threadbare theme of the Theban house. Like his predecessor, he was enslaved to Virgil, imitating him not only in style and diction, but even in all externals, such as the number of books, chronological order, and episodes. Aside from some powerful descriptions and vigorous incidents, the epic is artificial, dull, tedious with learning and far-fetched allusions, and lacking dramatic power. Another epic of Statius, the *Achilleis*, was intended to be a life of Achilles and the story of the Trojan War, but it ends abruptly in the second book before he reaches Troy. Its only advantage over the *Thebais* is its brevity.

Statius is at his best in his *Silvae*, thirty-two short occasional poems, usually on trivial themes in several meters, hastily written to please a wealthy patron. They are therefore valuable for their reflection of conditions and ideals in the Flavian age. Such poems required little poetic inspiration, but gave ample opportunity for polished and clever expression, effective appreciation of the beautiful in nature and art, graceful play of fancy, and skillful versification in which the poet was a master. Perhaps the most attractive of the poems is a

¹⁴ Cf. Vol. I, Chapter Thirty-one.

¹⁵ Cf. Pliny, *Letters*, III, 7, for a sketch of his life.

¹⁶ *Silvae*, I, 1; IV, 1-3; IV, 4, 48-55, on being invited to dinner.

brief address to Sleep. Both the *Thebais* and *Achilleis* won immediate popularity and were much admired in the Middle Ages, but they have little appeal to modern taste.

Of far greater interest is the master of satirical epigram, M. Valerius Martialis (Martial). A native of Spain, in 64 A.D. he came to Rome and attached himself as a client to his countrymen, Seneca, Lucan, and Quintilian, who introduced him to the Pisos. After the execution of Seneca and Lucan he was thrown on his own resources and found it hard to eke out a living, even depending at times on the *sportula*. For a time he owned a small country place and a house in Rome, yet he constantly harped on his poverty. On the death of Domitian he returned to Spain, since he was unfitted for the new régime in Rome. Here he published his last book of epigrams and died about 104 A.D.

Martial wrote fourteen books of epigrams, eleven of which were published by the author. One, the *Spectacula*, describes the theatrical performances and shows of Rome in celebration of the opening of the Flavian Amphitheatre by Titus in 80 A.D. An epigram, which was originally merely an inscription on a statue or monument, came to signify a short poem pointedly calling attention to some person or thing. The Greek epigrams were concise, lucid poems in elegiac verse, often with fine poetic feeling and lyric charm, which was sacrificed, in the Roman epigram, to point and satire.

Most of Martial's poems are true epigrams and even the longer ones end pointedly. They are brilliantly sententious, clever, witty, and seldom dull. Though usually superficial, they occasionally express noble feeling.¹⁷ Martial had an appreciation for natural beauty, a fine eye for detail, a wit's keen sense of the incongruous, and a mastery of versification which he cleverly fitted to the thought. He was a thorough realist and merciless scoffer at shams, a candid revealer of the worst failings both of himself and of all grades of contemporary Roman society, of which he had a most intimate knowledge. He saw things as they were and so reported them free from the exaggerated rhetoric that marred the satires of his contemporary, Juvenal. In the midst of so much slavish imitation, tedious prolixity, and pretense, it is refreshing to find a poet who is original, candid, clear, concise, and to the point.

Life in all its seamiest phases was his theme, not the threadbare mythologies. A typical product of the unhealthy Roman society in the days of Domitian, he reflected it as a candid camera in its every aspect. In his epigrams all the repulsive and absurd specimens in the cosmopolitan capital pass in review, as the butt of his pointed gibes—parasites, busybodies, bores, poisoners, multiple marriers, toppers, fops, legacy-hunters, stingy hosts, gluttons, hungry and outraged clients, spongers, freaks, debauchees, flatterers, dilettantes, faded females vainly seeking to camouflage their age, dry-as-dust pedants, sycophants, pre-tentious freedmen, charlatans, debtors, plagiarists, tedious epic poets, hypocritical philosophers, bumptious orators, lawyers, doctors, teachers, auctioneers, jugglers, barbers, and hawkers.¹⁸ His descriptions, whether things, such as a

¹⁷ I, 13.

¹⁸ Cf. also his pointed description of a typical day in Rome, IV, 8, cited above, Chapter Nineteen, Sec. II, 5.

piece of art, a dress, an insect embedded in amber, a triumphal arch, and the eruption of Vesuvius, or of human experience, such as true love, a happy life, and the death of a good man, are all characterized by the same concise, clear-cut accuracy.

Though a master of satirical epigram, however, he was no great poet and had neither lofty inspiration nor depth of character. His greatest failings are the gross indecency of about one-fourth of his epigrams, his disgusting adulation of Domitian, and his bitter tone. But in the first two faults, he was merely adapting himself to the social customs of his age, which, in his position, he must do or starve. Pliny says that the writing of obscene verses was the fashion even with the greatest and most serious-minded men (*summi et gravissimi viri*).¹⁹ Not to have joined in the common flattery of Domitian as lord and god would have deprived him of his patronage and probably of his life. But his insincerity is revealed by his complete change of attitude after the passing of the tyrant.²⁰ His bitter tone was the natural reaction of a high-spirited man to his hard life as a client. Despite his glaring faults, he has bequeathed to us one of the most remarkable collections of pictures and sketches ever painted, by which his Rome is made to live again for every new generation.

Prose (Pliny the Elder and Quintilian)

The Flavian period was also notable for a number of learned writers, the most important of whom was Pliny the Elder.²¹ C. Plinius Secundus was born in Novum Comum in northern Italy about 23 A.D. and came to Rome as a youth. His life was spent in public service as a cavalry officer in Germany and perhaps in Syria, as an intimate counselor of Vespasian, and as procurator or governor in several provinces.

Despite his busy life as a public servant, however, he was an extraordinarily diligent student and writer. He had an insatiate desire for knowledge and an endless industry in amassing facts, allowing himself little sleep or leisure. Even when being borne in his litter, from public business to his home, during his meals, or at the bath he constantly read or had his secretary read to him, taking careful notes on all. He therefore managed to leave at his death 160 rolls of manuscript notes, written on both sides in minute hand.

The fruits of this omnivorous reading and voluminous note-taking was his encyclopedic *Natural History* in thirty-seven books. The first draft of the work was sent to Titus in 77 A.D. with an interesting preface, but Pliny kept adding to it during his last two years, and it was not published in final form until after the death of Titus. In it he attempted to present in systematic summary all the accumulated knowledge of the whole natural world, but the work was also a farrago of all the factual lore he could collect on almost every conceivable subject. The first book is devoted to a detailed table of contents, followed by an imposing list of 500 authors, at least 100 of whom he had carefully consulted. Included in the work is a valuable history of painting and sculpture.

¹⁹ *Silvae*, IV, 14, 4. Cf. his long list in V, 3. ²⁰ X, 72; XI, 4, 5.

²¹ The sources for his life are a brief biography by Suetonius, four letters by his nephew, Pliny the Younger, and some references in his own work. For an account of his death as told by his nephew, cf. Chapter Twenty-one, Sec. VI.

Pliny boasts of having collected 20,000 facts, compiled from 2,000 volumes, and drawn directly from 100 authors. He was notable for "industry rather than originality" and was too much given to dreary catalogues of names, facts, and places. In lack of creativeness and critical sense, the work is a sad contrast to its great Greek sources. Though revealing the literary artifices of the Silver Age, however, his style is usually simple and direct, and the dullness is occasionally relieved by purple patches and lively descriptions, which can be read with pleasure as literature.

As a vast thesaurus of ancient knowledge, true and false, and as a revelation of the shortcomings of the Roman mind, the *Natural History* is of great historical significance. It is not only in the medieval encyclopedias that we find bizarre ideas about the healing powers of plants and animals, the virtues of precious stones, marvels, filthy medicines, curious moralizings on strange animals, star lore, superstition, and magic, for they are all found earlier within the compass of Pliny's work. Indeed, his *Natural History* was one of the chief sources and models for most of the sapless summaries and dreary epitomes of alleged knowledge produced during the next thousand years. Though utterly out of date today, it is therefore of enormous importance in preserving that peculiar mixture of ancient science, superstition, and error bequeathed to the Middle Ages. Pliny was Stoic in sympathy. He was severely critical of the luxury and flippancy of the high society of his day, and his repeated harping upon this theme tires his readers, though it never seems to tire him.²²

Of the numerous memoirs of travel, legal treatises, speeches, and technical works of the Flavian period, only two have survived. These are a military treatise, *Stratagems* (*Strategemata*), and a valuable work on the *Roman Aqueducts* (*De Aquis Urbis Romae*), both by Sextus Julius Frontinus, a conscientious and capable imperial official. He served in Britain and Germany under Domitian and was curator of the water supply of Rome in 97 A.D. The earlier Flavian period also produced several historical writers besides Pliny, no work of whom has survived. The most important was Cluvius Rufus on Nero, whose work was used by Tacitus. But the atmosphere was too stifling for historians under the tyranny of Domitian, who put to death several of Stoic or Republican leanings.

The greatest of Roman teachers of rhetoric and the only one whose work has survived was Quintilian (M. Fabius Quintilianus), a native of Spain. Educated at Rome under the most distinguished teachers, he returned for a time to Spain, but was recalled at the age of thirty-three by Galba to a professorship of rhetoric at Rome, subsidized by the imperial treasury. Among his pupils was the younger Pliny. His ability and influence caused Domitian to raise him to the consulship and appoint him as tutor to his grandnephews.

After twenty years of teaching Quintilian retired to write his great work on

²² Lost works of Pliny are a *History of the German Wars*, cited by Tacitus and other writers, a history probably covering the years 41-74 A.D., a biography of Pomponius Secundus, a military manual, and two works on language.

the *Education of the Orator* (*Institutio Oratoria*), which he published in 93 A.D.²³ The *Institutio* was far more than a technical treatise on oratory. Like the Greek Isocrates, Quintilian was an enthusiastic believer in oratory, not merely as a technical method, but as the expression of the best in human thought and character. "It is the spirit and power of mind that makes men eloquent."²⁴ An orator is a "good man skilled in speaking," and he must have as the foundation of his technical training as a rhetorician a liberal education in literature and philosophy. To produce an orator the same education is necessary as to produce a Roman gentleman. Such education must be primarily not technical but liberal.

The work, therefore, reflects the broad outlook of the author. Books I and II include, besides an analysis of the basic principles of rhetoric, valuable discussions on the elements, aims, and methods of a true education, as well as many interesting observations on family life. Books III-VII are the more strictly technical, a discussion of invention and arrangement of material oratory. The author fears the reader will find "much worm-wood and little honey" in them. But even these are well worth reading for their many gems of thought admirably expressed. Books VIII-XI on style, including memory and delivery, are also largely technical, but Quintilian's critical survey of Greek and Latin literature at the opening of the tenth book is of permanent value. The final book (XII) is devoted to a further discussion of the true education for mature life.

Quintilian's sane, liberal, and lofty ideal of education is suggestive of the Greek rather than the Roman outlook, and it has made for him a high place among educational theorists as the greatest Latin authority on the subject. His ideas are especially constructive on elementary education, on the methods of teaching rhetoric, on the choice of the best authors for study (X), and on liberal and character training. Like other serious-minded men of his age, he felt keenly that Roman morals, literature, and oratory had sadly degenerated since the days of the Republic. He therefore placed great emphasis upon character education and a return to the classical standards in literature as the only sufficient remedy.²⁵

Some of Quintilian's sane principles of education that have a universal validity are as follows: The early education of the child is of supreme importance. Mental work should be at first presented to the child as play. The best literature should be used in education, even if the child does not appreciate it at first. Short cuts in education are undesirable. Concurrent study of several subjects stimulates mental activity. The vocational emphasis is fatal to a liberal education. Character training is a fundamental part of true education, and education in any field must have for its central aim the development of the whole personality. Education must be flexible and cannot be bound by any fixed system or set of rules. The teacher should so frame his questions as to teach the pupil to think. Hard work is an essential part of education, and mental laziness

²³ An earlier work *On the Reasons for the Decay of Oratory* is lost. The tedious *Declamationes* are not by him, though they are valuable for the history of Roman oratory and education.

²⁴ VII, 7, 2.

²⁵ Martial, II, 11, 1, calls him "illustrious teacher of errant youth."

in the child should not be permitted. There is no fear that the boys will find their work too much of a strain. The study of language has an important place in education. Thorough training is necessary to the best success.²⁶ And finally, the supremely essential factor in education, above all rules and systems, is the ability, character, and temper of the teachers, for they are as *parentes mentium* ("the parents of the mind").

The *Institutio* is also of primary importance in ancient literary criticism and has given its author a reputation for exceptional breadth, sanity, and discrimination as a critic. Quintilian was strongly impressed with the weaknesses of the prevalent declamation in Roman education and its evil effects on literature. He was therefore the leader of the reaction from the artificial rhetoric of Seneca to the classic beauty of Cicero's prose style. But the tide was against him, despite his great influence. The classical reaction was only temporary. Declamation and artificial rhetoric increasingly vitiated literature, and classical Latin was already in process of transformation toward the Romanic languages of modern times. Indeed such tendencies appear even in the idiom and literary ornament of Quintilian himself.

Quintilian's ideas as a literary critic are presented especially in the beginning of the tenth book, in which he briefly reviews the best Greek and Latin authors as the necessary basis for the orator's education. His concise, critical judgments, admirably expressed, have been accepted to a remarkable extent by all later competent critics. The high quality of his literary appreciation also appears in the fact that nearly all the authors whom he especially approved have survived, a strong evidence of their intrinsic merit. He shows the limitations of his age and of the Roman mind, however, in regarding the Latin writers as the equals of the Greek and in conceiving of history only as a literary art.

Quintilian was no pioneer in literary criticism. He was preceded by Varro, Cicero, and Horace, and in Greek by Aristotle and Dionysius of Halicarnassus. His critical opinions on Greek literature are quite similar to those of Dionysius both in ideas and order of treatment. In the field of rhetoric, however, he was unrivaled. He must also be recognized as one of the great educators of history, who stated and applied in his own teaching many of the eternal principles of a sound education. His influence was especially marked on some of the leading humanists of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

2. LITERATURE UNDER NERVA AND TRAJAN (96-117 A.D.)

With the accession of Nerva and Trajan, the blight of censorship on speech and writing was ended, and authorship was even now without direct imperial patronage, which had previously stifled free expression. Yet the favorable conditions produced few writers of note. Of all the numerous Latin authors of the period, probably the only ones of any literary value were the three whose works have alone survived, Tacitus, Pliny the Younger, and Juvenal.

²⁶ Cf. the fine passage, II, 12, 4-7, on the failings of an untrained speaker.

Tacitus

With Cornelius Tacitus (c. 55-after 117 A.D.) we are already somewhat acquainted.²⁷ Nothing is known of his birth or ancestry, but his thorough education, honorable public career, and marriage to the daughter of Agricola are sufficient evidence that he came of good family. After serving in the lower offices under Vespasian and Titus, he rose to the praetorship and was later consul (97) and proconsul (c. 112-116) under Trajan. He won an enviable reputation as an orator, and his wide practical experience in public affairs was an excellent preparation for his later work as a historian.

The earliest work of Tacitus was his *Dialogue on Orators*. Both in form and style it takes as its model Cicero's *De Oratore*, and it differs so strikingly from his later writings that its Tacitean authorship has been wrongly doubted. He names two primary reasons for the decay of oratory, bad rhetorical education, and the great decline of the orator's importance in public life since the fall of the Republic.

The *Agricola* (98 A.D.) is a eulogistic biography of his father-in-law, Cn. Julius Agricola and his administration in Britain. His famous introduction accounting for his long silence during the reign of Domitian clearly defines his bitter attitude to the imperial government of the first century. This hostility he constantly reflected in his later works, and impressed it by the force of his genius upon most succeeding writers. The passage is also a striking early example of his incisive epigrammatic style and innuendo. It is one of the most forceful indictments in literature against the stifling of intellectual life and the crushing of initiative by dictatorship. "It is easier to damp men's spirits and their enthusiasm," he warns, "than to revive them. Nay, listlessness itself has a certain subtle charm, and the languor we hate at first, we learn to love."²⁸ Though Agricola was great neither in intellect nor character, as we have seen,²⁹ the sincere admiration of Tacitus for him lifts the biography above a mere historical eulogy. His final eloquent apostrophe to Agricola ends with an epilogue on immortality.

The *Germania* of Tacitus (98 A.D.) was probably intended to serve as a background for his later historical account of Trajan's campaigns in Germany. A secondary aim may have been to use the simple life and alleged rugged family morality of the primitive Germans as a foil against the extreme luxury and moral degeneracy of high society in Rome. His Germans are, of course, idealized, as is always the tendency of primitivism. "No one laughs at vice there; no one calls seduction suffered or wrought, the spirit of the age."³⁰ Yet the evils in German society are not overlooked. The *Germania* is the earliest connected account of Germany and its people, their institutions, and civilizations, and is largely accurate, though Tacitus probably never visited Germany. His

²⁷ Praenomens appearing in the manuscripts are Publius and Gaius. Cf. Chapters Fifteen, Sec. I, Eighteen, Sec. II, 1; IV, 1; V, 1; VI, and Twenty-one, Sec. II, for further references to Tacitus.

²⁸ *Agricola*, 3, Loeb Classical Library translation (M. Hutton), by permission of the Harvard University Press.

²⁹ Chapter Twenty-one, Sec. V, 2.

³⁰ 19, lines 9 f., Loeb Classical Library translation (M. Hutton), by permission of the Harvard University Press.

work is a compilation from earlier narratives,³¹ and from the accounts of those who had served there. Though an interesting narrative, it is distinctly inferior to the *Agricola* in literary merit.

Tacitus wrote two great historical works, the *Histories* (*Historiae*), an account of his own times from the reign of Galba to the death of Domitian, and the *Annals*, or as the title reads, *Ab Excessu Divi Augusti*, in imitation of Livy's *Ab Urbe Condita*, from the death of Augustus to the death of Nero. His further plan to supplement these by an account of the reigns of Nerva and Trajan was never realized. The *Histories* (c. 110 A.D.) originally included fourteen books, and the *Annals* (c. 115-117 A.D.) sixteen, but of the *Histories*, only Books I-IV and part of Book V are preserved, containing the history of the civil war of 68-69 A.D. Of the *Annals*, we have Books I-IV and part of Book V to the year 29 A.D., most of Book VI to the death of Tiberius, and most of Books XI-XVI on the years 47-66 A.D., including the later reign of Claudius and that of Nero, except his last two years.³²

The *Annals*, which treat the period antecedent to his own experience, are vitiated by two grave shortcomings. The history of Rome is too exclusively conceived as a personal biography of the emperors and an account of their corrupt court and capital. Court intrigues, plots, imperial and private murders, tyranny, fawning flattery, extravagant living, and rampant corruption are vividly delineated with all the brilliant rhetoric, biting epigram, and bitter irony of which the author was a past master, largely to the neglect of the Empire as a whole.

The other shortcoming of Tacitus is his bitter senatorial prejudice against the imperial régime and his idealization of the defunct Republic. He rightly criticized the previous histories of these emperors as "falsified through cowardice while they flourished, and composed, when they fell, under the influence of still rankling hatreds." He was doubtless sincere also in his avowed purpose to treat these reigns *sine ira et studio* ("without anger and without partiality").³³ But his bitter experience in the reign of terror during the last years of Domitian had colored his whole future outlook.³⁴ It is, however, not in his statement of facts, which are usually accurate, but in his gratuitous imputation of false motives and his subtle implications that his prejudices especially appear. A flagrant example is his last bitter verdict on Tiberius, that whatever was good in his life was assumed while all that was evil was native to him.³⁵

Unfortunately, this narrow, personal, and distorted interpretation of Roman imperial history in the first century, imposed by his brilliant genius, became the generally accepted view of his Roman and modern successors. It is only by the use of inscriptions and other scattering contemporary data, and by a more critical study of Tacitus himself, that historians since Mommsen have presented a more balanced picture of the early emperors and revealed the fact that the

³¹ For example, the *History of the German Wars* by Pliny, Julius Caesar's brief account which he names, and Velleius Paterculus.

³² Cf. above, note 27, for additional references to Tacitus and these historical works.

³³ *Annals*, I, 1, Loeb Classical Library translation (H. J. Jackson), by permission of the Harvard University Press.

³⁴ For details, cf. Chapter Eighteen, Secs. II, V, on Tiberius and Nero. ³⁵ *Annals*, VI, 51.

Roman Empire was wisely administered by able officials, little affected by any tyranny, terror, or social degeneracy at Rome.

In his *Histories* which deal with his own times, Tacitus sees clearly the momentous issues of the age and reveals a much broader conception of Roman history. But here also he shows the same defects of overemphasis upon personal acts and characters in shaping history, and of unfairly imputing evil motives to probably innocent or indifferent acts. An unfortunate omission in all his works is his usual failure to mention his authorities, a common shortcoming of ancient historians, however. In his account of the Jews³⁶ he apparently depended upon inferior secondary sources, giving an unfair and prejudiced picture, instead of using Josephus and the *Septuagint*.

The supreme quality of Tacitus as a historian is his inimitable prose style, one of the most remarkable in all literature. Of few writers can it be so truly said that his style is thoroughly his own. Its strikingly unique qualities are compression to the point of abbreviation, incisive epigram, biting irony, brilliant eloquence, dramatic narrative, skillful use of speeches, bold originality in the use of words, and a highly poetic color which reflects the domination of poetry in Roman education. Words are frequently used with changed meanings, and new idioms and many new words are peculiar to him. Few works are more packed with unforgettable sentences. Though his rhetoric is thoroughly elaborated, his art is concealed, impressing the reader with his rugged directness and sincerity. Such a unique style is almost impossible to imitate or even to translate successfully, for then the striking individual flavor of Tacitus is lost and there remains in the original a considerable residue of implication which evades expression.

This very brilliancy of style, however, was not an unmixed blessing in a historian. Like most of his Greek and Roman predecessors, he conceived of history too exclusively as a literary art. His effective rhetoric and innuendo placed the glaring evils of the capital in undue relief and dramatized local persons and events to the obscuring of the larger issues. His devotion to a lost cause and his vindictive senatorial prejudice blinded him largely to the real forces that were shaping the Empire and creating a new nationality.

As was usual among ancient historians, he also overemphasized the moral function of history to teach by specific example. He defines the first duty of history to be "to ensure that merit shall not lack its record and to hold before the vicious word and deed, the terrors of posterity and infamy."³⁷ This accords well with his undue emphasis upon human temperament and motives in historical causation. "The most unmilitary of historians," as Mommsen calls him, he had exceptional insight into the psychological factors in history. His greatest shortcoming was his failure to think in imperial terms. But this and his other failings were largely faults of his age, while his splendid literary genius is a heritage for all time.

Pliny confidently prophesied his immortality. He was imitated by Suetonius

³⁶ *Histories*, V, 2-12. It is unfortunate that his story of the siege of Jerusalem is lost.

³⁷ *Annals*, III, 65, Loeb Classical Library translation (II. J. Jackson), by permission of the Harvard University Press.

and minor writers, and in the late third century the emperor Tacitus, an alleged relation, ordered extra copies made of his works, so that they were not entirely lost. But, after the sixth century, his works were largely unknown, until the rediscovery of the manuscripts by the Italian humanists. His masterly and inimitable style has been the admiration and despair of each generation, and even today it is difficult to escape the spell of his rhetoric and his limited outlook in attempting to understand the history of the Roman Empire in the first century.

Juvenal

Juvenal (Decimus Junius Juvenalis) was a lesser Tacitus, in poetry. He paints the glaring evils of Roman society in the same lurid colors and breathes the identical spirit of pessimism, bitter irony, and moral indignation. The two authors remarkably supplement and confirm each other's indictment, a fair indication that their dark picture of Roman society at the turn of the century was largely true to fact. It was, however, chiefly the Rome of Domitian rather than of Trajan and Hadrian against which they inveighed, and allowance must be made for exaggerated rhetoric and satire and for their failure to present the brighter elements in the picture. Juvenal, for example, is sure that moral degeneracy has reached its acme in the Rome of his day and that posterity can never add anything to its vices, and Tacitus gives the same impression.

The poet was born at Aquinum about 55 A.D., where he held municipal offices. His deep sympathy with the poor clients would indicate his poverty at one time, though he served as military tribune, probably in Britain. He was also well trained in the rhetoric of the day and practiced oratory for several years, by which he especially impressed Martial. According to a doubtful tradition, he suffered exile for a time, probably for his outspoken invective. The years from 95-101 A.D. and probably a considerable part of his later years he spent in Rome, living in the plebeian quarter, though he evidently had entrée to some of the wealthy noble houses. Though directing his satires at Domitian's Rome, he wrote under the milder rule of Trajan and Hadrian.

No Roman satirist in poetry can compare with Juvenal in bitter and fierce invective. Even the harsh Lucilius is far less pessimistic, violent, and continuously bitter, while the good-humored banter of the urbane Horace, the bookish preachments of Persius, and the pointed epigrams of the frivolous Martial are tame by the side of his passionate sincerity and indignant diatribes. With masterly eloquence and intense realism and with no sense of humor save his biting irony, he lays bare all the evils of Roman society to the most revolting detail. But his hexameters have in them something of the sweep and music of Virgil's, which especially shaped his style. Of his sixteen *Satires*, I-VI, written from 100 to 116 A.D., are far the most eloquent, violent, and full of repulsive detail. In the others, written under Hadrian, the bitter invective and powerful eloquence give place to prolixity and bookishness.

In the first *Satire*, an introduction to the series, the poet presents his apology for adding another to the many books of the time. It is in sheer self-defense, for how can one always be a listener to the eternal recitations of interminable

epics and dramas without a spark of genius and not retaliate? Still more, who can abstain from writing indignant satire in the face of the glaring nuisances, discomforts, follies, and crimes of the hateful capital? He then proceeds to sketch in rapid succession the worst evils, closing with the declaration: "All the doings of men, their hopes and fears, their hates and loves, their joys and feverish activities shall comprise the hodge-podge (*farrago*) of my book."³⁸

In this and the following satires he certainly fulfills his promise, for no contemporary evil or nuisance escapes his scathing pen. It includes, indeed, all of the immoralities, social injustices, indecencies and discomforts which we have from time to time noted as present in the society of the age.

The third *Satire*, depicting the discomforts of life in Rome, is one of the most interesting and valuable for its varied information on life in the ill-regulated capital. Rome is no place for the honest man, where men gain affluence and honor from their crimes, especially in midsummer. If a book is bad, he cannot lie and beg a copy, nor can he stoop to *captatio*, astrology, or any other of the many shady practices through which the numerous fakirs eke out a living by playing on the superstitions and vices of the crowd. All nuisances, dangers, follies, and crimes are concentrated in imperial Rome, the Babylon of the West, into which both the Nile and the Orontes have emptied their dregs. This *Satire* was cleverly imitated by Samuel Johnson in his *London*.

The fourth *Satire* on Domitian's Turbot, bitterly parodies his tyranny and the resulting base slavishness of the Roman senate. The fifth *Satire* indignantly portrays the insolent pride of wealth and the wretched life of the client. The sixth *Satire*, on the vices and crimes of women, is by far the longest and most unpleasant of all, though brilliant. Its dominant note is that any Roman is insane to contemplate matrimony as long as a rope is handy to hang himself. A good woman in Rome is a *rara avis* (rare bird), as uncommon as a "black swan." The seventh *Satire* paints vividly the sorrows of teachers and writers. The wretched teacher is expected to create brains and morals in the scions of the rich and to be an encyclopedia of knowledge. He is condemned to hear the same old themes droned in the same singsong, to have the same "dire Hannibal" dinned into his ears, and to serve up repeatedly the stale hashed cabbage until it is the death of him, and yet he receives only the barest pittance for his pains. "Compute his fees and you will destroy your manual of rhetoric." The same is true of the poet, historian, or orator. They receive only a beggar's wage. Even Cicero himself could not now command 200 sesterces. Literature goes begging. Yet poets and writers continue to turn up the sterile soil, for an evil "itch for writing (*scribendi cacoethes*) holds [them] fast as with a noose, and becomes inveterate in [their] distempered brain."³⁹

The thirteenth *Satire* is admirable for its lofty moral teaching, as is also the fourteenth *Satire* on the importance of parental example in the training of children. The tenth *Satire* was imitated by Samuel Johnson in his *Vanity of Human Wishes*. It closes with a sublime passage on the proper objects of prayer, one of the noblest expressions of human aspiration in Roman literature.

³⁸ I, 85 f.

³⁹ VII, 51-52, Loeb Classical Library translation (G. G. Ramsay), by permission of the Harvard University Press.

Juvenal's remarkable description of the origins and evolution of civil society (XV, 131-157) is in some respects beyond that of Lucretius or Horace, though the points of view are too dissimilar for comparison. He finds it not upon instinct, but upon the spirit of benevolence which distinguishes man from the dumb herd. But in these evil days, he complains, there is more concord among serpents than among men, and even wild beasts are far more considerate of their kind.

For the average modern English reader, Juvenal presents many difficulties. His *Satires* are packed with allusions to entirely unfamiliar persons and things in Rome, and with multitudes of mythological and literary references. The harsh and violent temper and coarse realism of the earlier books and his highly elaborated rhetoric and declamatory style are also not to the taste of the modern reader. Nevertheless, his skill in adapting his rhetoric to literary ends, the marvelously vivid realism of his concrete pictures of Roman life, his powerful invective, his intense sincerity, his elevated moral tone, and the music of his Latin hexameters, of which he is a master, have made him one of the most generally read and quoted of Latin authors. His many bits of sententious wisdom have had a wide influence in later thought. Some, such as *Mens sana in corpore sano* ("A sound mind in a sound body") and *Quis custodiet ipsos custodes?* ("Who will guard the guards themselves?"), are still commonly quoted, while such apt expressions as *rara avis*, *Panem et circenses*, and *cacoethes scribendi* are likely to appear in the columns of any daily newspaper.⁴⁰ From the late third century to modern times the spell of Juvenal persisted, and his influence has appeared especially in such English and French satirists as Pope, Dryden, Johnson, Byron, and Boileau.

Pliny the Younger

Pliny the Younger presents a striking contrast to the bold originality, force, pessimism, and harsh judgments of his contemporaries, Juvenal and Tacitus. He is neither original nor vigorous in thought or style, and his letters reveal Roman society in an essentially different light from that pictured so luridly by these writers. No Roman author, except Cicero, is so well known or so self-revealing as he. C. Plinius Caecilius Secundus (61-c. 114 A.D.) was the son of a well-to-do noble of Comum, but was later adopted by his uncle, Pliny the Elder, retaining his family name only for legal purposes. He was in his eighteenth year when the fatal eruption of Vesuvius caused the death of his uncle, a vivid account of which we have read in his two letters.⁴¹

Pliny spent his life largely in public service at Rome, holding the usual lower offices in succession under Domitian, and the consulship and the governorship of Pontus-Bithynia later under Trajan. Though thrice married, he had no children.⁴² He was educated in the best rhetorical tradition of his day and gained considerable repute in civil and criminal suits. Some of his speeches he published with corrections after delivery. In accord with the prevailing fashion for men of culture, he tried his hand at poetry also, but both poems and speeches are lost, except his panegyric on Trajan.

⁴⁰ X, 356; VI, 347; VI, 165; X, 81; VII, 52. ⁴² But cf. *Letters*, VIII, 10, 11; X, 2.

⁴¹ Cf. Chapter Twenty-one, Sec. V, 5, and *Letters*, VI, 16, 20.

Pliny is known especially for his correspondence, which includes 368 letters in ten books. The first nine books, of a more private nature, were written between 97 and 109 A.D. Book X, including his seventy-two official letters to Trajan from Bithynia, with the emperor's answers to fifty-one of them, date probably from 112-113 A.D. These, as we have seen, reveal the practical common sense and sure judgment of Trajan in contrast to the indecision and lack of initiative of Pliny.

Important as this correspondence of Pliny with Trajan is for the history of provincial administration, his other letters are much more interesting and especially important as a balance to the pessimistic picture of Roman society presented by Juvenal and Tacitus.⁴³ He gives us intimate views of the Roman court and of the bored audiences at the *recitatio*. He contrasts the usual insolence of patrons to clients at banquets with the more kindly method among men of his type and gives many other incidental sidelights on the social and family life of his time. His detailed description of two of his Italian villas⁴⁴ and his vivid account of the eruption of Vesuvius are also invaluable.

Like Cicero, also, and without a spark of humor, he unconsciously reveals his inmost self, his priggishness even as a youth of eighteen,⁴⁵ his inordinate vanity, naïve self-praise, and passion for fame. He has the vanity to write to Tacitus, suggesting that the great historian include in his *Histories* a petty story to his own credit.⁴⁶ Still worse is another letter to the inimitable Tacitus, as if they were on an equal literary footing:

You of all others (owing to a similarity in our dispositions) appeared to me the easiest and the most worthy object of my imitation. I am the more rejoiced to find that whenever oratory is the topic of conversation, we are always mentioned together, and that my name comes up as soon as anyone talks of you. There are some who prefer you to me, as others also give me the advantage.⁴⁷

But the letter must be read in full to be appreciated in its utterly naïve egotism.

Yet his letters also reveal many noble qualities. He was a true gentleman in spirit, a pleasing contrast to the average member of his class, a useful, public-spirited citizen, as well as humane, temperate, and kind in his private life. It is through him and his circle of friends that we gain some glimpse of the brighter side of upper Roman society.

Pliny's letters were carefully edited and published by himself. They are therefore far less ingenuous, colloquial, and more rhetorically elaborated than Cicero's. Pliny exerted little influence on his immediate successors or on the Middle Ages. But he came to his own in the Renaissance and later strongly influenced such English writers as Walpole, Gay, and Cowper in the eighteenth century.

Pliny's *Panegyric on Trajan* was delivered in 100 A.D. in appreciation of his own accession to the consulship. Since it was revised and enlarged after de-

⁴³ Cf. above, Sec. I, and Chapter Twenty, Sec. I.

⁴⁴ *Letters*, II, 17; V, 6.

⁴⁵ Cf. Chapter Twenty-one, Sec. V, 5, and *Letters*, VI, 16, 20.

⁴⁶ *Letters*, VII, 33.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, VII, 20, *Loeb Classical Library* translation (W. Melmoth), by permission of the Harvard University Press.

livery, it is a combination of an oration and historical essay. It recounts Trajan's whole career and policies and praises fulsomely his personal qualities in the usual manner of panegyrics. Though marred by overdone rhetoric, exuberant praise, and prolixity, it is a valuable source for the earlier years of Trajan's rule. Its keynote, that Trajan is "no tyrant, but a fellow-citizen," was also a worthy suggestion for future emperors.⁴⁸

3. LATIN LITERATURE (117-180 A.D.)

During the reign of Hadrian Latin literature suffered a permanent decline. The decadence was not at first evident. Suetonius had his good points and was an intimate friend of Pliny. Hadrian was a lover of literature, and he and his successors patronized the rhetorical and philosophical schools. But even imperial patronage could not create genius. Furthermore, Hadrian's interest was especially in Greek literature and his philhellenism helped to initiate a Greek literary Renaissance. He founded the so-called Athenaeum at Rome, where rhetoricians, philosophers, and poets could read their compositions. Greek became more than ever the literary language of the Empire. Though Rome remained the seat of government, the center of wealth and population was shifting to Africa and the East. Rome was rapidly losing her central position in culture, and leading writers and thinkers no longer found it necessary to reside there. As a consequence, Roman literature was losing its national feeling. The new Christian literature also, which had long been strong in the Greek East, was now beginning to appear in Latin dress in the West, another influence away from the national spirit. But aside from any extraneous influences, Roman literary genius was now nearing exhaustion.

Suetonius

The only writer of any literary importance during the reign of Hadrian was Suetonius, and he is mediocre by the side of Tacitus. C. Suetonius Tranquillus was a younger friend of Pliny, who secured public office and a small estate for him and encouraged him to publish some of his writing.⁴⁹ Only two of his many works have survived, and the second only in part. His most important work is the *Lives of the Twelve Caesars* in eight books, published in 119-121 A.D. It includes all the lives from Julius Caesar to Domitian, though the account of the first sixteen years of Caesar's life is lost. For his facts, Suetonius draws from public documents, letters, and oral tradition, as well as from written histories and biographies. But he is utterly uncritical and lacking in historical insight or understanding of character. His indiscriminating use of backstairs gossip of the emperors and their court has made his *Lives* a veritable "*chronique scandaleuse*." They have a wealth of interesting and vivid anecdotes, however, the persons live, and his style is simple, clear, direct, and free from the prevalent rhetorical affectation. Unfortunately, his narrow personal

⁴⁸ Most of the numerous other works of poets, orators, technical writers, and grammarians of Trajan's era are lost. The only one of importance was Hyginus, whose two valuable treatises on surveying and the fortification of military camps have survived.

⁴⁹ Cf. *Letters*, X, 94, for some facts of his life.

view of Roman history as merely a biographical account of the emperors and their courtiers in Rome set the model for his imitators for several generations.

The other work of Suetonius, *On Illustrious Men* (*De Viris Illustribus*), was a set of brief biographies of Latin poets, orators, historians, philosophers, grammarians, and rhetoricians. Aside from brief extracts, only the lives of grammarians and rhetoricians and those of Terence, Horace, Lucan, and Pliny the Elder have survived. Though devoid of literary excellence, they are valuable for their historical information.

A contemporary of Suetonius was Annii Florus, who wrote a brief panegyric of the Roman people. The style of the work is flowery and full of poetic figures and absurd rhetoric, and the emphasis is almost entirely on wars. Its brevity made it a popular text in the Middle Ages.⁵⁰ The writing of such brief summaries, or epitomes, of ancient knowledge then already common is a distinct sign of the decline of literature and learning, and became increasingly popular during the next four centuries of decadence. Justin's rhetorical epitome of the *History* of Trogus,⁵¹ a much-used text in the Middle Ages, may also belong to the time of Hadrian. Another evidence of literary decline was the diligent writing of grammars, commentaries on classical authors, and metrical handbooks.

4. LAW

In line with this more technical tendency, but vastly more original and significant, was the remarkable activity of great Roman jurists during the reign of Hadrian and his successors. A special reason for this was the rapid growth of autocracy during the period. As we have seen, Hadrian had the edicts of the praetors and other magistrates collected and codified by Salvius Julianus, of African birth, who was prefect of the city and twice consul. His work, *Edictum Perpetuum*, became the basis of later Roman law. He was also the author of independent works on law. A younger contemporary, Sextus Pomponius, wrote a brief history of Roman law, which was included in later digests.

Among the numerous legal specialists under the Antonines was Gaius, who wrote an introduction to the study of Roman law, the *Institutiones*, in clear, simple style. This became the basis of a similar work, the *Institutes*, written in the sixth century under the Eastern emperor, Justinian, when Roman law was being finally codified. Another scholar of the period was Cervidius Scaevola, whose work was much used by writers of the digests. This legal activity continued under the immediate successors of the Antonines, producing such great jurists as Papinian and Ulpian, whose decisions compose a considerable part of the *Digest* made under Justinian.

5. "THE NEW RHETORIC" ("ELOCUTIO NOVELLA")

A striking mark of literary decadence was the new rhetorical emphasis in literature. A prominent example was the eminent orator and teacher, Marcus Cornelius Fronto from Numidia, who became senator and consul and made

⁵⁰ Probably he is to be identified with the Florus who has left two brief poems and a discussion on Virgil.

⁵¹ Cf. Chapter Seventeen, Sec. 1, 5.

a speech against the Christians during the reign of Hadrian. He was the teacher of M. Aurelius and Verus and rose to wealth and honor in his profession. Parts of his correspondence and several essays have survived, which reveal something of his style and teaching. His chief aim is eloquence, not ideas, rhetoric rather than philosophy. He sought to acquire new and striking words and phrases, drawn from the earlier writers from Ennius to Gracchus. His style is therefore full of archaisms, but without the early simplicity. That such a vapid writer could rise to such eminence and influence is a sad commentary on the depth to which Roman literature had already sunk. His works are valuable historically, however, as a reflection of the life and ideals of the age.

Another writer with the same pedantic admiration for archaic phraseology was Aulus Gellius, who flourished under the Antonines. His *Attic Nights* is a miscellaneous hodgepodge of extracts from various authors on language, literature, law, philosophy, and natural history, made during his nightly studies at Athens. He cites no contemporary writers, but introduces them as speakers in the dialogue. Though devoid of order, critical insight, or literary skill, the work is interesting and valuable as preserving fragments of many earlier works that are now lost. Ever since the Augustan age, language, literature, and learning had been growing ever more artificial, pedantic, and separate from life. Thus, by the age of the Antonines, literary Latin was quite distinct from contemporary spoken Latin and utterly remote from either the spoken or written language of Cicero. Fronto and Gellius tried to rejuvenate this outworn literary Latin by resorting to archaic diction and unusual word order, but such mechanical devices, though temporarily successful, could not long stem the tide, already strong, toward the complete separation of literary from the spoken Latin which later resulted in the Romanic languages.

Apuleius, however, a Numidian contemporary of Gellius, who was educated in Carthage and Athens and widely traveled, sought to revivify literary Latin by resort to expressions from common speech, archaisms, and bold innovations. He was equally at home as a writer in Latin or Greek and won a great reputation as an orator, poet, scientist, and philosopher, though he showed no originality in any of these fields. His initiation into the mysteries of Isis is an interesting example of the growing tendency to seek religious satisfaction in the Oriental mystery religions.

Apuleius is especially known for his *Metamorphoses*, a fantastic tale of the adventures of the Greek, Lucius, who was transformed into an ass and was later restored by Isis, whom he later served. The story is based on a Greek tale of *Lucius, the Ass*, wrongly ascribed to the Greek satirist, Lucian. Apuleius has included twenty stories of Greek origin, which, though entirely unrelated to the plot, constitute the most interesting part of his novel. The longest and best known of these is his *Cupid and Psyche*, a mystic story of romantic love. Like Fronto, Apuleius aimed at striking effects through the use of unusual word order and uncommon literary diction, but, unlike him, he freely used many phrases and words from popular speech.

Both writers were from Africa and are leading representatives of the so-called

elocutio novella, or "new rhetoric," which sought vainly to revivify Latin literature by breaking from the classical tradition. Both imitate the contemporary Greek Sophists, such as Aelius Aristides. Their historical importance lies, not in their literary contribution, but in their influence on the development of Latin language and literature from the classical. The *Metamorphoses* is also valuable for its reflection of the superstitions, ideals, and moral and social conditions of the times. Its author was ranked with Virgil in the Middle Ages as a master of sorcery.

A movement corresponding to the "new rhetoric" also sought to introduce innovations in poetry. The method of these *poetae novelli* was largely a matter of artificial word arrangements, which could bring no new life. But Latin poetry was already showing evidences of a trend toward the later medieval spirit and technique in the "Pervigilium Veneris" ("Nightwatch of Venus"), probably a poem of the second century written in celebration of the spring festival of Venus Genetrix, whose worship was restored by Hadrian. Its meter is the trochaic pentameter of Tennyson's "Locksley Hall," a rhythm common in the early Latin poets, but later quite rare. The two verses on spring at the beginning of the poem may have inspired Tennyson's well-known four lines on spring and love in "Locksley Hall." The poem has been fittingly termed "one of the sweetest and most romantic poems in all Latin literature"⁵² and deserves to be read in full. It is also especially interesting as a striking evidence of a tendency toward the later spirit and form of medieval poetry. In its free employment of assonance and alliteration, its union of quantitative rhythm and natural word accent, its changing grammatical structure, especially in the use of *de*, as well as in its romantic sentiment, the poem is already half medieval.

Though the history of classical Latin literature practically ends with Suetonius, the old spirit still persisted to some extent and exerted a considerable influence on early Christian Latin literature. A striking example of almost classical elegance and simplicity is the first piece of Christian Latin literature extant, the *Octavius*, a defense of Christianity written about 160 A.D. by M. Minucius Felix, a lawyer at Rome. The dialogue, whose setting is at Ostia, is between two friends of Octavian, a Christian and a pagan, with himself as judge, and results in the pagan's conversion. The work is remarkable, since it makes no mention of Jesus or strictly Christian arguments, appeals to reason rather than to faith or love, and draws its arguments from classical philosophers rather than from the Bible. It is thought to be an answer to Fronto's speech against Christianity. Though its style was influenced by the rhetoric of the Silver Age, it is entirely free from the pedantic affectations of Fronto and Apuleius and is the most pleasing piece of Latin prose after Trajan.⁵³

⁵² *Ver Novum; ver iam canorum; vere natus orbis est.*

Vere concordant amores; vere nubunt alites.

(Spring is new, spring full of singing, in the spring the world was born.

In the spring loves are united, in the spring the lovebirds wed.)

Cf. J. W. Duff, *A Literary History of Rome in the Silver Age*, Scribner, 1927, p. 646, who cites the above lines.

⁵³ For later examples of almost classical Latin prose and a discussion of early Latin Christian literature, cf. below Chapter Thirty, Sec. II, 1.

III. GREEK LITERATURE IN THE SECOND CENTURY

The second century was marked by a notable literary activity in the Greek East. With Titus Flavius Josephus, a learned Hellenistic Jew of a distinguished priestly family related to the Maccabees, we have already become acquainted through his part in the Jewish wars of Vespasian and Titus. After the fall of Jerusalem he lived and wrote in Rome under imperial favor. His aim in writing was to acquaint the Greeks with the history and character of the Jews. His *Jewish War* in seven books is a valuable contemporary account by one who saw the Roman, as well as the Jewish, side of the tragic affair. The later sections of his *Jewish Antiquities*, in twenty books from the creation to Nero, furnish valuable material on the earlier Roman emperors.⁵⁴

Plutarch of Chaeronea (c. 46-c. 120 A.D.) wrote during the reign of Trajan. Though granted consular rank by the emperor, he chose to remain in his native town, where he taught and wrote to a ripe old age. He is best known for his *Parallel Lives*, forty-six biographies of leading Greek and Roman statesmen, regularly in pairs, a Greek and a Roman, except in the case of the Gracchi. Four single biographies are also included, Artaxerxes, Aratus, Galba, and Otho. Plutarch was far superior to his predecessor in this field, Cornelius Nepos. He was not primarily interested in careful investigation of facts, however, but in moral edification. Probably no ancient historical writer has enjoyed greater popularity among modern readers from the Renaissance to the present than he. Plutarch's dominant moral interest appears in his *Moralia*, a voluminous collection of essays and treatises on a great variety of themes, but chiefly ethical. These include a dialogue on *Music*, of great importance for the history of ancient music and meter. One of his most attractive works is his *Symposiaca* in nine books, a collection of leisurely "table talks" on all sorts of subjects.

Dio of Prusa, called Chrysostom ("golden-mouthed") because of his eloquence, came to Rome under Vespasian, but was banished by Domitian and made his home at Olbia on the north shore of the Black Sea. An interesting account of his life in this old-fashioned town is presented in his *Borysthenic Discourse*. He was later classified as one of the ten outstanding Sophists, or traveling rhetoricians, of the imperial age. But though he was a representative of the new Greek sophistic movement of the second century, he was far superior to the usual type, as a serious thinker, who opposed the empty rhetoric of the school. Seventy-nine of his discourses have survived, and they cast a flood of light on internal conditions in the municipalities of the Greek East. Some of the most interesting are his *Alexandriana*, attacking luxury in Alexandria, his *Olympica*, in which Phidias describes his famous statue of Zeus at Olympia, four discourses on monarchy or an ideal ruler, and his *Euboica*, a

⁵⁴ Josephus also wrote an *Autobiography*, and works *On the Sovereignty of Reason*, and *Against Apion*, who had attacked the Jews in the time of Caligula. Philo, a learned Jew of Alexandria in the time of St. Paul, sought to harmonize the philosophy of Plato with the Old Testament. He is therefore important as the precursor of Neo-Platonism, which later exerted a profound influence on Christianity.

pleasing, idyllic contrast of rural to city life. Dio sought to write in a pure Attic style on the model of Plato and Xenophon.

The period of Hadrian and the Antonines, when Latin literature was decadent, was especially fruitful in notable Greek writers and scholars. Arrian (Flavius Arrianus) of Nicomedia in Bithynia served as governor of Capadocia and as archon at Athens in 147 A.D. His relation as pupil to the famous Stoic philosopher, Epictetus, was similar to that of Socrates to Xenophon, and, like Xenophon, he turned from philosophy to history and the more practical pursuits. Like the Atticist school of his day, he sought to return to the style of Xenophon, Plato, and Aristotle in reaction against that of Polybius. Corresponding to Xenophon's *Recollections of Socrates* were his *Enchiridion*, a handbook of Stoic morality, and his *Diatribae Epicteti*, a fuller analysis of the doctrine of his Stoic teacher. He is especially known for his *Anabasis of Alexander* in seven books after the model of Xenophon. The work is a complete biography of Alexander, told in simple language free from rhetorical ornamentation, and is especially valuable as being based upon the contemporary sources now lost.⁵⁵

Appian of Alexandria, who published his *History of Rome* about 160 A.D., came to the capital during the reign of Hadrian and won a procuratorship through Fronto's influence. His work is exceptional in following the topical rather than the chronological arrangement, being divided into a series of special histories, the *Iberica*, *Illyrica*, *Civil Wars*, *Syriaca*, *On Mithridates*, and *On Macedonia*. All these representing only about half of the original twenty-four books have survived, the most valuable part being the five books on the *Civil Wars*. Like other Greek writers on Roman history, he was an enthusiastic admirer of Rome. His work is marred by an utter disregard for style and a lack of critical accuracy and judgment.

Pausanias, a Greek of Asia Minor, wrote his famous *Tour of Greece* in the reign of Marcus Aurelius. In it he undertakes to describe all the buildings, statues, and works of historical and artistic interest seen in his travels over most of Greece. His work is invaluable as a mine of information for students of classical art and archaeology. It was through a reference of Pausanias that Schliemann was guided to his discovery of the royal shaft tombs at Mycenae.

In natural science the Greek genius again asserted itself in the great compilations of Galen, a practicing physician of Pergamum, and Ptolemy of Alexandria, which, though not markedly creative, held supreme sway until the sixteenth century. Galen's medical encyclopedia embodied the chief results of the science from Hippocrates to his own day, as well as the results of his own researches. Unfortunately, his dissections were too exclusively limited to apes, which caused him to err in some of his inferences as to human anatomy. Many of the superstitions and foul medicines of the ancients were also included in his work, which was the chief medical text in the European universities from the thirteenth to the seventeenth centuries.

⁵⁵ Other surviving works of Arrian are an account of India (*Indica*), *The Periplus of the Black Sea*, and essays on *Tactics* and *Hunting*, after the manner of Xenophon. Works now lost are histories of the *Diadochi*, of Bithynia, and of Trajan's Dacian wars, and biographies of Timoleon and Dionysius of Syracuse.

Ptolemy of Alexandria fixed the astronomical view of the universe until the sixteenth century by his *Great System of Astronomy*, or *Almagest*, as it was later called. It summarized all ancient scientific knowledge on astronomy, as did his *Guide to Geography* in that subject. Both were thoroughly based on mathematical calculation and were epoch-making works in their respective fields.⁵⁶

Aelius Aristides of Mysia, the famous rhetorician with whose eloquent panegyric, *On Rome*, we are already familiar,⁵⁷ studied under the famous Sophists, Herodes Atticus of Athens and Polemo of Smyrna. He traveled widely as a Sophist lecturer from Asia Minor, Greece, and Egypt to Rome. His extant writings are fifty-five speeches and letters, many of them on great events in Greek history, in imitation of Isocrates. His *Five Sacred Discourses* on the miraculous cures that relieved him from his long illness are interesting as a reflection of the growing superstition of the age even in cultivated circles. In general, his interest seems to center largely in words rather than ideas, and it was his boast that he valued "words" above everything. His highly polished rhetoric is very artificial and frequently obscure in its subtlety.

A welcome contrast to such artificial rhetoric was his younger contemporary, Lucian of Samosata in Asia Minor. He was first a traveling Sophist lecturer, and some of his early speeches have survived. Of special interest is his *Lawsuit of Letters* (*Sigma* versus *Tau* before the court of vowels). Lucian, however, was too much of a genius to be long satisfied with the vapid rhetorical art of his day. He made his way to Athens to study philosophy, which did much to shape his future clear Attic style and turned him to the dialogue as his chosen literary form of composition. As a result, he became the creator of the satirical dialogue.

The most commonly read and most original of Lucian's works are his *Dialogues of the Gods*, the most amusing of which are the accounts of his visits to the underworld, the moon, and Olympus by the satirical philosopher Menippus. Charon, the ferryman of the dead, also visits the upper world and observes human follies from the peak of Parnassus piled on top of Ossa and Olympus. Superstition is everywhere held up to ridicule, and the old Greek gods and theology are unmercifully satirized. In his *Zeus under Examination*, the "Father of Gods and Men" proves unable to escape the dilemma of fate versus free will of the gods, posed to him by an Epicurean philosopher. Most effective also are his *Timon the Misanthrope*, *Hermotimus*, a dialogue on philosophical humbug, *Cynic*, *Philosopher's Auction*, and *Parasite*.

Lucian also used the epistolary form with great effect. His *Alexander or the False Prophet of Abonouteichos* in Asia Minor, a biography of a religious charlatan and professed miracle-monger, illustrates well the widespread religious superstition of the times.⁵⁸ His *Peregrinus* is an attack on the Cynics, against whom he was especially bitter. In his *Professor of Rhetoric* he bitterly caricatures the contemporary Sophists and rhetoricians. One of his most fa-

⁵⁶ For further detail on Galen and Ptolemy, cf. Vol. I, pp. 511-16. Ptolemy also wrote a short work on the theory of music.

⁵⁷ Cf. Chapter Twenty-four, Introduction.

⁵⁸ Cf. above Chapter Twenty-five, Sec. III, 2.

mous pieces is his *How History Should Be Written*, which ridicules the bombastic historians of the day, who tried to ape the style of Herodotus or Thucydides in writing of the recent Parthian campaign. In a similar manner, his *True Story* satirizes the contemporary novels. The anonymous story of *Lucius the Ass*, the model for Apuleius, is also worthy of Lucian's pen. He was thoroughly at home in classical Greek literature, and his works are replete with quotations from Homer, Aristophanes, and Plato. In his creative genius, charm, easy grace, and marvelous mastery of Attic idiom, he compares well with the classical models of the fifth and fourth centuries.

Part Eight

THE EMPIRE IN ITS DECLINE

- 27. *The Ordeal of the Empire in the Third Century* (180-285 A.D.)
- 28. *The Reorganization of the Empire by Diocletian and Constantine and the Triumph of Oriental Despotism and Christianity* (285-337 A.D.)
- 29. *The Decline of Roman Civilization* (180-337 A.D.)
- 30. *Roman Paganism, Christianity in the Later Empire, and a Résumé of the Development of Roman Law*

Chapter Twenty-seven

THE ORDEAL OF THE EMPIRE IN THE THIRD CENTURY (180-285 A.D.)¹

I. THE REIGN OF COMMODUS

(180-192 A.D.)

The happy solution of the problem of imperial succession by coregency and adoption in the second century was rejected by Marcus Aurelius with fatal results. Unfortunately, he had an heir, while the "wisdom" of his predecessors from Nerva to Antoninus consisted partly in the fact that they had not. With shortsighted family loyalty, therefore, he passed over his experienced generals and ministers and chose as his successor his incompetent and degenerate son, L. Aurelius Commodus, who proved to be another Nero. Dio begins his account of the reign of Commodus and the succeeding history with these gloomy words: "Our history now descends from a kingdom of gold to one of iron and rust, as affairs did for the Romans of that day."² With his reign the period of benevolent despotism ended, and a century of political disorder and violence began, in which the army dictated the destinies of the Empire for its own immediate advantage.

Commodus entered upon his vast responsibility as an inexperienced youth in his nineteenth year. His first act was to conclude a questionable peace with the Germans, whom his father had brought to practically complete submission.³ The treaty protected Roman interests on the Danubian frontier and may have been preferable to the expense of further campaigns or annexation. Even though poorly enforced, it gave a long respite from German invasions. The motive of Commodus, however, was not statesmanship, but a desire for indolent self-indulgence in the capital. His act was probably contrary to the

¹ The extant written sources are very meager. Dio's books (LXXIII-LXXX) from Commodus to 229 A.D., though extant only in epitome, full of superstition, and lacking in historical insight, are invaluable, since they are by a contemporary and eyewitness (LXXIII, 9, 2) who had seen active service as a consul and imperial official, and are free from the prejudices of Tacitus. The *History* of Herodian, a Syrian Greek, covering the years 180-238 A.D., published in the middle of the third century, fills the gaps in Dio. The unreliable *Augustan History* (cf. Chapter Twenty-two, Sec. I) adds little to the above. The brief epitomes of Eutropius and Aurelius Victor, from the late fourth century, have some value.

Written tradition is finely supplemented by coins and inscriptions, which cast much light on the imperial policies, army, chronology, cultural and religious movements, life, and institutions throughout the Empire.

The sad decline of historical writing since Tacitus is a good index to the rapid degeneration of Latin culture.

² Dio, LXXII, 36, 4, *Loeb Classical Library* translation (E. Cary), by permission of the Harvard University Press.

³ For terms, cf. Dio, LXXII, 2-3, which were not discreditable to Rome. Cf. also Herodian, I, 6.

advice of his father's generals and was strongly resented by the upper classes of the Empire as ignominious and treasonable. With puerile inconsistency he celebrated a splendid triumph over the Germans on his return to Rome. Despite his neglect of military affairs, however, the frontiers were largely peaceful during his reign, except for invasions in Dacia and northern Britain, which were soon quelled by his generals. Commodus continued the wise policy of curbing the power of the *conductores* over the tenant cultivators on the imperial estates in Africa. He also established a regular line of ships to transport grain and other produce from Africa to Rome on the model of Vespasian's Alexandrian fleet.

At Rome, however, he ruled as a voluptuous tyrant. He soon rid himself of his father's ministers, disregarded the imperial armics, and turned over all administrative and military affairs to his praetorian prefects. Coarse and corrupt favorites ruled the court and dictated policy, selling justice with a high hand. Meanwhile, he spent his life in a constant round of the grossest debaucheries and the satisfaction of his coarse obsession for the gladiator's craft.⁴ The imperial treasury, already depleted by his father's long campaigns and the raise of the legionaries' wages from 300 to 375 denarii, was soon drained dry by his prodigal expenditures and extravagant largesses of 140 denarii per head to the populace. Payments to the *alimenta* were stopped, and the fund scattered. "Benevolences" on wealth⁵ and judicial murders were resorted to as an excuse for confiscations. The marked advance in prices at the close of the century has been plausibly traced to inflation of the currency to pay for the emperor's extravagances on his soldiers and favorites. State offices were sold to the highest bidder. Freedmen bought seats in the senate, and twenty-five consuls were established in one year (190).

The voluptuous tyrant outdid even Caligula or Nero in his insane egotism and obsession of divinity. He renamed Rome and the senate after himself and identified himself with the athlete, Hercules, as the only man who had been deified before death. Assuming his garb and weapons, he appeared as *Hercules Romanus* on his latest coins. In this obsession, however, he had plenty of precedent. Caligula, Nero, and Domitian had identified themselves with Hercules, and the Stoic emperors of the second century had promoted his worship as one who had devoted his life to the struggle between good and evil and finally died a martyr to duty and humanity. Each had glorified the particular attribute of the hero that fitted his own personality, just as Commodus emphasized his athletic prowess.

The bitter opposition of the upper classes to the emperor, first aroused by his treaty with Germany, was constantly aggravated by his brazen tyranny, shameless excesses, disgraceful exhibitions, and the wholesale corruption of his low-born favorites. From the beginning of his reign there were repeated plots to assassinate him, which resulted only in more violent measures and

⁴ Cf. Dio, LXXIII, 18-20, for his disgusting exhibition of prowess in the arena, of which the historian was a witness.

⁵ On his birthday 100 sesterces were imposed for every citizen, man, woman, and child, in Rome who was able to pay, and five denarii for each senator in all municipalities.

worse tyranny. Judicial murders and wholesale confiscations were again the order of the day, and many senators and wealthy Romans met their fate, among them, Salvius Julianus, the famous jurist and praetorian prefect. As with Nero and Domitian, his violence and outrages finally culminated in a palace plot engineered by his praetorian prefect, which ended the fiasco. He was choked to death by his athletic trainer, a fitting death.⁶

The senate condemned his memory, his statues were cast down, and his name was erased from the inscriptions. He was secretly buried by his chamberlain, Laetus, and his successor, Pertinax, removed his remains to the Mausoleum of Hadrian. Thus the enlightened monarchy of the Antonines ended in gloom, disillusionment, and naked despotism, and opened the way for a century of violence and military dictation. The sinister influence of the praetorians in determining the succession, quiescent for a century, again entered the stage.

II. THE CIVIL WARS

(193-197 A.D.)

The year of the four emperors after Nero was now repeated. The assassins had chosen one of the chief generals of Marcus Aurelius, Helvius Pertinax, to succeed their victim. At first praetorians and legions were won by the promise of a large donative, and the senate gladly accepted the welcome change. He immediately attacked the financial problem by wise economies, and soon he had the treasury on a sound footing. The vicious system of raising funds by sales of offices and appointments was not abolished, but Pertinax showed financial foresight in granting full tenure and ten years' immunity from taxes to cultivators of lands left waste by the plague and the wars of Marcus Aurelius. He re-established discipline and the old strict conditions of service among the troops in Rome and definitely sought to restore the dignity and authority of the senate as a makeweight against the growing insubordination of the legions. But this very alliance with the senate aroused the opposition of its more recent members, and his strict discipline caused general dissatisfaction among the soldiers and plotters who had placed him on the throne. Like Galba, therefore, he was assassinated by the praetorians at the behest of his chamberlain, after a brief reign of three months.⁷

The praetorians now practically put the Empire on the auction block and knocked it down to Didius Julianus, an incompetent but very wealthy senator, for the vast sum of 25,000 sesterces per soldier.⁸ The slavish senate was forced to ratify the outrage, but the urban proletariat, with more courage, vented their indignation by stoning him.

In disgust at the praetorians, as in the civil war after Nero, the legions now swung into action. The acute comment of Tacitus on the earlier conflict that

⁶ While the literary tradition presents Commodus as a monster of depravity, his coins and official propaganda portray him as a protégé of the gods and a divine Hercules.

⁷ Cf. Dio's characterization of him (LXXIII, 10, 3).

⁸ Cf. Herodian, II, 6, 3-13; Dio, LXXIII, 11; *Historia Augusta* (Didius Julianus), 3, 1-3, for the highly colored accounts.

they had "discovered the secret that the emperor could be elected elsewhere than at Rome" was again applicable. Henceforth the army became the dominant factor in the imperial succession, and the senate was forced to acquiesce. Each emperor knew that his power depended upon his satisfaction of their demands. Thus the constitutional veil that concealed the military basis of the Augustan Principate was torn aside, and military monarchy stood forth undisguised. It would be a mistake, however, to interpret this result as the outgrowth of any conscious class feeling on the part of the soldiers. Though they were now probably recruited more from the peasantry than from the cities, this in no way implies that they consciously identified themselves with the interests of the country against the city or even with military as against civil government. Their action was probably dictated only by their own immediate selfish advantage.

Three rival armies set up their respective generals to oppose Julianus: Decimus Clodius Albinus in Britain, L. Septimius Severus in Upper Pannonia, and C. Pescennius Niger in Syria. But before Julianus was able to play off one against another, Severus, who was stationed nearest to the capital at Carnuntum, struck at once and captured Rome without a battle. Julianus was deposed and condemned to death by the senate after a futile reign of three months. Severus punished the disloyal praetorians by depriving them of their service and establishing legionary provincial troops in their place.

Having consolidated his power in Rome and conciliated Albinus by naming him Caesar with authority in Britain, Gaul, and Spain, he hastened with a large force against Niger, governor of Syria. In a series of campaigns he regained Asia Minor and at Issus (194) decisively defeated his enemy, who was killed in his flight from Antioch. Severus made a punitive expedition against the Parthian king for his support of Niger, took Mesopotamia, and made Nisibis a fortified Roman colony (196). The cities of Syria and Asia Minor suffered heavy impositions for their support of Niger. The splendid buildings of Antioch were razed to the ground, and the city was reduced to a village under Laodicea. Byzantium, after a siege of nearly three years, met the same fate and was placed under Perinthus. It was probably at this time that Severus divided Syria into Coesylria and Syria Phoenicia, so as to guard against future rebellion.

Late in 196 Severus returned to Europe to settle with Albinus, who was defeated at Lugdunum⁹ and died by his own hand early the next year. With both pretenders dead, the civil war was ended, and their conqueror was complete master of the Roman Empire. He had the head of Albinus sent to Rome to be exposed and turned over the rebellious Lugdunum to his soldiers for punishment. So thoroughly ravaged was the city that it never recovered its old supremacy in Gaul.

⁹ Dio's estimate (LXX, 6) of 150,000 on each side is much exaggerated.

III. MILITARY MONARCHY UNDER THE SEVERI

(193-235 A.D.)

I. SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS (193-211 A.D.)

Severus dated his reign from his domination of Rome and the senate. Brushing aside all constitutional pretense, he stood frankly for what he was, a military monarch. But he was no mere child of the frontier camp. Though a native of Africa, he was of Roman knight ancestry and was educated in both Latin and Greek literature. He had received the senatorial stripe from Marcus Aurelius and had served him effectively in high military and civil offices. As emperor, he led his own troops and was the most active of all his predecessors as a military campaigner.

Campaigns Against Parthia and Britain

Thanks to the effective campaign of Marcus Aurelius, the Rhine and Danube frontiers faced no danger from border tribes while the Roman legions were locked in civil war. In the East, however, after the departure of Severus, the Parthian king had invaded Armenia and Mesopotamia and was besieging Nisibis. Soon after his defeat of Albinus, therefore, Severus hastened East, relieved the besieged fortress, and sacked the two Parthian capitals, Seleucia and Ctesiphon in 198 A.D., repeating the victorious campaigns of Trajan and Avidius Cassius. Northern Mesopotamia was made a Roman province under a governor of equestrian rank. This was practically the end of the Parthian monarchy. In his Parthian campaign Severus returned to the expansionist policy of Trajan, but having gone so far, he probably should have annexed all Babylonia. In celebration of his victory he added Parthicus to his name and made his elder son, Caracalla, then only twelve, coemperor, and the younger, Geta, Caesar.

The weakening of the British garrisons by Albius had resulted in repeated incursions of the Caledonians and other tribes into northern Britain. Finally, in 208 A.D., Severus, though a man of sixty-three, took the field against them, accompanied by his two sons. In the course of three years he rebuilt Hadrian's wall¹⁰ between the Tyne and the Solway, which had been partly destroyed, and made repeated campaigns far into Caledonia.¹¹ But he had not succeeded in completely pacifying the tribes when he died at York in 211 A.D. His sons, whose chief interest was in the pleasures of the capital, permanently withdrew from Caledonia and the northern wall of Antoninus to the frontier of Hadrian, though they pompously assumed the title Britannicus.

Like Hadrian, Severus did much to strengthen the frontier defenses of the Empire. Besides rebuilding Hadrian's wall in Britain, he raised earthworks for 200 miles on the frontier of Upper Germany, a stone wall of half that length

¹⁰ So thorough was the reconstruction that the author of the *Historia Augusta*, XVIII, 2, and some modern historians have wrongly inferred that the wall was built by Severus instead of Hadrian.

¹¹ Dio, LXXVI, 13, and Severan coins found far up the east coast may indicate that Severus advanced further north than Agricola.

on the Raetian boundary, and an earth mound along the river Aluta, between the Carpathians and the Danube. A similar chain of defenses in North Africa enabled him to depend almost entirely on native troops there. To Severus must also be credited a thorough repair of the chief military roads.

The Military Policy of Septimius Severus

The reign of Septimius Severus was epochal in the history of the Roman Empire and the imperial army. He was a military usurper whose accession had been secured by the legions, and the permanence of whose dynasty depended upon their continued support. This had also been true of Augustus and Vespasian, but they had preferred to veil the military basis of their power by constitutional form. Some of the Julio-Claudians and Domitian and Commodus had been openly despotic, but Severus was clearly the first to found his authority frankly and permanently on the army, with no attempt to disguise its military basis. His position was precarious, not only as a usurper, but because of his open break with Antonine tradition in aiming to establish a dynasty. During the civil war he had sought to purchase the allegiance of the senate by gifts and the hollow agreement not to put a senator to death without trial before that body. But he knew that many senators favored his rivals, and their bitter opposition to his dynastic aims made reconciliation impossible. On his return as victor, therefore, he instituted a régime of savage terrorism, in which many prominent senators were exterminated. The same policy of brutal revenge was pursued on a large scale in the provinces, especially in Gaul and the East which had supported his rivals.

In view of the recognized hostility of the Roman and provincial aristocracy, therefore, he made repeated concessions to the army, which eventually revolutionized its character and composition and impaired its efficiency. He enlarged the army by three new legions, recruited from the Danubian provinces and the East, establishing one permanently at the Alban Lake, only twenty miles from Rome. Though his primary motive was probably to check the praetorians and to have a sufficient military nucleus on hand for emergency, the innovation was far more significant. It was the first time a permanent legionary garrison had been established in Italy as if it were of provincial status.

His cashiering of the disloyal praetorians and displacing them by provincial troops, above described, was even more important in its consequences. It forever broke the long-standing tradition requiring the praetorians to be residents of Italy or at least Roman citizens from the older sections. Thus another step was taken toward the leveling of Italy to the provinces and the breakdown of distinctions in the army. By it Severus permitted the provincial soldiers to qualify as centurions, since praetorian service was the regular requirement for eligibility to a centurion's commission. Thus did the Italians lose their last military privilege over the provincials. The revolutionary significance of the act should not be exaggerated, however, since Roman citizens from the older provinces had long been admitted to the praetorians. The praetorians did not at once become a group of Thracian and Illyrian peasants, and the Danubian

legions of Severus were still largely composed of citizens and their sons from Roman towns. Italians also continued to become centurions, prefects, and military tribunes, as the inscriptions prove. It gave a distinct impetus, however, to the increasing use of provincials as officers and peasant soldiers instead of townsmen.

More significant and lasting were his concessions to the army. He pampered the soldiers by raising the pay of the praetorians from 1,250 to 1,700 denarii and of the legionaries from the 375 set by Commodus to 500. This was by no means entirely a bribe, however, in view of the sharp rise in prices due to the debasement of the currency. Yet it meant heavy added burdens to the Roman and municipal aristocracies in the interest of the army. Another concession was the abrogation of the law against legal marriage of soldiers during service. The soldiers of the frontier were now permitted to live with their wives in the adjoining town instead of in the barracks. This inevitably contributed toward the making of a more immobile and less disciplined army, though barracks life was by no means abolished. The emperor's offer of permanent hereditary leases of Roman imperial lands to some auxiliary divisions had a similar effect in making for an immobile army. Severus also catered to the soldiers by relieving the veterans of the burden of municipal liturgies and encouraging social life in the fortresses and camps through the *scholae*, or clubs, formed by junior officers. Small contributions were made by the soldiers which were later paid in a lump sum on retirement. All these concessions were destined to undermine the military spirit and create a dangerous caste, conscious of its power.

The policies of Severus most significant in their far-reaching influence were those relating to the democratization of the army by his transformation of the Praetorian Guard to a provincial corps and the consequent opening of the centurion's office to provincials. Since veteran centurions, as well as the sons of centurions, enjoyed equestrian rank, the way was therefore now open to any common soldier from the provinces to rise to the highest military and civil offices in the Empire. This was especially true, since it was the settled policy of Severus to prefer equestrians for the chief military posts and imperial governorships, which had previously been largely monopolized by senators. Severus also developed the policy of sending procurators as temporary substitutes for the senatorial governors, and sometimes retained them in the province by the side of the regular governors. It seems to have been his deliberate purpose to open the way for every common soldier from any least-developed part of the Empire, if capable and loyal, to rise through the centuriate to the equestrian class, and therefore to be eligible for the highest posts in the imperial service. The whole policy aimed to break down distinctions between Italy and the provinces, between praetorians and legionaries, and between officers and common soldiers, and was motivated by a desire to weaken the senate and to win the support of the soldiers. Its effect, though unintended by Severus, was the eventual barbarization of the army. The recruits were increasingly from the peasantry of the less-developed provinces, and the centurions and higher military officers were drawn more and more from the provinces and less from Italy.

Of outstanding significance was the growth in the power of the praetorian prefect under Severus and the beginning of a tendency to separate its military from its civil functions, which reached its climax in the middle of the century. After 205 A.D. Severus appointed two prefects, one of whom was Papinian, the greatest of Roman jurists, who was given very wide civil functions. Henceforth, the praetorian prefect had supreme jurisdiction over all criminal cases in Italy beyond the hundredth milestone from the city of Rome, and also over appeals from imperial governors. He also presided over the imperial judicial council in the absence of the emperor and had supervision over the transportation of grain to Rome, while the prefect of the grain supply managed only its distribution in the city. Papinian was later succeeded in the office by other eminent Roman jurists.

The chief concern of Severus was to secure his own power and establish a hereditary military monarchy, and to do this he must cater to the army. He wished to be recognized as the legitimate heir of Commodus and Marcus Aurelius rather than as a military usurper. Hence his deification of Commodus, his forged adoption of himself by Marcus, and his assumption of the name Antoninus for himself and his sons. There was nothing essentially revolutionary about his policy. He did not deliberately undertake to barbarize and orientalize the army and the Roman state. These tendencies were already in process, and he unwittingly stimulated them. To a considerable extent he continued the essentially Roman policies of the Antonines. His concessions to the army, however, undermined its discipline and created a class-conscious military caste to dictate to the state. His last advice to his sons, reported by Dio, whether actually spoken or not, was in perfect agreement with his whole sinister military policy. "Be harmonious, enrich the soldiers, and scorn all other men."¹² Yet his militarized principate was the product of a natural evolution from the principate of Augustus.

Internal Reforms of Septimius Severus

Despite his engrossment with military campaigns during all but six years of his reign, his principate was also notable for important administrative reforms. As we have seen, from the time of his victory over Albinus, he was openly hostile to the senate and exterminated many of their leaders. He made no pretense of recognizing it as a partner in the rule and did everything to break down all vestiges of Republican tradition. A distinctly backward step, judicially, was the establishment of different degrees of punishment according to the class of the criminals, whether *honestiores* (including senators, knights, municipal aristocracy, and soldiers of all ranks) or *humiliores*. The latter suffered penal servitude instead of banishment and a harder death in case of death penalty. The privileged class were also immune from torture and might appeal to the emperor in all cases except treason. Thus Severus abolished the traditional principle of Roman law that law is no respecter of persons. This unfortunate change later penetrated to all Roman criminal law and was one of the

¹² LXXVII, 15, 2, *Loeb Classical Library* translation (E. Cary), by permission of the Harvard University Press.

most vicious heritages from Rome to the Middle Ages. Yet the standard of justice of the *consilium principis* as a court continued to be high in the third century, when several of the greatest Roman jurists were serving as its judicial advisers or as praetorian judges. Despite the above change, except in political crimes, the influence of the emperor was, on the whole, on the side of mercy, especially for the poorer classes.

The Augustan policy of dividing provinces for better administration, which was continued by Trajan and Hadrian, was carried much further by Severus to guard against future rivals. Numidia was made a province separate from Africa, and Syria and Britain were divided. Like Trajan and Hadrian also, he actively established new urban centers in the provinces and conferred municipal status on provincial towns. Especially notable was his final grant of municipal senates to Alexandria and the *metropoleis* of the *nomes* in Egypt, which had previously been persistently refused any semblance of municipal status. His purpose, however, was to bring their residents more thoroughly within the net of imperial taxation. As a native of Africa and the husband of a Syrian woman, Julia Domna, he naturally continued Hadrian's policy of raising the provinces to equality with Italy. This appears both in his military policy and in his admission of large numbers of provincials into the administrative service. The reigns of Severus and his Syrian dynasty are notable for the number of imperial officials from Syria and other Eastern provinces.

Like Trajan and Hadrian, Severus was very generous in expenditures. Besides his extreme donatives and raises of pay for the army, he was lavish in his doles to win the populace, adding free oil to the previous gifts of grain. On the tenth anniversary of his reign he presented to all the poorer citizens of Rome who received grain and to the praetorians ten gold aurei each, then equal to 750 denarii. The *alimenta* which had been liquidated by Commodus, he re-established. He expended large sums for the repair of roads in the provinces and took upon himself the cost of the imperial post, relieving the neighboring municipalities of the burden. At Rome he built his Arch in the Forum, a new façade, the *Septizonium*, perhaps meaning "House of Seven Planets," for the palace of Domitian, vast luxurious baths, a huge temple to Bacchus and Hercules, and restored multitudes of public buildings, on which he inscribed his own name as if he were the original builder.

Yet despite all these lavish expenditures besides his costly campaign, he restored the imperial treasury to a sound basis after the mad prodigality of Commodus and left a full treasury to his sons, as well as great stocks of grain in the public magazines. This was partly due to the extreme indemnities imposed upon the Eastern and Gallic cities after his victory over his rivals and the vast properties confiscated from their followers. These sources were richly supplemented by the emperor's widespread confiscations of the wealth of condemned senators and of a multitude of other victims in the provinces. These vast sums, however, were not turned into the imperial *fiscus* or the patrimony of Caesar, but set apart as a new fund, the *res privata*, which Severus considered "heritable" family property.¹³ Severus also resorted to depreciation of the cur-

¹³ The Ptolemies in Egypt had a similar private account, *idios logos*, which was continued there under Rome, but it is improbable that Severus took this as his model.

rency by reducing the silver content of the denarius to sixty per cent of its former standard, but the evil effects of this policy on the price level did not appear until after his time.

Probably the chief secret of the financial success of Severus, however, was his heavy increase in imperial taxes. This was now more possible through the recovery from the plague and the exhausting campaigns of Marcus Aurelius. It was also a part of his policy of consolidating his power by protection of the humbler classes in city and country and reduction of the Roman and provincial aristocracy. He was the first emperor to insist on the personal responsibility of municipal magistrates for the imperial taxes. With the aid of the Roman jurists, he was also the first to develop the oppressive system of liturgies to a permanent and regular institution, enforced by the state. Following the lead of Hadrian and the Antonines, both he and his successors were also more systematic in their pressure upon the associations and corporations that served the imperial *annona*. Some of these, as the guilds of merchants and shipowners, who were especially necessary to the state, received exemptions from certain municipal burdens. The same was true of the farmers of the taxes and imperial estates. But such concessions to some members of the privileged classes were only sporadic. The finances were restored by increased pressure upon the propertyed classes.

In his humane interest in protecting the humble and the poor, on the other hand, Severus was quite in accord with the policy of Hadrian and the Antonines. His restoration of the *alimenta* has already been mentioned. Never was legislation more humane than under the Severi and their great jurists, Papinian, Ulpian, and Paulus. Severus himself introduced legislation to protect the dowries of wives and defend the interests of minors and slaves, as humanitarian as under the best of the Antonines. He exempted the tenants on imperial estates and some city corporations from municipal liturgies. But all such concessions to the poorer classes meant still more grievous pressure upon the middle and richer classes in the municipalities.

The policy of Vespasian, Trajan, and Hadrian of protecting the tenant cultivators on the imperial estates in Africa from the rapacity of the *conductores* was continued by Severus. The surviving copy of the *Lex Manciana*, dealing with this problem, probably dates from his time. His reign was marked by an increase in the number of free landowners in some parts of the Empire, and he listened sympathetically to the appeals of the peasantry against oppression of imperial officials.

There is little basis, however, for the claim that the high standard of provincial administration and prosperity of the Empire during the previous century continued under Severus. The favorable attitude of the masses to whom he catered and the large number of dedications to him throughout the Empire, especially in Africa, are no sufficient evidence. Some of the richest sections, such as Gaul, Syria, and Asia Minor, paid a terrible price for their opposition during the civil war. But even Africa and the Danubian provinces were not highly prosperous. Active political persecution continued in the provinces as well as in Rome. The soldiers and agents of Severus as spies were in every city

and village. Public order was breaking down, and lawless bands of men who had lost all lived by violence and robbery. The initiative of the urban middle class was being crushed by the rapidly growing weight of bureaucracy. The very sources of wealth were also being dissipated by pitiless taxation to restore the imperial finances and the emperor's policy of catering to the soldiers and the poorer masses at the expense of urban well-to-do. About the best that can be said is that conditions improved somewhat during the last few years of his reign and that, in his own words, he found the Empire at war and left it at peace.

Severus lived a comparatively simple and very strenuous life. A man of keen and vigorous intellect, he took an active interest in learning, especially in law, and wrote an account of his own life. He was a great soldier, political organizer, and builder, but unfortunately his attention was centered too much upon securing his own authority and dynasty regardless of cost. On his attitude toward religion we have no record, except that he laid a heavy penalty upon converts to Judaism and Christianity and emphasized the spread of the imperial cult. He made a futile attempt to check immorality by revamping the laws of Augustus against adultery, which, judging by Dio's assertion that he found 3,000 cases awaiting trial as consul, seems hardly to have declined since the first century.¹⁴ On his death in faraway Britain his ashes were brought to Rome and deposited in the Mausoleum of Hadrian with the Antonines, whom he had so revered. His deification was accepted without question, and his two worthless sons, Caracalla and Geta, succeeded him without effective opposition.

2. CARACALLA (211-217 A.D.)¹⁵

As we have seen, on the death of Severus, Caracalla immediately made peace with Caledonia and withdrew Roman troops to the line of Hadrian's walls in order to consolidate his position at the capital. Nominally, he shared the equal power with Geta, but actually he was the real ruler from the first. For a few months the joint rule continued amid open hostility and recriminations of both, until Caracalla treacherously had his brother murdered on the pretense of a plot against his own life. The senate and a considerable part of the army were now openly hostile, but he bribed the legionaries by extreme donatives. He then instituted a reign of murder and terrorism against the cultivated classes in Rome and the provinces worse than in the darkest days of Severus. Cruel, vindictive, vicious, cowardly despotic, he repeated the worst elements in his father's character and policies in exaggerated form, but without his discrimination and balance. The friends of Geta and all suspected of opposition were hunted out and put to death,¹⁶ including the eminent jurist, Papinian, who had refused to justify his murder of his brother.

Even more than his father he based his policies entirely on the support of

¹⁴ LXXVII, 16, 4. Cf. 16 and 17 for a characterization of Severus.

¹⁵ His original name was Julius Bassianus. His official name from 196 A.D. was Marcus Aurelius Antoninus. Caracalla, more correctly Caracallus, was a nickname from the long, hooded cloak of Gaul, which he introduced into Rome.

¹⁶ Twenty thousand men and women, imperial freedmen who had been with Geta, were slain, if we are to believe Dio, LXXVIII, 4.

the soldiers and the masses in open contempt of the propertied and intellectual classes. He raised the soldiers' pay from 500 to 750 denarii and declared to them, "I am one of you." "All the treasures are yours." "It is for you, and not myself, that I rule."¹⁷ In violation of the law that only a *triumphator* might enter Rome in military garb, he constantly wore the soldier's cloak in the city and did everything to suggest a régime of military despotism.

Caracalla lived in a comparatively rough and simple style and spent little in building, except to finish the baths begun by his father. Their imposing ruins still witness to the grandiose character of Roman civilization, even in its decline. But by his lavish expenditures to corrupt the soldiers he soon drained dry the full treasury left by Severus. He therefore instituted a deliberate policy of systematic mulcting of the propertied classes throughout the Empire, thereby both filling his treasury and weakening their power. The land and poll taxes of the working classes, on the other hand, were not increased. Dio has left us a detailed account of his income.¹⁸ The crown tax (*aurum coronarium*), an extraordinary tax on the rich, was repeatedly imposed. The five per cent tax on inheritances and manumissions, which also especially affected the well-to-do, was doubled. Extreme requisitions of foodstuffs and supplies, chiefly falling on the larger landholders who had the surplus, were frequently demanded. For these they received no pay, but were even sometimes forced to purchase supplies if not in stock. Ruinous capital levies were also imposed amounting to practical robbery of wealthy individuals or cities. The wholesale massacre of multitudes in Alexandria was probably due to the hostility of the propertied classes there resulting from Caracalla's having imposed the chief cost of the Parthian campaign upon them. Besides all this, he continued the vicious policy of debasing the coinage. Already by the time of Severus the silver in the denarius had been decreased by forty per cent. Not daring to reduce it still further, Caracalla shaved the weight of the denarius and minted a new double denarius, the *antoninianus*, weighing one-third less than two denarii. He also reduced the gold aureus to correspond. Thus another long step was taken on the path toward the bankruptcy of forty years later.

By his famous Antoninian Constitution of 212 A.D. Caracalla extended Roman citizenship to all the free provincials of the Empire, including all citizens of the Latin or tribal communities. Dio states positively that the grant was made to all the inhabitants of the Empire, but some fragments of the decree found in Egypt seem to exclude the *dediticii*, a term of uncertain application. On its wide or narrow interpretation depends Caracalla's motive, the scope of the decree, and hence its historic importance. If, as some interpret, the term refers only to captives of war on the imperial boundaries who were practically serfs, then the decree included all freemen. But if *dediticii* included most of the provincial peasantry and even the *humiliores* of the cities, the decree had far less significance. The preponderance of opinion, however, is that the grant applied to all freemen.

¹⁷ Dio, LXXVIII, 3, 2; 4, 1, Loeb Classical Library translation (E. Cary), by permission of the Harvard University Press. Of course, Dio, as Herodian and the *Historia Augusta*, gives the biased view of the upper classes as to Caracalla. ¹⁸ LXXVIII, 9.

Dio ascribes the decree to Caracalla's desire to include all his subjects under the inheritance tax that he had doubled, which seems plausible.¹⁹ By it he also greatly increased the number who were amenable to the city liturgies. Another motive may have been to secure uniformity in financial and judicial administration by abolishing all the old differences of class and status. In accord with his general leveling policy, Caracalla also probably sought to degrade the ruling classes of the cities by making Roman citizenship an empty distinction, while winning the allegiance of the lower classes by flattering them with the supposed honor. In any case, the decree was actually of little social or political value to anyone, since now all were subjects of a despot. A similar leveling measure was his grant of criminal jurisdiction over Roman citizens to all provincial governors, appeals from whose decisions were only very rarely permitted.

Whether or not Caracalla had any statesmanlike aim to follow the traditional liberal policy of his predecessors in expansion of Roman citizenship, the decree was simply the climax of the whole trend in the Roman state since Julius Caesar. It marks the end of an epoch and the beginning of another. The distinction between conquerors and conquered, rulers and subjects, was now ended. Henceforth, a citizen was merely an inhabitant of the Roman Empire.

Most of the reign of Caracalla was spent in campaigns away from Rome. In 213 he successfully repelled an invasion of the Alamanni²⁰ on the Raetian frontier and was hailed as *imperator* and Germanicus Maximus. He also completed the wall of Severus on the upper Danube and the Rhine, but his peace with the Germans was only temporary. Early in the next year he set out for the East, planning to conquer Parthia in imitation of his model, Alexander the Great. The Parthian problem had not been entirely settled by Severus, and internal troubles in Parthia made his expedition opportune. He had some preliminary successes. The vassal king of the Parthians in Armenia was deposed, and Armenia made a Roman province, but before he could undertake the final conquest of Parthia, he was assassinated in the spring of 217 A.D. by command of his praetorian prefect and steward of his private property, Marcus Opellius Macrinus.

3. MACRINUS AND ELAGABALUS (217-222 A.D.)

After some opposition Macrinus won the temporary support of the soldiers by a large donative and was gladly accepted by the senate, since anyone was preferable to the hated Caracalla. He assumed the names Severus and Antoninus and gave his young son the title of Caesar. According to Dio and other ancient sources, he was of Mauretanian origin and entered the army as a common soldier. He was the first princeps who had not senatorial rank and was the first of a long line of soldier emperors who gained their positions solely through the troops. In his brief rule, he showed some moderation and practical sense, but he lacked administrative ability and generalship and failed

¹⁹ LXXVIII, 9, 5. Aliens were exempt.

²⁰ These Germans appear here for the first time. They and the Goths soon became the most persistent enemies of Rome.

in military discipline. Though catering to the senate, he aroused its opposition by continuing the policy of appointing men of humble origin to high position. His legions, who were never really committed to him, he alienated also by abolishing the wage increases for raw recruits granted by Caracalla. Defeated by the Parthians, he purchased a disgraceful peace by returning all prisoners, giving presents amounting to 200,000,000 sesterces and yielding all but nominal control of Armenia to Parthia. Soon after, a group of his rebellious Syrian troops turned their allegiance to the fourteen-year-old Bassianus, a grand-nephew of Julia Domna, the Syrian wife of Septimius Severus. He was put forward by Julia Maesa, his grandmother, who persuaded the soldiers to desert Macrinus. As a supposed member of the House of Severus, being passed off as the son of Caracalla, he was hailed as *imperator* by the army, and Macrinus was defeated and later killed in flight.

As emperor, Bassianus assumed the name Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, as had most of the emperors since Commodus, but since he was a hereditary priest of the sun-god, revered at Emesa as Elagabalus (Heliogabalus), he is commonly known by this name. His only redeeming feature was his looks, for he is reputed to have been the handsomest of all the Caesars. His reign was one four-year debauch in which he associated with the basest favorites, raising them to the highest offices in the state, while men like the eminent jurist Ulpian were dismissed. Only cushions of rabbit fur and partridge down, costliest perfumes for his baths, golden coverlets, couches of solid silver, tunics of whole silk of woven gold, and such rare delicacies as cockscombs from living birds, peacocks' and partridges' tongues, and birds' brains were fit for such a moron prince. He sought to make his Syrian cult the supreme and universal religion of the Empire, inclusive of all others, and assumed the pompous title "most exalted priest of the Unconquered Sun-God, Elagabalus." While the attempt was abortive, it was an expression of the growing tide of Orientalism that was later to overwhelm the Empire.

Recognizing his utter incompetence, his clever grandmother, Julia Maesa, practically took over the administration, even entering into the discussions of the senate. To withstand the rising tide of opposition, she forced him to adopt his thirteen-year-old cousin, Alexander Severus, as Caesar. When he tried to rid himself of the boy, the praetorians compelled him to make Alexander his colleague, and they soon after murdered both the degenerate and his mother. His body was dragged through the streets and cast into the Tiber. To such a state had Rome and the Empire fallen under the "second Marcus Aurelius."

4. ALEXANDER SEVERUS (222-235 A.D.)

Alexander Severus was only in his fourteenth year at his accession. Though a youth of noble ideals and untouched by the evil influence of his degenerate cousin, he lacked personal force and was completely under the tutelage of his mother, Julia Mamaea, throughout his reign. Thus for thirteen years the Roman Empire was actually ruled by a woman, but fortunately one of strong mind and character. Their reign is represented in the literary sources as a

reaction from the military monarchy of Septimius Severus and his son to enlightened rule in co-operation with the senate.²¹

As regards their purpose, and to a limited degree, this was doubtless true. They appointed civilians rather than military officials in the higher administrative service. The senate was again permitted to pass upon all capital cases touching any of its members and probably regained the right to validate appointments to the chief imperial posts. The imperial *consilium* was reorganized into an imperial cabinet and an advisory legislative council, both of which were probably dominated by senators. Another important change was the extension of the privileges of the praetorian prefect. He presided in the senate as the representative of the emperor, and the prefecture now became a senatorial office, conferring senatorial rank upon its holder. Alexander also attempted to reform public evils, especially to restore discipline in the army, to reduce the lavish expenditure on the soldiers, and to win the allegiance of the civil population throughout the Empire by a policy of peace and enlightened government.

The extent of the reaction in actual achievement, however, should not be exaggerated. Whatever the purpose of Alexander and his mother, there was no real return to the Augustan dyarchy of senate and princeps, as is evident from Dio.²² While representing the emperor as dependent upon the senate rather than the army and as sharing the government with it in accord with the old fiction, he recognizes that this is only tactful window-dressing and that it is a sufficient honor to the senate if it has only the appearance of supremacy. Though senators were given the preferred position by Alexander, the imperial bureaucracy of equestrians certainly continued as before. He also selected his friends for official positions and chose them independently of the senate. In the *consilium*, also, his praetorian prefect, Ulpian, and the other eminent equestrian jurist, Paulus, were probably the determining influence. The dignity of the senate was restored, but hardly its power.

On the whole, the actual administration of Alexander necessarily continued the military monarchy of Septimius. While somewhat in abeyance for a time, the sinister domination of the insubordinate army in civil affairs continued practically unabated. In 228 A.D. the praetorian prefect, Ulpian, was murdered by his mutinous soldiers before the very eyes of Alexander, and their resentment at the severe discipline of Dio Cassius forced him to send this great official to honorable retirement in his native Bithynia to finish his *History*.

Alexander and Mamaea sought to win the support of the Roman populace by liberal additions to the regular doles, special largesses (*congiaria*), shows, and enlargement of the public baths. To secure regular supplies for the capital, another step toward government regimentation of the citizenship was taken. All artisans and traders who provided any of the daily needs of Rome were organized into *collegia* under the direct supervision of the state. As a slight compensation for such practically compulsory service, they received immunity

²¹ Cf. Herodian and Lampridius in the *Historia Augusta*.

²² LII, 14-40. These imaginary addresses of Agrippa and Maecenas to Augustus are generally believed to reflect the imperial ideals of administration during the reign of Alexander Severus.

from taxes, besides certain other privileges. While such a tendency was already evident in the second century,²⁸ this measure of Alexander Severus was a long step toward a definite policy of general government control of trade and industry. Like a great beast, the army devoured the resources of the state and deprived the urban population, even in Rome, of necessary supplies, driving the state more and more to the regimentation of labor and even to systematic robbery in taxation, liturgies, and requisitions.

Alexander continued the constructive benevolence of the second-century emperors by increasing the endowments for the *alimenta*, remitting taxes to holders for improvement of lands and subsidizing teachers and scholars. Imperial legislation on elementary schools favored the poorer classes. The first half of the third century is notable for the spread of primary education throughout the Roman world, in small villages as well as in cities, as Ulpian testifies. The many remains of literary papyri used as texts in the small village schools of Egypt are also witness to the practical universality of elementary education. For the first time, in the reign of Alexander Severus, do we hear village elementary schoolteachers mentioned as a special class. The financial means for such constructive policies were partly provided by rigid economies at court and by duties on luxuries. But they also added to the already pressing burden of taxation resulting from the Severan military policies. In addition, the currency was further debased, by which the gold aureus was reduced to half its original weight.

A crisis in Alexander's reign began about 230 A.D. through the breakdown of the old Parthian monarchy and the rise of a new Persian Sassanid dynasty on its ruins. The new monarchy was strongly supported by a revival of national patriotism and the old Persian religion of Zarathustra. Its founder, Artaxerxes (Ardashir), considered himself the successor of the old Persian Achaemenids and dreamed of regaining their power from the Aegean to the Indus. In 231 A.D. he drove the Roman troops out of Mesopotamia and penetrated into Capadocia and Syria. The following year Alexander and his mother took the field in person against him, in alliance with the Armenian king. Despite the heavy losses and defeats of Roman armies in Babylonia, the campaign in the north recovered Mesopotamia and secured a temporary peace for four years, so that on his return to Rome late in the year 233 Alexander celebrated a triumph. But he failed to secure the hearty allegiance of his Illyrian troops.

The final crisis and outbreak of military anarchy came, however, when the Alamanni and other German tribes threatened Illyria and even northern Italy while Alexander was still in the East. Accompanied by his mother, he left for the northern frontier to take command against the invaders. But, unable to quell the growing spirit of mutiny in his troops, he was forced to resort to the dangerous policy of buying off the Germans with subsidies, thereby losing any vestige of loyalty in the legions. They were weary of a general who was afraid to fight and who was dominated by a woman and set up the Thracian peasant, C. Julius Maximinus, a staff officer of enormous physical strength and soldierly qualities. Amid the military insubordination, the emperor and his mother were

²⁸ Cf. Chapters Twenty-two, Sec. IV, 3, and Twenty-three, Sec. II, 6 and 8.

deserted even by their Eastern troops and slain.²⁴ Thus began a half century of military anarchy and foreign invasions during which the Empire seemed at times to be on the verge of complete dissolution.

IV. MILITARY ANARCHY AND FOREIGN INVASION

(235-285 A.D.)

The half century of internal chaos and foreign crises following the death of Alexander Severus was the direct heritage from the military policies of Septimius and his successors. They had sown to the wind, and the Empire now reaped the whirlwind. It was a period of repeated civil wars, during which at least eighteen Augusti ruled (twenty-six, counting their colleagues), only one of whom escaped violent death. In addition were numerous usurpers and pretenders, and some who ruled large sections of the Empire for considerable periods as practically independent sovereigns. Almost all these "barrack emperors" were nominees, and later victims, of the soldiers. Many of them had military talent and sought to restore order, but their efforts were largely nullified by rival leaders and treachery in their own troops. Through the Severan policy of recruiting the troops chiefly from rural villages of the less-developed sections of the Empire, the army was now almost entirely composed of peasants who had nothing in common with the population of the more civilized provinces. Pampered also by Septimius and his successors as their chief support against the city bourgeoisie, the soldiers lost all sense of loyalty either to the Empire or to the generals, and in Plato's figure turned from sheep dogs of the fold to ravening wolves whose sole end was the plunder of the state for their own enrichment.²⁵

I. MAXIMINUS AND THE GORDIANS (235-243 A.D.)

C. Julius Maximinus, the Thracian peasant who supplanted Alexander Severus, was the first "barbarian" to sit on the throne of the Caesars, the first emperor who rose from the ranks as a common soldier, and the first who never came to Rome. His only recommendation was his enormous brute strength and military prowess, through which arose many tall tales about him.²⁶ His accession marks a further stage in the development of military government begun by Septimius and was the prelude to a long series of local revolutions that reached their climax in the disintegration of the Empire under Gallienus.

Maximinus succeeded in restoring temporary order on the Rhine and

²⁴ On his German campaign and death, cf. Herodian, VI, 7.

²⁵ The sources for the period are extremely limited, since Dio ends at 229 and Herodian at 238, though the latter is especially good for the years 235-238. We must depend on the meager and untrustworthy *Historia Augusta* and brief, late epitomes, such as those of the Latin Eutropius and Aurelius Victor, and the Greek Zosimus, Zonaras, and others. Aside from coins, the documentary material is also limited, as might be expected from such a chaotic period. But a speech addressed to the emperor Philip by a Sophist does to some degree for the third century what the speech of Aelius Aristides did for the second.

²⁶ According to these, he was eight and one-half feet tall, drank nearly eight gallons of wine, and ate forty pounds of meat daily, could crumble stones in his hand and break a horse's leg with his heel. He was of Gothic and Alan (Asiatic nomad) descent.

Danube and assumed the titles Sarmaticus and Dacicus Maximus. But the bitter opposition of the senate as the representative of the better element in the Empire made his three years a veritable reign of terror. He removed all officers of senatorial rank from the army and instituted a policy of systematic extermination of the propertied classes and wholesale plunder of private and even public property of the cities. The victims were replaced by common soldiers who had recently risen to equestrian status. Such terrorism had occurred before in the civil wars of the Republic and Empire under Domitian, Septimius, and Caracalla, but only sporadically against the higher classes. Now, it was systematic and against the whole intellectual and middle classes as well as nobles. In the vivid language of Herodian: "Every day, one might see men who were yesterday the wealthiest, today, beggars."²⁷

Finally, in 238 A.D., the army in Africa set up as emperor their octogenarian proconsul, M. Antonius Gordianus, a noble whom the senate gladly accepted. His was to be only an honorary title, the actual control being in the hands of a senatorial committee of twenty, though his first act was to nominate his son, Gordianus II, as coregent. Only the provinces of Dacia, Pannonia, and Spain remained loyal to Maximinus, but the next month both Gordians were slain in a battle with the governor of Numidia, who supported Maximinus. The time had passed when the civil population could maintain an emperor in power without the support of the soldiers.

Persistent in its purpose, however, the senate then set up two members of its own committee, M. Clodius Pupienus and D. Caelius Balbinus as joint emperors, the former to have the civil and the latter the military authority. As coequals their position is unique in Roman constitutional history, and the senate may have had the consulship for its model. Maximinus, who had previously ignored the senate as negligible, now marched from Pannonia on Italy. But the Italians and even the praetorians, with something of the old patriotic spirit, rallied to the defense of the senate against the "barbarians," and the army of Maximinus saved itself by murdering him.

The supremacy of the senate was short-lived, however, for the praetorians now seized the reins, killing its two leaders and forcing it to accept the thirteen-year-old grandson of Gordian I, Gordian III, as emperor. Fortunately he chose as regent a capable general, C. Furius Timesitheus, who was virtually ruler for about three years. In the year 242 the two set out for war against Persia. After repelling the Goths in Moesia, they decisively defeated the Persians the next year, recovering Antioch and other cities. But the death of Timesitheus soon after left the youthful emperor to the tender mercies of his prefect, Julius Verus Philippus, of Arab origin, who aroused a mutiny in the army that supplanted him.

2. PHILIP AND DECIUS (244-251 A.D.)

The first act of Philip was to arrange a peace with the Persian king by which the previous Roman frontiers were restored. Consequently, he assumed the title Persicus Maximus. Leaving his brother as governor of Mesopotamia, he

²⁷ The entire passage, VII, 3, 3 ff., deserves reading.

then departed for Rome. He succeeded in conciliating the senate and held his throne, despite the military anarchy, long enough to celebrate (248 A.D.) with elaborate games and largesses the thousandth anniversary of Rome's founding. Though an Arab usurper, his administration was honest and capable, and he ruled under constitutional form. He protected Italy, and the numerous milestones in many remoter parts of the Empire are evidence of his constructive interest in the welfare of the outlying provinces. He was broadly tolerant of the Christians, though the Eusebian tradition that he was the first Christian emperor is without foundation. But he could not permanently escape the military treachery which had now become a deep-seated disease. Numerous ambitious pretenders arose, but C. Trajanus Decius, the commander of the Dacian troops, was hailed as emperor against his will. He had won prestige by forcing the Goths out of Roman territory and restoring order in the army. Still loyal to Philip, he sent him a letter promising to retire on his arrival at Rome. But Philip, suspecting treachery, offered battle near Verona in 249 A.D., and both he and his son were defeated and slain.

During his brief reign Decius proved himself a wise administrator. As a means of unifying the state and restoring the imperial greatness of Rome, he sought to revive the state religion, hence his decree requiring the Christians to conform.²⁸ By his march on Rome he left the lower Danubian frontier largely unprotected, so that the whole Balkan peninsula, especially Thrace, was devastated by hordes of Gothic and other German invaders, who were hard pressed by the nomadic Alans from Asia. Decius and his son, also Augustus, marched against them in 251, but they were defeated and slain near Adamklissi in the Dobrudja. The defeat was largely due to the treachery of his legate, the governor of the two Moesias, C. Trebonianus Gallus, whose troops rewarded him by proclaiming him emperor.

3. FROM GALLUS TO GALLIENUS (251-268 A.D.)

The seventeen years from the accession of Gallus to the death of Gallienus are the darkest period of the whole dark third century. Military anarchy reached its climax; the frontier defenses were destroyed; barbarians ravaged Italy, Gaul, Britain, Spain, Africa, and the Danubian lands; the Persians regained Mesopotamia and Syria, and even took an emperor captive; pirates infested the seas; a destructive earthquake afflicted Italy and the East; and a devastating plague, lasting for fifteen years, decimated the population of the cities.²⁹ The disintegration was complete. Large sections in the West and the East became practically independent of the Empire, and upstart emperors arose in almost every province. At the death of Gallienus, only Italy, Africa, Illyricum, Achaia, Asia Minor, and Egypt were really controlled by the imperial government, and the two latter were held with difficulty against Persia and the ambitious Zenobia of Palmyra. The resources of the Empire were exhausted, and the treasury was bankrupt.

²⁸ In his persecution, Fabian, the Roman bishop, was put to death (250), and no successor was appointed for fifteen months. The church father, Origen, escaped with his life, but died soon after of his sufferings.

²⁹ Five thousand a day are said to have died at Rome when the plague was at its height.

The causes of the collapse were both military and economic. By local recruiting from the peasant villages and the policy of eliminating the upper class from the leadership, the army had become barbarized and its whole personnel distinctly lowered. The growing necessity of catering to its every demand since Septimius Severus had robbed it of all discipline and utterly demoralized it as an efficient imperial defense made it a menace both to its leaders and to the state. Moreover, its numbers were not sufficient for both frontier defense and a mobile army to meet the crisis of invasion.

The main cause was economic, however, the deep-seated disease of devouring the public and private resources of the Empire at their source without replacing them. Many decades of wasteful expenditures by emperors for personal extravagance, largesses to the populace, bribes to the soldiers, and costly civil and foreign wars had their disastrous effects. Also, the disturbance of business and inflation of prices by repeated debasements of the currency, the wholesale looting and extermination of the propertied classes by Maximinus, and, above all, the ever-increasing burden of liturgies, taxes, requisitions, and compulsory services since Septimius had brought the state to the verge of bankruptcy. The final evil was the disastrous plague which decimated whole cities and villages and made them an easy prey to the invading barbarians.

Gallus and Aemilianus (251-253 A.D.)

The first act of Gallus was to make a shameful treaty with the Goths, who were permitted to take home their booty and prisoners and were promised an annual tribute into the bargain. On his arrival in Rome he made both the younger son of Decius and his own son Augusti, so that there were now three emperors. But his successor in the Moesian command, M. Aemilius Aemilianus, a native of Mauretania, after expelling the Goths from Moesia in 253 A.D., marched on Italy and defeated and killed Gallus at Interamna. His victory was to no purpose, however, for he was soon lynched by his insubordinate soldiers, disgusted at his overtures to the senate. Thus was each slayer slain by his successor, who himself had still briefer respite.

Valerian and Gallienus (253-268 A.D.)

The next choice of the army was P. Licinius Valerianus (253), the last of the old nobility to hold the imperial throne. He made his son, P. Licinius Gallienus, Augustus and gave him command on the Rhine frontier. Valerian was gladly accepted by the senate and succeeded in restoring some degree of discipline in the troops, but he faced the complete disorganization of the imperial defenses and foreign invasions on every frontier. The barbarians, who had been filtering into the Empire since the days of Alexander Severus, now swept across the boundaries as a flood and found the Roman defenses everywhere unprepared. Alamanni threatened Italy and ravaged the upper Danubian provinces, while swarms of Goths seized control of the lower Danube frontier. On the lower Rhine the Franks, a new tribe, swept over the Roman boundaries, devastating Lower Germany and Gaul in 256. Gallienus saved Italy from the in-

vaders by decisively defeating them at Milan and returned to safeguard the Rhine frontier.

Meanwhile, Valerian, appointing his son coregent and ruler of the West to oppose the invaders on the Rhine and Danube, left Rome for the East to oppose the Persian king, who had taken over Mesopotamia and Syria and had replaced the Armenian client king by one of his own choice. Valerian regained Antioch in 258, but was forced by a defeat near Edessa to make peace with the enemy. The next year he was treacherously seized as a captive by the Persian king, Shapur, and ended his life as a royal prisoner, a most severe blow to Roman prestige. Valerian would have made a worthy ruler in peace, but was essentially unfitted to meet such an extreme military crisis.³⁰ The following year the Persian king swept over all Syria unopposed, took Antioch and Tarsus, and even made a swift raid through Asia Minor to the Sea of Marmora. But he was prevented from a complete conquest of Asia Minor by an unforeseen enemy.

Palmyra

The new power was the city-kingdom of Palmyra, which rose to swift but brief power during the next twenty years. The caravan city, situated in a large oasis of the northern Arabian Desert, was the chief trade center of the transcontinental route from Damascus to Seleucia. During the second century, therefore, it grew very prosperous and received special privileges from the Roman emperors in return for protecting the caravans by its mounted archers. It was permitted to levy transit dues on all traffic, was made a Roman colony, and its leading citizens, partly Romanized Arabs, were granted the franchise. Its interests were therefore with Rome and against Persia, since the rise of Persia had disrupted the transcontinental traffic.³¹

In the year 260, therefore, the Palmyrene chief, Odaenathus, stopped the Persian invasion of Asia Minor by a counterraid in Mesopotamia, inflicting a severe defeat on the Persian forces. Four years later he regained Mesopotamia for the Romans and almost took Ctesiphon. He also supported Gallienus against two disloyal Roman officials in the East who sought to replace him while he was busy in the West opposing the German invaders and Postumus in Gaul. He regained Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt for Gallienus, thus theoretically restoring unity to the Empire. In reality, however, Odaenathus was undisputed master of the East, though he posed as the protector of Roman interests against Persia. As a reward for his services, Gallienus gave him the title *dux Orientis* and appointed him chief commander of the Roman forces on the Euphrates frontier and in Egypt.

With the sudden death of Odaenathus in 266-267 A.D., however, the growing power of Palmyra threatened Rome. The real ruler was Zenobia, his widow, who acted as regent for his infant son. She was a highly cultivated, high-spirited woman of exceptional ability, with the indomitable energy of a Cleo-

³⁰ In 257 A.D. Valerian undertook to force acceptance of the state religion on the Christians in two edicts, the first requiring the higher clergy to sacrifice to the state gods, the second including all laymen in official positions. Among the martyrs was St. Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage.

³¹ On Palmyra, cf. Chapter Twenty-four, Sec. V, 2, and M. I. Rostovtzeff, *Caravan Cities*, Chaps. iv, v.

patra.³² Gallienus avoided admitting her independence by recognizing her son only as king of Palmyra under Rome. But he was powerless to interfere, so that Zenobia and her son were actually independent masters of the whole Roman East except Asia Minor and Egypt.

Meanwhile Gallienus was busy in the West. He had successfully repelled the Alamanni and secured the territory between the Rhine and the Danube in 256-57 A.D. But while he was suppressing a pretender to the throne in Pannonia, the Franks established themselves firmly in central Gaul and north-eastern Spain, the pirate Saxons from the north Frisian and Jutish coasts now for the first time crossed the English Channel into Britain, and the Goths made new incursions in the Balkans.

The "Thirty Tyrants" and the Imperium Galliarum

Theoretically, the capture of Valerian by the Persians in 259 had left Gallienus as sole emperor, but actually it was the signal for the rise of nearly a score of pretenders in different provinces, traditionally known as the "thirty tyrants."³³ Most of these were easily disposed of by their own troops. But M. Latinus Postumus, by turning back the Franks and Alamanni from Gaul, established himself firmly there as a practically independent ruler and also won the allegiance of the governors of Spain and Britain. He issued coins with the legends *Victoria Germanica Restitutor Orbis* and *Roma Aeterna*, established a Gallic senate, and ruled as an independent monarch. He made no claim to the whole Empire, however, but only to the *imperium Galliarum*, since he was kept busy during most of his rule repelling the Franks from his realm. Because of the ravages of the plague and the necessity of holding the Danube frontier and Italy against the barbarian hordes, Gallienus never attempted effective intervention against Postumus. But he never recognized his "Empire of the Gauls," considering him a rebel usurper. Postumus therefore retained his power in Gaul for ten years, until he was assassinated by his own troops in 268 A.D. During these years of disintegration the Alamanni made incursions into the Rhone Valley, and another horde ravaged Italy as far as Ravenna. The invaders were finally repelled by Gallienus and his generals, however, who annihilated one division at Milan and another near Aix, where Marius had destroyed the Teutons centuries before.

The plague, invasions, and political dissolution in the West gave opportunity for repeated ravages of the Goths and Hernii in the Balkans. They besieged Thessalonica in 267, and one band was turned back from Athens only by the generalship of the Athenian historian Dexippus, the last of the Marathonian men. Other bands raided Thrace, took Byzantium, and, sailing across the Bosphorus, ravaged most of the cities of Bithynia. Their ships also joined the pirate fleets that played havoc with the commerce of the Aegean in these years of anarchy. Finally, however, a Roman general defeated them on the sea, and Gallienus repelled them from the Balkans. But now he was the victim of

³² For a highly colored picture of Zenobia, her beauty and other qualities, cf. *Historia Augusta, The Thirty Pretenders*, XXX.

³³ The *Historia Augusta* has thirty-two, but the number of actual pretenders was only eighteen, and only nine of these arose during the reign of Gallienus.

military insubordination and treachery in his own troops. His general, M. Acilius Aureolus, sent to oppose Postumus in Gaul, marched on Rome instead. Gallienus hastened home, arriving in time to besiege him in Milan, but was treacherously murdered by his own staff, who probably preferred a rough soldier-emperor from their own country to a civilized man of Hellenic sympathies.

The period of Gallienus was probably as dark and anarchic as any in Roman history. At his death in 268 he left the Empire badly disintegrated. In the West was the Gallic Empire under the successor of Postumus; in the East ruled Zenobia as an independent princess. The Alamanni were threatening Italy; the Goths were ready for fresh incursions on the lower Danube. Aureolus, the pretender, held Milan, the treasury was empty, and the currency worthless. But the chief blame for the conditions cannot be laid to Gallienus. The venomous hate of his biographer in the *Historia Augusta* and the other Latin epitomists was undeserved, and their scandalous stories of his alleged debaucheries are baseless.³⁴ In a brutal age, he was a man of good education, refined tastes, and Hellenic sympathies. He was tolerant to the Christians and a friend of Plotinus, the founder of Neo-Platonism. Though not like the rough, military rulers of the age, he must be credited with having turned the tide and prepared the way for the recovery of frontiers and the end of anarchy. His first ten years were marked by a wise and vigorous policy. It is only in the last years that he became apathetic, which is not strange, considering the terrible ravages of the plague, the prevalent military anarchy, the repeated invasions on all fronts, and exhaustion of the Empire's resources. With such a dark outlook as few Roman emperors ever had to face, the bitter accusations of criminal negligence imputed to him by his Latin critics carry little weight.

There was, however, sufficient reason for the bitter hostility of the senate against him, which the biographers probably reflect, for his reign marks an important milestone in Roman military and administrative development toward the autocracy of Diocletian. He carried further the policy of Septimius Severus of using equestrian prefects in preference to senatorial *legati* in military commands, and procurators in place of senatorial governors. To keep the Empire from control of the nobility, he deprived the senate of the right of appointment to the legions or any authority in the army. As a result, there was now nothing to prevent the common soldier from rising from centurion to command of a legion, so that the full democratization of the army was accomplished.

4. FROM CLAUDIUS TO CARINUS (268-285 A.D.):

THE EMPIRE RESTORED

Fortunately, the two Illyrian conspirators against Gallienus, M. Aurelius Claudius and L. Domitius Aurelianus, who succeeded him in turn were strong military leaders, capable of winning victories and inspiring the respect of their troops. Each had risen from the ranks to distinguished service under Gal-

³⁴ No Greek writer mentions them.

lienus. They restored the boundaries and did much to check the reign of military anarchy. Yet the soldiers must still be placated by an alleged promise of a donative of twenty aurei apiece. They first chose Claudius,⁸⁵ perhaps because he was a less harsh disciplinarian. He soon disposed of Aureolus at Milan and freed Italy from another barbarian menace. He also regained the loyalty of Spain and part of Narbonese Gaul from the "Gallic Empire." But in 269 A.D. he faced the worst German invasion of the century. Advancing with their families and baggage trains loaded with all their possessions, they crossed the Danube, 320,000 strong, determined to settle permanently in the Balkans. They sailed with 2,000 ships into the Mediterranean even as far as Cyprus. But they met their match in Claudius. He cut to pieces their two chief divisions, while his navy successfully ended their sea-raiding. Many met their fate as they retreated through the snows of the Balkan Mountains. The remnant surrendered and were settled as *coloni* in the Danubian lands.

Soon after his great victory, however, Claudius "Gothicus" was stricken by the plague. His troops in Italy chose his brother to succeed him, but readily disposed of him on hearing that the Balkan army had set up Aurelian, the efficient associate of Claudius. Aurelian (270-275) first recovered the Danubian frontiers. But he evacuated Dacia, calling on all Roman garrisons and any civilians who wished to retire from the province. This was, perhaps, wise, in view of the Empire's depleted resources, since it had failed as a defense outpost for the Danubian provinces, and to hold it meant a considerable lengthening of the Danubian frontier. On his arrival in Rome the senate decreed him all the usual powers. While there he closed the mint at Rome to stop frauds and theft in connection with the coinage, a measure which was later to cause grave disturbance. In 271 the Alamanni made a fourth raid into Italy beyond Ariminum and at first defeated Aurelian, but the invaders were later annihilated. A sign of the times was Aurelian's enclosure of Rome with a wall twelve miles in circumference, twelve feet thick, and twenty feet high, begun in 271 and completed under his successor. At intervals were rectangular towers to hold heavy anti-siege implements. The wall was not intended to stand a siege, however, as is evident from its eighteen gates.

Aurelian was now free to deal with Queen Zenobia, whom he had previously treated diplomatically, including her son's portrait with his own on the imperial coins. Meanwhile, Zenobia had contracted an alliance with Persia and was openly hostile to Rome, having substituted for Aurelian's portrait on the coins her own name and effigy, while her son had assumed the title of Augustus. She had also gained control of Egypt, except Alexandria, and a large part of Asia Minor. In 272 Aurelian undertook to restore the East to his allegiance. He speedily recovered Asia Minor and decisively defeated her famous archers and mailed cavalry at Emesa, thereby regaining Syria. He then boldly crossed the 120 miles of desert and laid siege to Palmyra itself. Zenobia was foiled in her attempt to escape, and the city surrendered, but as soon as Aurelian had departed for Rome, the Roman garrison was massacred.

⁸⁵ The senate rejoiced at the death of Gallienus and began to attack his relations and friends, but Claudius ordered the persecutions stopped and his deification.

Aurelian speedily returned and completely destroyed the famous capital so that its very ruins were not discovered until the eighteenth century. Thus was Roman authority thoroughly re-established in the East. The conqueror assumed the title Parthicus Maximus, but he did not yet undertake to reconquer the parts of Mesopotamia and Armenia held by Persia.

Aurelian now hastened west to overthrow the tottering empire of the Gauls. Since the assassination of Postumus in 268 it had steadily declined, and Spain and Narbonese Gaul had recognized the Roman emperor. Its present ruler, Tetricus, had transferred his capital from Augusta Treverorum to Burdigala (Bordeaux). Realizing his weak position, he now secretly negotiated with Aurelian, and in the battle with the Gallic army at Châlons, Aurelian was completely victorious. With the submission of Gaul and Britain in 274, the unity of the Empire was also restored in the West, and Aurelian assumed the proud title of "Restorer of the World" (*restitutor orbis*). Not for a half century had the Roman world been so free from internal rebellion or foreign invasion. On his return to Rome he staged a magnificent triumph, in which Tetricus and the proud Zenobia were the two chief exhibits. But with remarkable clemency he endowed the deposed queen with a handsome pension and appointed Tetricus to a lucrative civil office.

During his brief reign in Rome Aurelian also proved himself to be a wise administrator in his reform of the coinage. Gallienus had put into circulation a mass of practically worthless billon which would not even pass current for its face value. With the collapse of the debased silver, the gold coinage had also become irregular and unstable, prices soared, trade was undermined, and speculation was rife. Suppressing the debased currency, he issued a new imperial coinage, but was handicapped by a lack of silver. Though his new antoniniani were only four per cent fine, they were distinctly superior to those of Gallienus, and their silver coating gave them at least the right appearance. Five thousand sesterces of his new coinage were standardized as equal to one pound of gold. The use of the smaller unit instead of the denarius reflects the growing poverty in the Empire and the sharp decline in the value of money. Aurelian used the influx of new wealth to the imperial treasury from the restored Eastern provinces and plunder of Palmyra to restore financial confidence and relieve distress in the city. He established a daily instead of monthly free dole, which consisted of two pounds of bread to all regular citizens, securing it henceforth by hereditary right, and added free pork, oil, and salt at regular intervals. The assertion of his biographer that he also added wine is probably unfounded, though he may have lowered the price. Thus Aurelian's reign marks another milestone in the growth of state paternalism and control over the lives of its citizens.

Aurelian conceived of himself as an absolute autocrat, and some of his coins bore the legend *dominus et deus natus* ("born lord and god"). He re-established in Rome the official cult of the unconquered sun-god, *Sol Invictus*, previously introduced by Elagabalus, and built a temple to his cult. Sun worship was in accord with the syncretistic tendency in the third century toward inclusion of all local cults in the worship of a universal deity. Like Decius,

Aurelian saw also its value as a means of political unification, since the imperial cult which had long served this purpose had lost greatly during the years of anarchy. The worship of the Unconquered Sun inspired imperial loyalty, besides satisfying the emotional needs, as the old state religion did not. That Aurelian aimed to establish the divine right of the emperor as an incarnation of the divine spirit, however, as is sometimes asserted, is improbable. Unlike Elagabalus, he apparently made no attempt to identify himself with the god.

In 275, when he was preparing for a final campaign against the Persians, Aurelian was assassinated by a few of his disgruntled officers, and Rome was robbed of one of her greatest emperors. Despite his rigid discipline, his murder caused a revulsion of feeling in the troops, who were weary of the military anarchy. They turned the choice of a successor to the senate, who nominated their own leader, M. Claudius Tacitus. His brief reign is interpreted in senatorial tradition and by some moderns as a reaction to senatorial government, but this was true only in a very limited sense. In any case, the senate now included promoted military officers who had risen from the ranks, so that it was no longer antagonistic to the military régime. Despite his seventy-five years, Tacitus took the field against the invading Goths and Alans in Asia Minor and decisively defeated them. The old spirit of anarchy cropped out again in the troops, however, who assassinated him in 276 and set up his brother, M. Annius Florianus. But he met the same fate as soon as they learned that the other armies had chosen M. Aurelius Probus (276-282). This time the troops chose more wisely than the senate, for Probus was another Illyrian soldier like Claudius and Aurelian. While Tacitus was engaged in the East, a serious incursion of Alamanni and Franks had overrun Gaul, capturing seventy towns, the most devastating of all the German invasions of Gaul. Probus finally succeeded in repelling them and established the Rhine and upper Danube frontier. He was also called upon to suppress rebellions in Asia Minor and Egypt, and a pretender in Gaul. On every hand, he vigorously upheld the authority of the Empire. With peace restored, he then undertook a much-needed program of agricultural reconstruction. But his strict discipline of the soldiers by keeping them at work on public projects caused his murder at the hands of the Pannonian troops, who replaced him by another Illyrian general of great ability, M. Aurelius Carus.

Appointing his elder son, Carinus, as coruler and Augustus with full charge in the West, Carus undertook the long-delayed campaign against the Persians. The complete success of his expedition places him with Trajan and Septimius Severus. He had captured Ctesiphon and was about to press on to the complete conquest of Persia when he mysteriously fell by a "lightning stroke" in 283, probably by his disaffected troops.

His younger son, Numerianus, already coemperor, assumed command of the army, but on the return through Asia Minor he also met his fate at the hands of his praetorian prefect. The next choice of the army, C. Aurelius Diocletianus, assumed the imperial title late in the year 284. In a stubborn battle on the banks of the Margus (Morava) in Moesia, Carinus, who still

held control of the West, was defeated and slain by his own officers. Thus Diocletian was sole emperor in 285, and the fifty years of military anarchy was ended. With his reign begins a new epoch in Roman history.

5. SUMMARY

We have traced in some detail the confused political history of the third century of the Empire from Commodus to Carinus. It was a century of decline and disintegration of the old Roman society in its every aspect. We shall analyze the civilization of the whole period in a later chapter, but a summary of the chief political and economic tendencies and conditions as revealed in the previous narrative may be helpful at this point. Many of these characteristics were not new, but were rather culminations of tendencies inherent in the Empire from the days of its founder.

The primary characteristic was military monarchy. Behind the Augustan constitutional façade from the first as the real source of power of the princeps, it was now frankly recognized. Henceforth the emperors were openly military autocrats; almost all of them were soldiers, nominated by soldiers; they looked to the army rather than to the senate and Roman people or the municipal bourgeoisie for their support. Many were of equestrian origin, and several had risen from the ranks. Like their troops, many of them were natives of the provinces, often of the less-developed provinces or even of alien race, Syrian, Moorish, Thracian, Arabian, or Illyrian. Some were rough barbarians, as Macrinus and Maximinus, most of them spent little time in Rome, and one was never in Rome at all. But of almost all of them it may safely be said that their military quality was above the average.

From the time of Septimius Severus, therefore, they deliberately sought to displace the old middle- and upper-class officialdom of Rome and the municipalities by a military bureaucracy composed increasingly of men who had risen from the ranks. As we have seen, the senatorial and older equestrian bureaucracies largely disappeared, either savagely exterminated by the violent terrorism of a Maximinus or gradually displaced by the more deliberately systematic method of Septimius Severus, Gallienus, and Aurelian. Senators were excluded from the military leadership, and imperial equestrian procurators were preferred as provincial governors. The military authority of the governor was also separated from the civil, to secure the emperors against conspiracy.

Many of these newer military and civil officials were raised to senatorial status by their office and later became members of the senate, so that the senate, like the army, was gradually democratized and barbarized. The result was a new landed aristocracy mostly composed of ex-soldiers and military officials, many of lowly origin, raised on the ruins of the old senatorial and municipal landed aristocracies of the earlier Empire. Of course, the latter did not entirely disappear. The middle class survived and there were still some wealthy men in the Italian and provincial cities. But they had lost their old prestige, privilege, and civic spirit. The partnership of the imperial government, with the self-governing municipal bourgeoisie in the age of enlightened monarchy, was

ended. They were still used by the government, not as free citizens, however, but as regimented servants of the state.⁸⁶

Another outstanding characteristic of the century was military anarchy and civil war. The imperial succession was utterly chaotic. The choice was twice referred to the senate at the beginning and close of the period in the case of Pertinax and Tacitus. Several emperors also pursued the old policy of constituting a son as colleague or Augustus. The senate also continued to ratify the nominations by the army. But its function was now purely nominal, and the dominant factor in the succession was raw military force. In the ninety-two years from the death of Commodus to the death of Carinus, at least twenty-two regularly constituted Augusti ruled, not counting their colleagues, besides the large number of usurpers and pretenders. If we except the thirty-one years of the two Severi and the fifteen of Valerian-Gallienus, there were eighteen emperors in forty-six years. All but two of the emperors met a violent death at the hands either of their own soldiers or the troops of a rival. Once the Empire was knocked down to the highest bidder, and for several years (under Elagabalus and Alexander Severus) it was practically ruled by two Syrian women. During the seventeen years from Gallus to the death of Gallienus, pretenders (the so-called "thirty tyrants") sprang up in almost every province, and for extended periods large sections of the Empire (Gaul, Spain, Britain, and the East) were practically independent of the central government. The internal chaos, foreign invasion, and baffling problems incident to political and economic breakdown caused the emperors to feel increasingly that the Empire was too vast a burden for one man, and already the tendency was arising toward the division of function between two Augusti, one in the East and one in the West.

A basic cause of the disintegration, as also of the long failure to check the barbarians effectively, despite strong leaders, was the prevailing military anarchy, which, in turn, was the result of several factors. As we have seen, Septimius Severus, being a usurper, was forced to look for his support from his troops. His central policy was, therefore, of necessity to "enrich the soldiers" and pamper them, draining the wealth of the Empire in the attempt to sate their actually insatiable demands. His successors were obliged, probably against their will, to pursue the same policy, since the army had become the supreme force in the state, to which they owed their high position and on whose whim depended its continuance or even their very life. Thus the pampered soldiery became an ever greater incubus on the civil authority and an ever more ruinous financial burden on the resources of the Empire. But the effect was especially destructive of the morale of the soldiers themselves. It made them indolent, inefficient, lawless, insubordinate, class conscious, and utterly devoid of loyalty to the state or even to the emperor whom they had previously set up. Assassination of emperors by their troops was so common as to be almost the normal order. The sole interest of the troops was their own enrichment.

Military anarchy and inefficiency, however, were also greatly enhanced by

⁸⁶ For a further analysis of this development, *cf.* Chapter Twenty-nine.

the deliberate policy of the emperors to democratize the army, so as to free themselves from the influence of the upper classes. This tendency was already in process in the previous century, as we have seen, but the third-century emperors, especially Septimius Severus, Gallienus, and Aurelian, made it a settled policy. They excluded senators from official positions, giving the preference to equestrians or men of still lower social position. Since centurions could rise to equestrian status, the highest military and civil positions, even that of emperor itself, were open to any common, unlettered soldier of alien race and low origin like Macrinus or Maximinus. The result was a general lowering of the personnel of military and civil service.

The inefficiency and disloyalty were all the greater, since the army itself had become almost entirely a conscript army of the poorer and more ignorant peasants recruited from the least-civilized sections of the Empire. They were narrowly provincial and devoid of any community interest with the city bourgeoisie or with the inhabitants of the more settled provinces. This rebellious and insubordinate spirit of rough frontiersmen was stimulated by the necessary pampering policy of the emperors. The data do not warrant a belief in a conscious policy of the rulers to win the support of the rural peasantry against the urban and cultivated classes as a basic factor in the civil wars.⁸⁷ Nevertheless, their creation of a peasant army and democratization of the military and civil officialdom helped to make the peasant troops class conscious as an army and opposed to the preponderance of the old privileged classes.

Another reason for the inefficiency of the army was its decentralization in the frontier camps. As a result, it had become immobile and unfit for a striking force. Decentralization also made for loose discipline and for local rather than national feeling. The soldiers might even live with their families in the neighboring civil settlement instead of the camp. They avoided drill and resented being used on public works when not on campaigns. More than one emperor met his fate because of his attempt to discipline his soldiers by keeping them busy. The army was also not large enough for both a garrison and an efficient mobile force, especially in times of foreign invasion.

From the reign of Gallienus, the supreme question was how to save the Empire from dissolution. The emperors, therefore, made a definite effort to reform the army. They sought to create a strong, mobile force concentrated near the imperial residence, including a powerful cavalry force under the emperor's direct command. The provincial armies were gradually displaced and finally became only units of local militia. A special military aristocracy was developed, bound to the emperor by personal allegiance. The conscript army of peasants was gradually replaced by a carefully selected mercenary force drawn from the least-civilized Roman subjects, Illyrians, Moors, Thracians, Arabs, and Britons, and even from Germans and Sarmatians. The masses of the population gradually ceased to serve in the army, but paid dearly for its support. Conscription became increasingly limited to the sons of settled soldiers, many of whom were originally barbarian captives; they manned the frontier forts and formed the ranks of the provincial armies.

⁸⁷ For this interpretation, cf. M. I. Rostovtzeff, *op. cit.*, Chaps. x, xi.

These reforms were a significant factor in the final victory of the great Illyrian emperors over the barbarians. It was a desperate remedy for the disease, however, for thereafter the army was primarily not Roman, nor did it represent the interests of the emperor, the state, or the Roman people. It was an alien, hereditary caste, supported by the people of the Empire to fight its foreign battles. Yet its leaders now formed the ruling aristocracy of the Empire and furnished its administrative personnel, even the emperors themselves. As they became Romanized, they were recruited from the strongest and most warlike of the military caste.

The disintegration of the Empire during the fifty years from the death of Alexander Severus to the accession of Diocletian was due, not only to military anarchy, but to the terrible plague that ravaged the Empire for fifteen years in the middle of the century and the repeated crises on the frontiers. The menace of the new, virile Persian Empire on the east and the repeated waves of barbarian invaders, Goths, Franks, Vandals, Alamanni, Saxons, Alans, and Berbers, breaking over the frontier defenses on the Rhine, Danube, and elsewhere, and ravaging whole provinces, would have been critical enough even in the strongest days of the Empire. Dacia and the right bank of the Rhine were lost forever to Rome, and Aurelian's fortification of Rome by a wall foreshadowed the approach of the Medieval Age. Even by the great Illyrian emperors, the barbarians were only checked. In less than a century they would break over all barriers and gradually enter into the heritage of decadent Rome.

The third century is also marked by the growing impoverishment of the Empire, the decline of trade and of agricultural and industrial production, and financial chaos from repeated debasements of the currency. In the face of this decline, the vastly increased cost of meeting the insatiable demands of a pampered army, together with the enormous added expense of the civil and foreign wars, was an increasingly crushing burden. As a result, the state was forced to eat up its none too extensive capital, draining the imperial resources at their source by a systematic impoverishment of the propertied and producing classes. The growing impoverishment and decline of civic initiative at Rome, with their resulting rapid expansion of state paternalism, are well reflected in Aurelian's establishing of the daily instead of monthly dole of free loaves to all citizens, supplemented by stated distributions of oil, pork, and salt.

All this meant an added burden to taxation, however, and the growing state paternalism, as always, meant increasing state regimentation. We have seen this tendency already developing in the prosperous second century, but it received an enormous impetus through the plague, invasions, and internal anarchy of the third. It was in this chaotic period especially that the citizenship of the Empire in city and country, corporations and individuals alike, were being rapidly reduced to the status of hereditary servants of the state. In the frantic effort of the imperial government to keep the creaking machinery of production and transport going so as to supply the needs of the capital and the army, such a result was almost inevitable. At the close of the century, as we shall see, the principle of compulsory labor and state requisi-

tions therefore became regular in all phases of government for all classes of citizens. The peasant farmer was bound to his land and its cultivation, the artisan to his craft, the soldier to his military service, the shipowner and merchant to the service of state transport, and the municipal bourgeoisie to raise the full quota of taxes for their district or to pay it themselves, by which they were gradually ruined.

This tendency was not new in the third century, but under the Antonines and even the Severi it had been sporadic and for special emergencies. Now, reduced to a deadly system, it became the normal social order on which the whole vast structure of the state depended. It bore as heavily on peasants as on urban aristocracy. The repeated frantic appeals of the peasants in all parts of the Empire to the emperors for relief are not primarily indicative of imperial support of the country population against the urban classes. They reflect, rather, the growing oppression of the peasantry by the emperor's own exacting officials and soldiers. The relentless system of taxation, requisition, and compulsory labor was administered by an army of military bureaucrats who instituted a system of permanent terrorism. Everywhere were these military police in countless numbers, the ubiquitous personal agents of the emperors, to spy out any remotest case of attempted strike or evasion of taxes, liturgies, or compulsory work. It is this above all else that constitutes the tragedy of the Roman Empire in the third century, the reduction of individual citizens of all classes to the compulsory service of the state. The long process of expansion of the Roman franchise reached its climax early in the period with Caracalla's edict of universal citizenship in 212 A.D., but it was paralleled by the rapid submergence of the citizens of all classes to slavish subjects of a relentless military despotism.³⁸

The loss of individual initiative and freedom in this chaotic century was accompanied by a swift decline in creative culture, in literature, art, and industrial technique, as also by a rapid growth of mysticism, superstition, and Oriental influence, both in religion and in other phases of civilization. But of this decline, which was already in process from the time of Hadrian, and was therefore only partially the outgrowth of the loss of individual freedom, we shall treat in a later chapter.

Despite the conditions above summarized, the Roman Empire still had extensive resources, reserve strength, and prestige from its long and brilliant past. It could recover a semblance of internal order, repel the invaders, and restore unity under strong leaders, such as the great Illyrian emperors. With its army and political system thoroughly reorganized under Diocletian and Constantine, it could look forward to another century of power before the German barbarians should permanently break over its boundaries. Even thereafter its Western section lingered on in slow decadence for another century, and in the East, secure in its new impregnable capital on the Bosphorus, proudly continued the Greco-Roman power and culture for another millennium.

³⁸ Herodian (for the period of Maximinus and the Gordians), supplemented by the Latin biographers who have drawn from an unknown Greek source, and the speech of an educated contemporary to Philip the Arab, contrasting his milder rule with the oppressive past, present a clear picture of conditions. The records of appeals of the peasants for relief are an added pathetic witness. For further detail on the whole subject, *cf.* Chapter Twenty-nine.

Chapter Twenty-eight

THE REORGANIZATION OF THE EMPIRE BY DIOCLETIAN AND CONSTANTINE AND THE TRIUMPH OF ORIENTAL DESPOTISM AND CHRISTIANITY (285-337 A.D.)¹

The period of Diocletian and Constantine is epochal in the history of the Roman Empire, partly because of their ability and innovations, but chiefly because most of the great tendencies whose gradual development we have traced through three centuries culminated in their day.² Like the Augustan era, also, it was a time of necessary reconstruction and reorganization after a century of civil war and decay. The shattered fabric of the state must be rebuilt and the basis laid for an enduring peace, free from both internal anarchy and foreign attack.

I. DIOCLETIAN (285-305 A.D.)

Like several of his predecessors, Diocletian was an Illyrian soldier of lowly origin who had risen from the ranks to the imperial throne by the force of his character and ability. He was not notable for the great military leadership of Claudius, Aurelian, and Probus, and had held no high command. But like Augustus and Vespasian, he possessed exceptional energy and capacity for political reorganization and administration. No branch of internal administration was left untouched by him, and though sometimes hasty, his measures were always honest and disinterested. He was no adventurer, ambitious for power, as is evident from his later voluntary abdication. Like the Augustan, his reforms reveal no striking originality, however. They merely fixed in permanent legal form the tendencies which had been in process during the third century and before. With his reorganization, the Augustan Principate, which had long existed only in name, ceased, and undisguised autocracy began. As Augustus founded the régime of constitutional monarchy, so Diocletian

¹ The extant written sources for Diocletian are extremely meager, only the bare epitomes of Eutropius and Aurelius Victor, and the Christian rhetorician, Lactantius (*On the Deaths of the Persecutors*), who loathed him. Other sources are lost, but legal materials, inscriptions, and coins furnish valuable data. For Constantine, the case is better. Besides the above, *A Biography of Constantine* and the *Ecclesiastical History* by the fourth-century historian, Eusebius, Zosimus II, written from the pagan standpoint, Panegyrics, extensive Constantinian laws from the Theodosian Code. The Christian writers are, of course, especially favorable to him as the first Christian emperor. Lactantius was tutor to his son.

² For a list of these, cf. Chapter Eighteen (beginning).

founded the régime of Oriental absolutism, which Julius Caesar had probably envisaged. But it was the natural culmination of three centuries of Roman imperial development, and was probably necessary if the Empire was to be saved from complete breakdown through military anarchy. Diocletian had to act quickly. To him the matter of supreme moment was to save the state from disruption, and he chose the most simple, direct, and primitive methods to realize his aim.

I. DIVISION OF ADMINISTRATION AND REGULATION OF THE SUCCESSION

Recognizing his own shortcomings as a general and convinced that the military and administrative burden was now too great for one man, in view of the generally unsettled condition of the Empire, his first act was to appoint a Caesar, M. Aurelius Valerius Maximianus, a rough Illyrian soldier, but a general of tried ability. The next year he was reluctantly granted the title of Augustus, since his troops had hailed him as emperor in Gaul. In accord with his principle of divine absolutism, Diocletian assumed the title of Jovius and called his colleague *Herculius*, which proves that he still considered himself the supreme ruler.

After eight years of experience had proved the insufficiency of this arrangement to repel invasions and prevent revolts, he made a still further division of military and administrative functions. Two younger Illyrian generals were nominated as Caesars, C. Galerius under himself and C. Flavius Valerius Constantius (Constantius Chlorus) under Maximianus. To cement the bond between the Augusti and Caesars he adopted Galerius, giving him his daughter in marriage, and had Maximianus do the same for Constantius. Galerius was of humble birth and was unfairly portrayed by Lactantius as a monster of vice because of his severe persecution of the Christians. Like Maximian, he was a man of action and a good general. Constantius, on the other hand, was of noble origin and stood high in Christian tradition as the father of the first Christian emperor. He was a great general and a wise statesman who had respect for culture and humanity and was notable for his loyalty, mild government, and humane fiscal policy. Had he lived more than a year after Diocletian, he might have succeeded him as supreme ruler.

The division of imperial power was on a territorial basis. Reserving Thrace, the Asiatic provinces, and Egypt for himself, with residence at Nicomedia, Diocletian assigned Italy to the Alps, Africa, and Spain to his colleague, Maximian, with residence at Milan (later Ravenna). Galerius, residing at Sirmium, was over the Danubian district and the Balkan peninsula, except Thrace, and Constantius, with his capital at Trèves, ruled the Western provinces. The selection of the four capitals instead of Rome was to meet the practical necessity for the rulers to be near the more dangerous frontiers. Diocletian visited Rome only once, at the time of his Jubilee, the last year of his reign. The demotion of the proud capital was just another long step in the process of leveling Rome and Italy to the provinces and of ending any pretense of senatorial partnership in the rule. But the imperial metropolis still continued to

hold a privileged status, and its citizens still enjoyed their free bread and circuses at the expense of the state.

While the primary aim of the quadruple division of power was military and administrative efficiency, its further object was to provide an orderly and autonomous method of succession which would obviate the danger of civil war. Diocletian and Maximian, as Augusti and joint emperors, were nominally equal, and each Caesar was heir apparent to his respective Augustus. The Caesars had full imperial authority in their realm, however, had the right of coinage, and bore the same honorary titles as the Augusti. According to the plan, each Augustus must have had previous experience as a Caesar. On their accession, they would appoint new Caesars and would abdicate in their favor after twenty years of rule. These in turn would appoint new Caesars on their accession, thereby theoretically assuring an automatic method of succession.

The arrangement was by no means an entire innovation, for, since Augustus, the nominee of the princeps for the succession had been associated with the emperor in the rule, and M. Aurelius and Verus were actually joint rulers. Caesar had also long been the traditional title for the heir apparent. The device was in no sense an actual, but only an administrative, division of the Empire, since the Caesars were subject to authority of the Augusti and imperial edicts bore the names of all four rulers. Diocletian, by his personal force and wise diplomacy, also retained a supreme supervision over the whole. As a method of succession, the plan proved a dismal failure. It worked well during his reign, however, for, while keeping final control of imperial policies, he thereby gained the loyal co-operation of three of the ablest generals to hold the frontiers of the Empire intact. But it revealed a trend toward supremacy of the Orient, which was consummated by Constantine.

2. THE RESTORATION OF INTERNAL UNITY AND THE FRONTIERS

From a military standpoint the wisdom of Diocletian's division of power was fully justified, since all were kept busy for several years restoring the unity of the Empire and defending its frontiers. Internal revolts were successfully quelled and led to no general civil war. In Egypt an adventurer, Achilleus, who assumed the imperial title, was soon crushed by Diocletian (296), as was also a rebellion of the tax-burdened peasants (Bagaudae) in northern Gaul by Maximian (285-286). A more formidable opponent was Carausius, the commander of the Channel fleet to protect the Gallic coast from North Sea pirates. Through his naval power he proclaimed himself "Augustus" and set up a local empire in Britain, with its port on the Continent at Boulogne (286). Unable to cope with his fleet, Maxentius was obliged to make formal peace with him in 290. But six years later his successor, Allectus, was forced to yield to Constantius, and the *imperium Britanniarum* collapsed.

In frontier defense Diocletian's colleagues acquitted themselves well. Maximian, and later, Constantius, repelled invasions of the Alamanni and Franks in Gaul. Maximian quelled a revolt of the barbarians in Africa, and Galerius crushed invasions on the lower Danube. In the East Diocletian had secured from the Persian king the cession of Armenia and Mesopotamia to Rome

(284). But twelve years later his successor, Narses, undertook to regain them. Diocletian entrusted the conduct of war to Galerius, who, after a serious initial defeat near Carrhae, annihilated the Persian army in Armenia. Diocletian did not pursue the Roman success further against Persia, but he re-established Roman suzerainty in Armenia and advanced the Roman frontier of Mesopotamia to the upper Tigris. The breach between Persia and Armenia was later strengthened by the conversion of Armenia's client king, Tiridates III, to Christianity. In all sections of the Empire the frontier defenses were restored and strengthened. Thus, for the time, the Empire was safe from major invasions, and Rome had a breathing space after the half century of foreign crises.³

3. MILITARY REFORMS

Much of Diocletian's success was due, not only to his colleagues, but also to his military reforms. Like his other measures, however, they were not innovations. He merely extended and systematized the reforms of Gallienus and Aurelian. We have considered the weaknesses of the Roman military machine in the third century. Gallienus had begun the separation of the military from the civil power of provincial governors, and Aurelian had introduced a new spirit of discipline and had developed an efficient cavalry force almost independent of the infantry. The total military force had also been raised from 300,000 to 400,000.

Diocletian extended and systematized these reforms and increased the number of legions from forty to about sixty. This meant a total force of about 500,000, counting a probably proportionate increase of the auxiliaries. Each province had at least one or at most two legions as a garrison force, or border militia (*limitanei*). Thus was established a more efficient system of frontier defense. Diocletian also began the creation of a powerful mobile force for field service, the *comitatenses*, thereby making it no longer necessary to deplete the garrisons in time of crisis. In accord with Aurelian's policy, he developed still further an efficient cavalry, independent of the infantry. In line with the practice begun by Gallienus, he also divided still more sharply the military from the civil authority in the provinces, making the division permanent and universal. He initiated no fundamental change in the military system or in the methods of recruiting, however. This was reserved for Constantine.

For recruits to the provincial armies Diocletian and his successors depended largely upon the conscript, hereditary frontiersmen, mostly Germans and Sarmatians, who held land with obligation to military service, and upon the sons of soldiers or veterans. These were supplemented by voluntary and compulsory enlistment from the more warlike sections, such as Thrace, Syria, Britain, and the Mauretaniums, or from Germans, who were even sometimes admitted in their own companies and under their own chiefs. As compared with the armies of the early Empire, therefore, the personnel of the volunteers

³ With the exception of Dacia, no extensive territory had been given up during the civil wars. Part of the right bank of the Rhine had been lost, the south frontiers in Mauretania and Africa were somewhat narrower, and Egypt now extended only to the first cataract. But the Roman borders were advanced in Mesopotamia. Cf. map opposite p. 334.

had distinctly deteriorated. The conscript soldiers were also now less carefully selected, since they were supplied by the owners of the estates, who naturally sent the least efficient of their tenants. The plague and civil wars of the third century and the oppressive taxation sapped the vitality of the citizen population. Thus the armies lacked the old capacity for strict discipline. Their armor was not so heavy, nor did they train with the same thoroughness. Yet their discipline and organization under Diocletian were far better than during the period of military anarchy, and the army was distinctly superior to its barbarian opponents. As in other vocations, the officers, like the soldiers, increasingly became a hereditary class, forming a new military aristocracy.

4. PROVINCIAL REORGANIZATION

To secure more efficient administration, and especially to prevent dangerous concentration of power in the hands of one man, Diocletian made the separation of the civil from the military authority in the provinces almost universal. With the same motive, all but the smallest provinces were subdivided, so that the number was raised to 101, and Italy was included in the general scheme. Some governors were still of the senatorial order, but all were direct appointees of the emperor, and Constantine finally abolished the distinction between the senatorial and equestrian orders. To keep central control of the provincial governors, the provinces, including Italy to the Alps, were grouped into thirteen dioceses administered by *vicarii* (vicars), who were subordinate to the praetorian prefects, the representatives of the four rulers. These prefects commanded the forces of the Empire, while still retaining their judicial powers. Unlike the governors, therefore, they had both military and civil authority. Their power was effectively checked by the vicars, however, and appeals from the decisions of the vicars went, not to them, but directly to the emperor.*

5. ORIENTAL ABSOLUTISM AND RELIGIOUS POLICY

As we have seen, with Diocletian the Augustan Principate ends even in a formal sense and the era of frank Oriental absolutism begins. In accord with this policy, he sought to emphasize the sacred and supernatural nature of his authority, as seen in his assumption of the title *Jovius*. He seldom appeared in public, and a mysterious halo of sanctity developed about his person. When he did appear on state occasions, he wore costly jewels, and Constantine began wearing a diadem, the distinctive mark of Oriental potentates. An elaborate code of court ceremonial and etiquette was developed on the Persian model, and any subject approaching the emperor must prostrate himself in true Oriental fashion and kiss the hem of his garment (*proskynesis*). All this was aided by the withdrawal of the chief capital from Rome to the East, the center of the old senatorial tradition. Diocletian's motive, however, was not a greed for personal power, as is evident from his later voluntary abdication, but the highest administrative efficiency. No public inscription or document calls him or his colleagues god, and the terms *Jovius* and *Herculius* probably imply no more than that the rulers are the earthly representatives of these gods.

* The old Praetorian Guard had been reduced by Diocletian to a mere garrison force at Rome.

His religious policy was in full accord with his absolutism. Like Decius and Aurelius, he saw the political advantage of a vital state religion. He therefore made a determined effort to resuscitate the imperial cult, which had lost prestige in the anarchy of the third century. But in seeming contradiction to the monotheistic tendency of the times, he sought to breathe new life into the old polytheisms and built many temples to Greek, Oriental, and other gods. In fact, however, Jupiter Capitolinus was supreme as the center of the state religion, and all the gods were but phases of the Invincible Sun.

Diocletian's centralizing aim made him hostile to the newer creeds. He published an edict against Manichaeism (a mixture of Persian, Christian, and Neo-Platonic elements). In his later years (302-304), impelled perhaps by the zealous Galerius, he also instituted harsh measures for the suppression of Christianity, which had enjoyed comparative immunity for nearly a half century, since Valerian.⁵

6. DIOCLETIAN'S BUILDING

Diocletian's attempt to restore the state religion and his love of magnificence made his reign notable for its splendid building, especially in the East and in Rome. His capital in Nicomedia was beautified by elaborate palaces for his wife and daughter, basilicas, a circus, and baths. Milan and Carthage were also honored, but especially Rome, perhaps in compensation for its loss of political importance. After the fire of 284 Diocletian repaired the damaged buildings on a grand scale and built a new *Curia* in the Forum, whose ruins are still standing. His most magnificent and extensive building in Rome was his Baths, whose ruins now stand opposite the principal railroad station at Rome. In other cities also he erected many public buildings, especially at Salonica and Spalato (Salona or Split), where he built an enormous palace similar to a fortress to which he retired. In the grounds of the palace were included vestibules, porches, courtyards, a temple to Jupiter, and his mausoleum, where he was later buried.

7. ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL POLICIES

As we have seen, the monetary system and finance had suffered collapse through the repeated debasements of the currency. The effects were not then as disastrous as later, since Rome had no such complex system of industry and finance, and not such a large proportion of the population with fixed incomes. Wealth was then more generally invested in real property, and the owners could commute their rents for payments in kind. Yet the monetary chaos had liquidated the state "alimentary" system and other endowments, forced from circulation the honest copper coinage of the senate and Eastern municipalities, and caused utter maladjustment in prices and wages. Diocletian attempted to relieve the situation by establishing a new monetary standard. His new silver coin (*argenteus*) was equivalent to the older *denarius* in value and held a ratio to his new gold unit of 1,200 to 1. For small units he still used the silver-coated bronze coins. But their assigned value with relation to gold and silver was set

⁵ For further details on the persecution under Diocletian and Galerius in the East and the final edict of toleration by the latter in 311, cf. Chapter Thirty, Sec. II, 3.

too high for their intrinsic worth, and business refused to accept them at face value. Thus prices continued to rise, and the attempted reform met with little success.⁶

A still greater failure was his attempt to stabilize economic conditions by his famous Edict of 301 fixing a set scale of prices and wages. The Edict provided a uniform price for each commodity and for every form of labor or professional service, deviation from which was punishable by death. Not absolute prices but only maximums were established, however, and the Edict was probably applicable only to the East and especially applied to the army. The law was largely a dead letter, since it disregarded all variations in supply and demand in different sections, the differences between wholesale and retail prices, and the diverse quality of the products. Yet Diocletian's honest attempt to stop profiteering resulting from the sudden shifts in money values deserves some respect. Like many such modern policies based on the naïve belief in the omnipotence of the state, however, it proved not only futile but disastrous.⁷

Diocletian also undertook to reduce imperial taxation to a more organized system. The right of requisitioning foodstuffs or transport facilities had been a recognized function of government for centuries, but its application had been sporadic and the state had recognized its obligation to pay and to have some regard to reason in the amounts imposed. In the anarchy of the third century, however, extraordinary taxes and requisitions of all sorts by the military leaders became the established order, with utter disregard either to reasonable limits or to future compensation. These extreme impositions and the general financial insecurity caused gradual impoverishment, disorganization of trade, and decline of production, with a consequent enormous decrease in the regular revenue from indirect taxes.

Despite this marked decline in revenues, public expenditures had enormously increased, and these had again been raised to unprecedented heights by Diocletian's reorganization of the army, vast multiplication of the official bureaucracy, and elaborate building projects throughout the East and in Rome. The situation was aggravated by the very irregularity and lack of system in assessment and collection of taxes resulting from the preceding period of anarchy.

Some immediate solution of this pressing problem of public revenue was absolutely necessary to save the state from bankruptcy and collapse, and Diocletian undertook it with his usual energy but lack of creative initiative. To return to the system of the second century and adapt the assessments and methods of collection to the diverse conditions would have been the wiser course, but in the face of critical necessity it would have been too slow and difficult. The diversified system of individual taxation in the early Empire was entirely too complex for the primitive minds of Diocletian and his successors. The easier course was to follow the rule of thumb, accept the evil tax methods

⁶ On Roman coinage in the third century, cf. Mattingly, *Roman Coins*, pp. 126 ff., 217 ff. On the evil economic effects of the depreciation, cf. T. Frank, *Economic History of Rome*, 2d ed., Chap. xxii.

⁷ For an extensive extract from the extant fragments of his tariff, with comments, cf. F. F. Abbott, *The Common People of Ancient Rome*, Chap. v. Relative to America today, the prices and wages seem remarkably low. The unit used is the copper denarius introduced by Diocletian approximately equal to two-fifths of a cent.

inherited from the preceding period of anarchy, simplify and systematize them, and clamp them upon all classes everywhere regardless of utterly diverse economic or social conditions, and this Diocletian did. The irregular emergency measures were stiffened into a pitiless inflexible system.

The chaotic currency values of the third century had necessitated a return to the more primitive method of payments in kind. Repeated requisitions of foodstuffs, raw materials, and industrial products for Rome, the army, and the state officials (the *annona*) had been imposed. Diocletian stabilized these into a permanent tax, not a fixed amount on which the taxpayer could reckon, but set by the emperor each year according to estimated needs. Furthermore, not one of the old taxes was abolished, and irregular and emergency requisitions of produce and labor were by no means ended. Still worse, Diocletian's very resort to a more simple and primitive tax system meant that no attempt was made to adjust assessments according to ability to pay. Previously they had varied widely in different provinces and sections, based on the location, the type of land, and the financial capacity of the cities and other taxable units. Largely ignoring such delicate differences, Diocletian roughly divided all cultivated and planted lands, including those in Italy, into formal taxable units (*juga*), all assessed alike with too little regard for differences in actual production.⁸ The supreme and immediate thing was to secure sufficient state revenue by the simplest and most direct method, regardless of the interest or welfare of the taxpayer. Reassessments were made once in five (later fifteen) years, but this was insufficient to avoid all kinds of injustices.

To secure a steady state revenue from these land units (*juga*), however, labor must also be regimented. The disorders of the third century had produced an acute labor problem, due to the repeated shifting of cultivators in search of better conditions. Diocletian, therefore, resorted to the principle, already hoary in the ancient East, that each man belongs in a particular place and vocation (*origo* or *idia*). Heretofore, even in the Oriental monarchies, it had applied only to serfs. But now, as the simplest method of regularizing the yield of the *juga*, Diocletian universalized it by making his taxable units a combination of *juga* and *capita* (heads), land units and cultivators.⁹ Every cultivator must declare his land and the *capita* on it, including animals, and was then responsible for its proper cultivation and the tax, wherever he was. Thus the land and its cultivator, or holder, became a single unit, the old personal freedom of movement was lost, and he was bound to the land and to his work as had been the serf in Egypt or Asia Minor for ages past.

This vicious, primitive system of tax assessment was not limited to the peasant cultivators, however. It was extended to all classes of the city population and to the payment of money and industrial products as well.¹⁰ Artisans, shop owners, and traders were assessed a uniform tax and must furnish to the city and state a specified amount of their products at a stated price. The large landed proprietors must pay a special money tax on their estates (*collatio*

⁸ The units were not necessarily the same size, however.

⁹ This was not the same as the old land and poll tax.

¹⁰ Though the town dwellers who had no landed property had a somewhat privileged position, except in the East under Galerius and after, none really escaped from the state's financial net.

glebalis) except as they could evade it, and the propertied classes, merchants, and cities must pay the traditional "crown gold" every five years and extra fees on the accession of a new emperor. Diocletian's reorganization also brought practically no relief from emergency taxes, such as compulsory work and deliveries of draft cattle for transport. Everywhere the pernicious conditions of taxation inherited from the anarchic third century were simplified, systematized, and hardened into a system of rigid and brutal state compulsion.

The mode of collection was as primitive and enslaving as the method of assessment. As we have seen in a previous chapter, from the time of Hadrian the imperial policy had been to insure against tax arrears from the cities by placing the responsibility for collection squarely upon the well-to-do members of the community. This was at first especially true of special requisitions and supplementary taxes for emergencies. During the chaos of the third century, when the provision of transport and supplies for the armies became especially difficult, the pressure of the state on the municipal bourgeoisie became increasingly heavy and their responsibility was regulated with even greater precision. With their gradual impoverishment and depletion in number, the state compulsion grew more relentless and violent.

Here, as elsewhere, with no creative initiative, Diocletian followed the line of least resistance, systematizing his immediate evil inheritance from the third century. Instead of creatively seeking to restore individual and municipal initiative and prosperity, he fixed into a permanent system the previous tendency to make the municipal middle class mere hereditary unpaid servants of the state. The responsibility for tax collection was no longer limited to the magistrates and council (*decuriones*) in the municipalities, but to the whole body of *curiales* which now included all who had even 25 *jugera* (15 acres) or more of land. The responsibility for tax collection bore heavily on each member of the class, as also on the whole body as a single unit. Like the peasant cultivators, they were held to the strictest reckoning for the full quota of tax for their district. The principle of *origo* was also carried over to them, and they too must stay in their native place and on their job, and pass it on by heredity to their descendants. The chance of escape or evasion of the crushing responsibility was slight, for swarms of relentless imperial officials were always on hand to hold them to their state-enforced task. Thus the municipal middle class, once the very backbone of the Empire's prosperity, was impoverished and destroyed. At the same time, their obligation to enforce collection made them all the more merciless in their exactions of the tax from the peasant cultivators, thereby arousing the bitter antagonism of this class against them as their immediate oppressor. The system was especially inequitable, since the great estate-holders were immune from this responsibility and probably often paid less than their due share.

While saving the state from collapse for a time, the reforms of Diocletian were distinctly at the cost of the welfare of the citizens. They brought no revival of prosperity, but an added incubus to the economic life of the Empire by immobilizing it and enslaving it to the omnipotent state. Violence, compulsion, and organized robbery were increasingly the accepted mode of state pro-

cedure, and the most intelligent and economically important class in the Empire, the city bourgeoisie, were being gradually annihilated. Economic initiative was killed at its source for every class. There was practically no escape from the relentless system, for each was fixed in his place and hereditary vocation, and even if he should manage to shift to another class, as from peasant to *curialis*, his lot was even worse. Life had become a monotonous drudgery. Whether for peasant, artisan, *curialis*, or soldier, there was little left but hopeless resignation to his lot. All were being gradually impoverished, lands were being depopulated, economic life was becoming more primitive, trade in necessities within and between provinces was decaying for lack of active demand, and all economic life stagnated.¹¹

Meanwhile, the general leveling of the population by universal citizenship, impoverishment, and state compulsion brought no true democratization. The equestrian class was rapidly disappearing, and one might rise from the ranks to the highest position in the army. But all were alike bound to compulsory service to the totalitarian state, ever under the surveillance of a ubiquitous officialdom. Yet it was not even a democracy of slaves, for the whole population was rigidly divided into hereditary castes and vocations, and there was no legal way of shifting from one to another. Even as practical serfs of the state, their equality was only relative. An aristocracy of service was arising in the new official class which later became an aristocracy of birth and education. The old orders were destroyed, but new ones were arising on the ruins of the old by prostituting state office to selfish ends of robbery and corruption. Inequality in the distribution of property was as glaring as ever, and though the great estate-holders were slaves to the state just as the rest, they in turn were slave-masters over their peasant cultivators.

It would be utterly unfair to Diocletian and his successors, however, to blame them for their lack of creative initiative, or especially to accuse them of deliberately aiming to reduce the whole population of the Empire to slavery. They were children of an age whose creative power was largely spent. Diocletian's world was gradually returning to more primitive conditions, and he himself was a rough-and-ready man who had risen from the most lowly circumstances in one of the less-civilized parts of the Empire. His heritage was over half a century of civil war, barbarian invasion, and social chaos, in the midst of which he had grown up. The demand for reconstruction seemed too pressing for any gradual measures, and, in any event, the evil heritage from the past century had made such a policy well-nigh impossible. Diocletian conceived it to be his first duty to save the state from complete collapse at all costs and chose the simplest and most direct road to his goal regardless of the welfare of the individual citizen. To him the state was everything, the individual nothing. The citizen existed only for the state, which was henceforth a giant machine for organized violence and brute compulsion. He accomplished his purpose and gave the Empire a new lease of life. But he did it at a terrible cost that was scarcely worth the sacrifice. His attempt to reform taxation and reorganize the

¹¹ Of course a modern interpreter is in danger of exaggerating the evil effects in a far more simple economic system such as then existed.

administration for greater efficiency enormously increased the cost of government at the very time when economic production was on the decline, thereby contributing eventually to the very disintegration that he sought to avoid. He stabilized the very evils which he was undertaking to remedy and made the individual who is the supreme end a mere means to the absolutism of the state. Yet history seems to teach us nothing, and the same primitive rule of thumb methods are again rapidly becoming general to save modern states from collapse. The very evils that the dictators would remedy are being made permanent by their primitive measures. Organized violence and brute compulsion in the name of government are again the accepted order of the day, and individual citizens of all classes are again being enslaved to the omnipotent authority of the all-embracing state. Such crude policies, if continuously pursued, must produce the same bitter fruits as they did in the later Roman Empire, only more fatal, in proportion to the far greater delicacy and complexity of the whole fabric of our contemporary civilization.

8. ABDICATION

Late in the year 303 Diocletian and Maximian came to Rome for the Jubilee celebrating the twentieth anniversary of his rule. Being old and ill, he desired to retire, but immediate abdication was not practicable, since Maximian was not an apt administrator and Galerius was too famous as a general to be willing to serve as Caesar under him. Finally, however, Diocletian formally abdicated in 305 and persuaded Maximian much against his will to follow his example, while Galerius and Constantius became Augusti. Instead of advancing their respective sons, Maxentius and Constantine, as Caesars, however, they passed over both as too young and appointed two friends of Galerius, Flavius Severus and Maximinus Daia. Since no one was now supreme, the Roman Empire was virtually divided into two rival sovereignties. Diocletian retired to his new palace at Spalato (Salona) in Dalmatia, where he spent his declining years in gardening. Maximian withdrew, under protest, to an estate in Lucania. Upon their abdication Constantius administered Spain, Gaul, and Britain; his Caesar, Severus, Africa, Italy, and Pannonia; Galerius, the Balkan provinces and Asia Minor; and Maximinus the other Asiatic provinces and Egypt. Though technically Constantius was the senior Augustus, Galerius held the distinct advantage both in territory and in the fact that both new Caesars were his own nominees.

II. CONSTANTINE I, THE GREAT

(306-337 A.D.)

I. CIVIL WAR (305-310 A.D.)

Like many paper schemes, Diocletian's automatic machinery for settling the imperial succession failed to function when faced with hard realities. He had not figured on individual ambitions and the dynastic loyalty of the soldiers. The result was another civil war. Constantius acquiesced in the choice of Caesar, but the soldiers idolized his son, Constantine, and the next year, on the

death of his father, acclaimed him as his successor. Galerius was therefore forced to recognize him as Caesar.

The same year, Maxentius, son of Maximian, seized the opportune moment to have himself proclaimed Caesar when Galerius had aroused opposition at Rome by subjecting the city to taxation and abolishing its praetorian camp. Espousing his son's cause, Maximian emerged from his involuntary retirement and defeated and later killed Severus, whom Galerius had made Augustus. He also conferred the title of Augustus on Maxentius and Constantine and gave to the latter his daughter in marriage. Failing to overthrow Maxentius, Galerius appealed to Diocletian to resume the imperial authority and end the rivalries. This he refused to do, but finally persuaded Maximian, who had now turned against his son, to retire again to private life. Licinius, whom Galerius had made a Caesar in place of Severus, was now made Augustus, while Maximinus Daia and Constantine were each called Son of Augustus, which honor they scornfully ignored. Thus by 310 A.D., five years after Diocletian's abdication, there were five Augusti (including Maxentius) and no Caesars, Galerius, Maxentius, Licinius, Maximinus Daia, and Constantine.

The Rival Augusti (310-312 A.D.)

Within a year the situation was somewhat simplified by the defeat and death of Maximian, who had again emerged from retirement to oppose Constantine, and the death of Galerius. As a final act of recantation before his death in 311, he joined Constantine and Licinius in issuing an edict of toleration which ended his harsh persecutions of the Christians, thereby admitting failure. On his death Maximinus Daia seized Asia Minor and Pontus from Licinius, so that the Empire was now divided under four mutually jealous Augusti as follows: Britain, Gaul, and Raetia under Constantine; Spain, Italy, and Africa under Maxentius; the Danubian provinces under Licinius; and the East, including Egypt, under Maximinus, who was also technically senior Augustus.

The balance was broken by the attempt of Maxentius to add Raetia, which brought him into conflict with Constantine. The result was an alliance of Constantine and Licinius against Maxentius and Maximinus. Owing to the danger of German invasions in Gaul, Constantine could spare only 40,000 men to face about four times that number of Maxentius. But his troops were far superior in quality and discipline, and their general was a man of outstanding ability. He advanced swiftly across the Alps into Italy, took Milan and other towns in Transpadane Gaul, and routed the army of Maxentius at Verona. With only 25,000 troops he then boldly marched on Rome, perhaps assured of victory against great odds by a conviction that the Christian God was the supreme power. His assurance, whatever its basis, was abundantly justified by the event, for near the Milvian Bridge in 312 he totally defeated his rival, Maxentius, who fell in the rout. Here Christianity won its first official victory. Tradition has it that some time before the battle, Constantine had a vision of a fiery cross athwart the sun bearing the legend "By this sign, conquer" (Greek, *En touto nika*). In any event, he now adopted as his new Roman standard the *labarum*, a long cross crowned with a golden wreath bearing the Christian monogram

✱, formed by the first two letters of the Greek word *Christos* (Christ). From the crossbar hung a silk cross bearing the images of himself and his two sons. A statue of Christ, with the cross in the right hand as a symbol of victory, was erected in Rome. On his great Arch, dedicated in 315, which still stands between the Colosseum and the Forum, commemorating his liberation of Rome from the "tyrant," Maxentius, the inscription *Instinctu divinitatis, mentis magnitudine* proclaims his achievement through the divine power.

After the victory the Roman senate conferred on Constantine the title of senior Augustus. Licinius resented his claim to seniority, but yielded on condition that he retain full right of legislation in his own realm.

2. CONSTANTINE AND LICINIUS (312-324 A.D.)

In the year 313 Constantine and Licinius met at Milan and issued a joint edict of general religious toleration for the Empire, which granted to Christianity an equal status with the pagan cults of the state. The decree was a political compromise to win the loyalty of the Christians, while retaining the support of the large pagan majority in army and upper classes, but it was the first step toward the later final recognition of Christianity. In the East, however, Maximinus Daia, impressed by the dangerous power of the church, began a harsh persecution of the Christians. He also established pagan hierarchical priesthoods in the towns, like the Christian, and instituted propaganda against the Christian Scriptures. For these reasons his personal character has been unjustly blackened by Christian writers.

In the same year as the Milan Decree, Maximinus, dissatisfied at being demoted from senior Augustus, crossed the Bosphorus and invaded the territory of Licinius, taking Byzantium. But he was defeated by Licinius, who now took over Asia Minor. The death of Maximinus, soon after, left his rival heir to the entire East, to which he extended the decree of toleration. He savagely put to death the wife and children of Maximinus and all his chief officials and also all the kindred of Galerius and Severus. Thus with the death of Diocletian in 316, the last representative of the Jovian dynasty was removed.

Such an increase of power and territory for Licinius aroused the jealousy of Constantine, so that the harmony between the two Augusti was soon broken. After a brief war, however, Licinius ceded Moesia and Pannonia to Constantine. Each had the right to issue edicts in his own section of the Empire, and neither should enter the other's territory, except to repel barbarians. They jointly nominated as Caesars and heirs Crispus and Constantius, the younger sons of Constantine, and Licinianus, son of Licinius. Thus though the Empire was still theoretically a unit, and both Augusti were nominally over the whole, the agreement meant in actual effect a division of the Empire into two practically independent halves.

Despite their mutual jealousies, the two rulers continued their conciliatory attitude for several years. But a final break was inevitable. A clear evidence of their disagreement in policy appears in their attitude toward the Christians. The more Constantine sought their support by grants of special privilege, the more hostile to them Licinius became. Constantine sought in every way to

encourage co-operation between the church and state and freedom of the church from schism. He recognized the jurisdiction of episcopal courts and permitted the church to inherit property, thereby constituting it a legal civic corporation. In return, he expected it to guarantee the general authority of its officials and to retain its unitary organization, free from schism.¹² Licinius, on the other hand, became so disgusted with the bitter theological factions in the church that he gave up as futile any attempt at union of church and state. Yet he clearly appreciated the danger of permitting so strong an organization as the Christian church to exist outside of the state. He therefore struck at the heart of its power by forbidding further synods, restricting the philanthropy of the clergy, and prohibiting women from attending religious services of men. He also expelled Christians from his palace and finally from his administrative service.

All this probably hastened the rupture with Constantine. Finally, the latter's trespass into his colleague's territory when repelling a Gothic invasion aroused Licinius to action. War was declared in 324, and at Adrianople, Constantine, with 130,000 troops, won a signal victory over a considerably larger force under Licinius and his son. Their fleet was also annihilated on the Hellespont. Licinius retired to Asia Minor and was there again decisively defeated by Constantine at Chrysopolis. He surrendered on the promise of his life, but was executed on charges of treason a year later. Thus were all the numerous Augusti finally eliminated, and the Roman world was once more united under a single emperor, the first time for thirty-nine years.

3. CONSTANTINE SOLE EMPEROR (324-337 A.D.)

Oriental Absolutism and Bureaucracy

As we have seen, Constantine continued and perfected the policies of Diocletian both administrative and military. The Persian court ceremonial, introduced by Diocletian, became even more elaborate in the new Rome on the Bosphorus. An atmosphere of mystical aloofness increasingly surrounded the emperor. The Oriental custom of prostration before the ruler and all the slavish obeisance and royal pomp that was later termed "Byzantinism" and introduced to the West became the established order. All pretense of the old Augustan partnership of the senate in the government was abandoned, and the words "princeps" and "principate" passed out of use. Every executive official was the emperor's direct nominee, and the old distinction between senators and equites was obliterated. Constantine also continued and further developed Diocletian's multiplication of officials, reorganization of the provinces, and division of the administration under Augusti and Caesars. But he held the supreme power firmly in his own hands and broke from Diocletian's plan of succession to establish a hereditary dynasty in his own family. All this perfection of Oriental absolutism was greatly aided by his removal of the imperial capital to Constantinople.

¹² For a fuller interpretation of Constantine's attitude to Christianity and his attempts to check schism in the church cf. Chapter Thirty, Sec. II.

Constantine completed the separation of the civil from military functions by depriving the praetorian prefects of all military authority, which was transferred to new military officials, the master of the horse and the master of the foot. He also abandoned Diocletian's principle of their close attachment to the person of the emperor. They were given civil authority over specified territorial divisions. The western section of the Empire was divided into three parts, each under the control of a prefect, while there were probably two prefects as colleagues in the East. Thus the danger of usurpation was curbed, while the prefects had far greater importance as civil officers and were practically vice-regents of the emperor. A general edict of Constantine to all provincials in 331 even declared the judicial decisions of the prefects to be final without further appeal to the emperor. They also had very wide administrative supervision over the imperial post, public buildings, the *collegia*, the regulation of prices, higher education, the grain supply, including the commissariat for the army, and recruiting, which gave them an effective check on the military commanders. Since, contrary to Diocletian's plan, the dioceses now became administrative divisions of the prefectures, the prefects also had actual authority over the vicars and proconsuls. In the exercise of their vast powers, however, they were constantly checked by the careful surveillance of the emperor and by the fact that their appointment or summary dismissal was entirely in his hands.

Under Constantine, the imperial *consilium* became the *consistorium*, a permanent body of fixed membership with administrative and judicial functions. The praetorian prefect was no longer a member, but might be called in for counsel. Its head was the quaestor of the sacred palace, and a *schola notariorum* was created, independent of the praetorian prefecture, to act as a secretariat for the *consistorium* and serve as imperial emissaries to the provinces. A chief of the government departments, a permanent member of the *consistorium*, took over some previous functions of the prefect, such as the provision of arms and the responsibility for the safety of the emperor. He was also minister of foreign affairs and general master of ceremonies at the court. The imperial *fiscus* and *res privata* were administered by two chancellors of the exchequer.

Diocletian's vicar to the urban prefect was replaced by a *vicarius in urbe* responsible to the praetorian prefect, thereby decreasing the authority of the former. Judicially, however, the city prefect gained in importance by taking over the old judicial powers once exercised by the senate. Of the earlier magistracies, only the consulship retained any vital significance. The resulting difficulty of securing candidates for the quaestorship and praetorship to provide for the games caused these offices to become compulsory *munera* for men of senatorial status.

Military Reforms

In his reform of the army, Constantine brought to a consummation the changes begun by Gallienus and Aurelian and developed by Diocletian. Aside from Diocletian's great increase in the size of the army, these were especially the organization of a field army independent of the frontier garrison and the development of a strong and independent cavalry force. Diocletian's division of the provinces had resulted in a far more effective frontier defense by a much

wider distribution of garrison troops. He had also attempted to develop an expeditionary force without depleting the garrisons and had probably begun the organization of an independent mobile army with strong cavalry units separate from the infantry.

By his thorough reorganization on these lines, however, Constantine produced a radical change in the whole army. The frontier troops were reduced in number and importance, becoming henceforth a mere local militia. All the best soldiers were placed in the field force, which now became the heart of the army. The legions, still recruited from the Roman citizen body, which included all free subjects since Caracalla's decree, now lost their preferred position to the auxiliary force. The cavalry also, now greatly strengthened, became entirely independent of the infantry and superior to it. A gradual barbarization of the army, partly due to the depletion of the citizen population by war and plague in the previous century, also reached its climax under Constantine. The flower of his new army consisted of Germans, Sarmatians, and Illyrians, the more barbarous the better. This was especially true of cavalry. His cavalry bodyguard was composed of German mercenaries and was the best-equipped and most highly paid group in the service. The barbarization was by no means limited to the ranks, but was especially marked among the higher military officials. Many Sarmatians and Germans were settled on lands within the imperial frontiers, subject to conscription as a bulwark against barbarian attacks. Diocletian's improvement of the imperial defenses in the East and in Africa was also followed by Constantine, especially on the lower Danube. The stone wall in the Dobrudja is probably to be credited to him.

All disturbances on the frontiers were summarily dealt with. In 328 he and his son won a decisive victory over the Alamanni on the Rhine. Four years later his two sons inflicted a crushing defeat on the Goths, and in 334 he quelled the Sarmatians, receiving many of them into the Roman army. Though the army was further barbarized, the result was security on the Danube frontier for a generation. The same year he curbed the ambition of the Persian king to regain his lost provinces. As a means of holding the frontiers, he divided the responsibility between three sons and two nephews, though retaining the supreme authority. During the twenty-one years of his reign he had restored the military prestige of Rome, secured the frontiers, and brought respite from civil war.

Economic and Social Changes and Conditions

Diocletian's coinage had steadily depreciated in value, so that the *follis*, the heaviest of his smaller coins, was reduced to one-third of its original weight and value. In 312 A.D., while Licinius continued his system in the East, Constantine instituted a new coinage, which later became universal. His new gold solidus, lighter than the previous aureus, was set at one-seventy-second of a gold pound, while his new silver *siliqua*, a substitute for the argenteus, was rated at one-twenty-fourth of a solidus. The follis of Diocletian was now reckoned at one-tenth of a siliqua. Constantine's main purpose was to stop further depreciation of the silver-bronze follis and the resulting disastrous rise in prices

by reducing its value relative to gold by one-fifth, and, to a large extent, he succeeded in his aim. The necessary supply of precious metals for his pure coinage was provided by calling in the gold pieces and recoining them at the new rate. Additional sources were the product of the Armenian mines, gold ornaments, and later treasures from some of the closed pagan temples.

Constantine's strict control of the coinage was a part of his general policy of absolutism. All mints throughout the Empire became imperial, all provincial or local currencies were abolished, and coinage was henceforth of a uniform type. Thus the old difficulties of money exchange vanished, and sufficient supplies of currency were available in most sections of the Empire, especially wherever the military needs of the imperial government were greatest. Some provinces, however, as Spain, Africa, Britain, and Egypt, were badly handicapped by having no branch of the imperial mint. The gold coinage of Constantine won an enviable reputation for its genuine value and stability, and it circulated freely even in such hostile foreign lands as Persia.

The army reforms of Diocletian and Constantine and their extreme elaboration of administrative machinery had enormously increased the cost of government, which was further enhanced by Constantine's costly Oriental court and splendid building projects. To meet it he increased still further the already crushing burden of taxation, taking advantage of the new currency, whose stability now made possible money payments. As a supplement to the *annona*, the *collatio glebalis*, a graded annual money tax, was imposed on the senatorial class. The local senators in the municipalities, already heavily burdened with the *annona* and special requisitions besides their local taxes, were saddled with a regular tax on currency, the *aurum coronarium*. On the trading and commercial classes, who had previously escaped, a periodic gold payment was now also imposed, the *auri lustralis collatio*.

The incubus of compulsory state service was now universalized and codified into law. About 325 A.D. the *decurionate* was made legally compulsory. Six years later the age limit was lowered from twenty-five to eighteen, and local *decuriones* were forbidden to increase their numbers by co-opting boys under eighteen. The only escape from their crushing responsibility was by being admitted to the Roman senate or being appointed to a post in the imperial service. But though illegal evasion was condignly punished, the frequent edicts from the time of Constantine and later prove that such attempts were very frequent. Even after the recognition of Christianity, it was impossible for *decuriones* to escape the net of the state by entering the church, for Constantine limited the clergy to the *humiliores*.

As we have seen, the principle of hereditary compulsory service was written into law by Constantine and applied to all classes, including the soldiers. By 332 the wretched *coloni* were permanently attached to the soil and virtually serfs by his legal enactment which merely recognized in law the actual conditions. The landlord might move them from farm to farm, but the peasant cultivators could not leave the estate. If they escaped to a new landlord, he must return them to their original owner and was responsible for their tax as long as he employed them. They could acquire personal property, but could not

alienate it or marry without their landlord's permission, and their children were born into hereditary serfdom. Thus, while the Empire under Constantine had relative freedom from invasion and internal strife, this was bought at an appalling price, the permanent practical subjection of the vast majority of his subjects to the absolute state.¹³

Security brought neither prosperity nor happiness to the overwhelming number of the population, but rather discouragement and despair. The evils of the third century were increased rather than diminished and were hardened into law. Life was still more difficult under the greatly increased pressure of the state upon every individual subject. The bureaucracy was still more powerful, relentless, and corrupt, and the barbarized army, the privileged instrument of autocracy, was still more dominant and dictatorial over all civil life. To support this gigantic military machine, the vast network of bureaucracy, the extravagance of the royal court, and the new expense of the lavish grants and special concessions to the church, the whole civil population, with few exceptions, was ground down to ever more oppressive taxation and compulsory hereditary service. The triumph of Christianity under Constantine was strangely coincident with the triumph of the most relentless Oriental despotism, which bore with crushing weight upon the overwhelming mass of the inhabitants of the entire Roman Empire.

The Founding of Constantinople

Of outstanding significance for the future history of Western civilization was Constantine's founding of his new capital of Constantinople on the site of ancient Byzantium. Begun the same year that he became sole emperor, the splendid city was dedicated six years later in 330 A.D. In his preference for an Eastern capital and for ending the political primacy of Rome, he had been preceded by Diocletian. An important factor in their choice was doubtless the need of a capital more conveniently located for defense of the frontiers. But their shift to the East was also in full accord with their consummation of Oriental absolutism. This was especially true of Constantine's new Rome, for here he was entirely free from the old senatorial traditions and prejudices and could build anew his divine autocratic state in perfect harmony with his environment. As the first Christian emperor, also, he was especially attracted to the East, the birthplace of Christianity and its strongest center. Rome, on the other hand, was, and continued to be, the very citadel of the old pagan religious traditions.

Constantine's choice of the specific site on the Bosphorus was probably determined by its incomparable strategic position for both commerce and defense. At the gateway between Europe and Asia, he could equally well defend his Eastern frontiers and protect the lower Danube from incursions of the Goths. This site of old Byzantium was the finest in all Europe, and its strategic waterway had been an object of contention throughout the centuries of Greek history. Surrounded on three sides by water and approached by a long, narrow

¹³ For an analysis of the development of the Roman colonate and its causes, cf. the following chapter.

channel that was easily defended, it was practically impregnable. For over thirteen centuries the new capital was destined to repel repeated waves of Asiatic and Gothic invaders, until it finally fell to the Ottoman Turks in 1453. Commercially, it tapped the riches of all the north through the Black Sea and was astride a main trade route between Europe, western Asia, and the Far East. Into its magnificent land-locked harbor of deep water soon came the ships and merchants of all nations. Here, in the language of Gibbon, was the "prospect of beauty, wealth, and safety united in a single spot."¹⁴

Constantine aimed to make his chosen capital a new Rome by giving to it the organization and institutions of the metropolis on the Tiber. He therefore furnished it with a new senate, public festivals and games, and even provided a proletariat of 80,000 to continue the traditional institution of free "bread and circuses." In its market place he established a golden milestone (*milion*), from which all distances were measured, as in old Rome. In culture, customs, and to a large extent in language, however, Constantinople, like Byzantium, its predecessor, remained essentially Greek.

Like old Rome, the new capital must be enriched with art and beautified with splendid building. In this age of sad decline of creative art, Greece and Asia Minor were looted of their ancient masterpieces of painting and sculpture to adorn the new imperial city. Some of the known statues were the Olympian Zeus of Phidias, the Samian Hera, the Athena of Lindos, the Helen and other masterpieces of Lysippus, and a three-headed serpent bearing a splendid tripod dedicated over eight centuries before by the victorious Greeks at Delphi after Salamis. But there were literally thousands, and the center of the Hippodrome was a veritable museum. Of all these, nothing has survived save a part of the serpent pedestal from Delphi that still stands within the space once occupied by the ancient hippodrome. The other objects, with vast numbers of precious manuscripts, were forever lost amid the disastrous fires and looting incident to the taking of the city by the barbarous Western crusaders in 1204.

Old Greek temples were also robbed of their marbles and columns to contribute to the beautification of the new metropolis, which was four times the size of old Byzantium. Constantine's magnificent palace and imperial gardens included an expanse of 150 acres. Over the chief entrance to the palace the emperor and his four sons were represented with a serpent under their feet and a cross above their heads. Adjoining the palace was the *Augusteum*, or forum, paved with marble and surrounded, as the fora of old Rome, with splendid public buildings. Like the old capital, Constantinople had its elaborate baths and places of public entertainment, including the famous Hippodrome. Of all its brilliance, only the space remains, marked by the Turkish name Atmeidan (Place of Horses). Indeed, nothing of all of Constantine's buildings in his capital now survives above ground save a blackened column of porphyry on a pedestal. Constantine showed his preference for Christianity by including in his building program Christian churches, especially St. Irene and the Church of the Twelve Apostles, where his remains finally rested.¹⁵

¹⁴ *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Bury edition, Vol. II, Chap. xvii.

¹⁵ The first St. Sophia was built by his son, Constantius, a basilica, not a domed structure, but on the same spot as the present cathedral.

The prominence of the Temple of Roman Tyche (Fortune) and the multitude of pagan statues, such as the Apollo of Delphi and the Dioscuri, must have presented a strange confusion of dying pagan religions and regnant Christianity. Just what was the real bearing of this on the actual attitude of Constantine is a problem. Probably the Greek and Roman sculpture was largely for beautification of the city as a second Rome. The emperor also found it necessary to compromise to a degree with paganism. The Temple of Tyche is also evidence of the persistence of the old superstitions in him, and his changing of the great statue of Helios to represent himself suggests that there was an intimate relation between his conception of Christianity and the dominant solar myth of the time.

Historically, Constantine's removal of the imperial capital was not only the natural culmination of three centuries of development, but it was also epochal in its future significance. A brilliant city from its founding until now, it was the cosmopolitan capital of the later Greco-Roman or Byzantine Empire until 1453¹⁶ and of the Turkish Empire until 1918. For over eleven centuries it stood as a citadel of civilization against repeated attacks of Asiatic and Gothic hordes, until Western European civilization was sufficiently matured. In the Italian Renaissance its wealth of classical literature and lore, long dormant, again became a source of inspiration and enrichment for Western culture. The withdrawal of the capital to the East also aided the consummation of Oriental absolutism, the triumph of Christianity in the later Roman Empire, the fall of the western half of the Empire to the barbarian invaders, and the rise of an independent papacy or universal bishopric in Rome. As compensation for her loss of political supremacy, Rome gained religious supremacy, and the church became the heir of imperial Rome. Of all the great historic cities of the ancient world, only Athens, Rome, and Jerusalem can rival Constantinople as a factor in shaping the course of human affairs, but even their contributions to Western civilization often bear the stamp of Constantinople upon them, whether in Roman law, Greek literature, or Christian theology.

III. THE PASSING OF ANCIENT CIVILIZATION

The Roman Empire in the West dragged on for nearly a century and a half after Constantine before it was finally overwhelmed by the German barbarians. But it was a period of continued decadence and gradual merging into the Medieval Age. In so far as periodizing is possible, therefore, the natural terminus for a history of ancient civilization is Constantine's death, for, as we have seen, all the great tendencies whose development we have traced through over three centuries of Roman imperial history reached their culmination in Diocletian and Constantine. The Principate had given place to Oriental despotism. Rome and Italy had been reduced to the level of the provinces. Roman citizenship had become universal for all freemen. The equally privileged, homogeneous Empire of which Julius Caesar dreamed had arrived, but it was an equality of subjection, in which all alike, whether peasantry, artisans, or

¹⁶ From 1204-1261 it was under the control of Venice and the crusaders as the Latin Empire.

middle class, were bound by compulsory service to a relentless, all-embracing state. Rome was rapidly returning to a primitive agricultural economy. Roman law had largely taken its permanent shape. In Roman art and literature the decadence was already far advanced, and Christian literature was rapidly taking its place. Both racially and culturally, the process of barbarization was rapidly nearing its climax, and the official class, both military and civil, was largely non-Roman. The Christian church had officially triumphed over both the Oriental and state religion, including the imperial cult, and in its creed, worship, and organization it was already distinctly medieval. The imperial capital had been transferred to the Bosphorus, and Rome, bereft of its political prestige, was already taking on something of a medieval atmosphere as the religious capital. From whatever standpoint, political, social, economic, cultural, or religious, the old Greco-Roman civilization was passing. Its great work was done and a new medieval Western Christian society was now being born out of its matrix. With Constantine, therefore, our *History of Ancient Civilization* ends. It remains only to take a final survey of Roman civilization in its decadence from Commodus to Constantine, to present a résumé of Roman law and of Christianity, and to evaluate the Roman heritage to Western civilization. This we shall do in the three following chapters.¹⁷

¹⁷ For the Roman emperors from 337-565 A.D., cf. the chronological chart in the Appendix.

Chapter Twenty-nine

THE DECLINE OF ROMAN CIVILIZATION

(180-337 A.D.)

I. POLITICAL

Our previous analysis of the general political decline of the Roman Empire in the third century requires little further elaboration here. As we have seen, the Empire was finally saved from complete collapse by a few remarkable rulers at the close of the century and especially by the reorganization of Diocletian and Constantine, but at a great cost to the liberties and welfare of the entire citizenship. Though the state was galvanized into new life, the internal decay was in no sense checked, but was rather aggravated by their drastic measures. The general military and political organization of the Empire in the time of Constantine, as the culmination of over three centuries of development, calls for some final consideration.

I. ARMY AND FRONTIER DEFENSE

With the exception of Dacia, almost all the territory lost to the invaders in the years of anarchy was recovered, and in Mesopotamia the frontier was even advanced. The fortifications were never more complete and secure than now. New lines of forts had been built along the Rhine and Danube. The coasts of Britain were secured against the attacks of Saxon pirates and from the raids of Picts and Scots from Ireland. Frontier towns, especially throughout the West, were now largely walled, as was Rome under Aurelian. Constantinople was practically impregnable from attack. The Roman roads were restored and extended, and river and sea transport was protected by the imperial navies.

By the increase and thorough reorganization of the army, the military deficiencies had been largely remedied. The creation of a strong, mobile field army with large contingents of independent cavalry, the reorganization and extension of the frontier garrisons as a permanent boundary militia, and the separation of the military from the civil authority in provincial government made the Empire again temporarily secure against invaders. But, as we have seen, the methods of recruiting made the personnel of the army distinctly inferior to that of the first two centuries. The army had long ceased to be drawn from Italy and the more-developed provinces. It was now composed of hereditary frontiersmen, German and Sarmatian captives settled on imperial lands, volunteers from the most backward sections, German free lances, and the least efficient men furnished by indiscriminate conscription from the large estates. Such soldiers lacked the capacity for strict discipline and the willingness to endure the

hard labor, rigid training, and heavy armor of the earlier Roman armies. But under Diocletian and Constantine it was still superior to its barbarian and Persian opponents. The new Persian monarchy had declined as a military power after its first spurt, while the Germans had no advantage in numbers and lacked unity and military science.

2. THE END OF THE PRINCIPATE

Though the invasions and internal anarchy of the third century produced no abrupt changes in the constitution of the Principate, they distinctly increased the tempo of change. Thus the gradual drift toward autocracy of the previous centuries now culminated in the Oriental absolutism of Diocletian and Constantine, who established in law what was already the situation in fact.¹ But even under their régime some remnants of the outworn quasi-constitutional forms were retained. They still occasionally assumed a consulship, and their tribunician authority was nominally recognized. During most of the fourth century, also, Constantine and his successors continued to bear the title *Pontifex Maximus*, despite their acceptance of Christianity. As we have seen, the Roman senate had been largely deprived of its old constitutional powers even before the close of the second century,² and the military monarchy of Septimius Severus was epochal in further reducing it to impotence. The chaos of the third century and the reorganization of Diocletian completed the process.³ Yet the senate was still the chief citadel of ancient tradition and ever increased its social prestige. Recruited from the great landowners by co-optation on a more or less hereditary basis and from the higher imperial officials by nomination of the emperor, it was truly representative of the wealthier landholders and more-cultivated classes all over the Empire. Even in Constantine's day the senate was still considered a traditional part of the Roman institutions, so that he felt called upon to establish a similar body in his new Rome. But in so far as the Roman senate had any political function, it was reduced to a town council of Rome, which might assist the city prefect in his administration of the city. It still met occasionally to hear a message from the emperor on imperial affairs. In such cases, it sent a eulogistic vote of gratitude for even such perfunctory recognition. Only a few of its members, mostly upper-class officials, still resided in Rome, while the great majority did not even take the trouble to leave their estates to attend its occasional sessions. Socially and economically, the senators of the later Empire were very powerful and grew relatively stronger in relation to the other classes. As the elite in imperial society, they bore the title *clarissimi*, and their specially privileged status economically compensated for their political decline.

The old magistracies had either disappeared or had become merely honorary. No tribunes and aediles were chosen after Alexander Severus, but the consulate continued as an honorary office and was sometimes assumed by the emperors, even Constantine. After the year 330 one of the consuls resided at Constantinople and the other at Rome, but their only duty was to give their name

¹ For details, cf. Chapter Twenty-eight.

³ For details, cf. the two preceding chapters.

² Cf. Chapters Twenty-two and Twenty-three for details.

to the year, since even the duty of presiding over the senate had been taken over by the *praefectus urbi*. Since Septimius Severus closed the senatorial jury courts and assumed complete jurisdiction in civil and criminal cases for the emperor and his prefects in Italy and the Empire, the praetors had lost their chief function. With the merging of the senatorial treasury and the senatorial provinces into the imperial, the quaestorship was also deprived of its financial duties. From the reign of Diocletian, only one praetor and one quaestor were appointed each year, usually men of wealth, whose sole duty was to supervise and subsidize the games and shows on Roman festival days. Since the only advantage of the offices was social prestige, which was bought at high cost, they were probably assumed with increasing reluctance.

Septimius Severus and the succeeding emperors, especially Gallienus, during the period of anarchy and invasion, rapidly took over the senatorial provinces, since most of them required an army. The proconsuls were therefore replaced by imperial *legati*, usually of equestrian rank, to command the armies. Finally Diocletian assumed the government and appointments for all provinces as an exclusive imperial prerogative. This exclusion of the senators from military commands and finally from civil authority as governors deprived the senate of its chief administrative function and its main source of income. Aurelian had also deprived it of its right to issue brass and copper coinage and had closed the mint of the *aerarium*. Thus, in the course of the third century, the senate lost all vestige of its old legislative, elective, judicial, financial, and administrative functions both in Italy and in the provinces.

Finally, with the establishment of hereditary despotism, it lost its most cherished right even formally to confer legitimacy upon the emperors. During the long military anarchy usurpations of the army had emptied the right of all meaning, but it continued to be recognized intermittently until 282, when Carus entirely ignored it. This marks the formal end of the Principate. Henceforth, Roman emperors ruled as absolute autocrats by the divine right of heredity and the power of the imperial army. The old theory that the princeps derived his authority from the senate and the Roman people was discarded even in form.⁴ Though important in Roman constitutional theory, however, the change meant little actually, since the senatorial validation had been little more than a form for a century.

With the culmination of absolutism, the emperors became autocrats in law as well as in fact. All pretense of partnership in government was abandoned. The entire administration was in the hands of the emperor, and every important official was his nominee. From Aurelian's time *dominus* became the official title by the side of princeps and later entirely displaced the old title. The ruler was no longer addressed with the old Roman directness, but with Byzantine circumlocutions, such as "Your Serenity." His personality was henceforth mysterious and aloof from the people, all that was connected with him was "sacred," and one approached his holy majesty only in abject prostration. Elabo-

⁴ J. B. Bury, *Selected Essays* (ed. H. Temperley), Cambridge, 1930, "The Constitution of the Later Roman Empire," p. 101, however, states that the senate and army had always chosen the emperor and that, theoretically, this continued even in Constantinople.

rate Persian court ceremonial, Oriental pomp and luxury, a costly diadem, and gold and purple robes replaced the old simplicity. All this "Byzantinism" was brought to the West and later became an accepted part of the trappings of kingship.

This climax of absolutism, together with Diocletian's quadrupling the number of courts, doubling the number of provinces,⁵ and establishment of prefectures and dioceses for administrative purposes, entailed an enormous expansion in imperial bureaucracy, from which senators were now entirely excluded. Theoretically, the imperial executive was never more efficiently organized than in the fourth century. But its very numbers and competence made it all the more difficult to control, especially as the emperors were now primarily military rather than administrative experts. Public spirit was corrupted. After Constantine the higher officialdom degenerated, sold appointments and promotions, and plundered the people as in the Republican days, only more systematically. In vain did the emperors attempt to remedy conditions by repeated edicts and by the appointment of new imperial agents to spy on the officials. The inspectors in turn were bribed or else deceived. The large landed proprietors also evaded taxation and assumed a jurisdiction over their tenants that practically supplanted the imperial courts in defiance of the emperor or his officials. Indeed, the imperial bureaucracy often aided the development by conniving with the proprietors. Thus, in the late Empire, the *latifundia* became practically small independent states within the Empire, forerunners of the medieval manor.⁶

The vast increase in public expenditures entailed by the reorganization of Diocletian and Constantine, above described, though necessary to save the state from imminent collapse, came at a most inopportune time financially. The rapid impoverishment of the cities in the third century, the marked decline in production, and the financial chaos resulting from the drastic depreciation of the coinage, which wiped out endowments and caused a retrogression from money to domestic economy, meant a sharp decrease in imperial revenues. The only recourse of the emperors to keep the machinery of the state functioning, therefore, was to harden the previously irregular forced requisitions and compulsory labor into a permanent legal system. Every individual and group of all classes, except the great proprietors, were relentlessly regimented under the hereditary service of the state in the frantic effort to secure sufficient revenue and to keep production going. Thus, the very remedy of Diocletian and Constantine meant the further corruption of public spirit, decrease of production, and general impoverishment of the citizenship, both economically and spiritually, which led to the final breakdown of the state. Despite the drastic penalties imposed by the emperors for tax evasion or attempted escape from one's hereditary place and vocation also, such attempts were increasingly frequent.

As we have seen during the third century, local self-government in the municipalities rapidly decayed due to plague, civil war, invasions, impoverishment, and the growing regimentation of the state for taxation. With the reduction of the *decuriones* to compulsory servants of the state, local autonomy prac-

⁵ There were finally 116.

⁶ Cf. below, Sec. II, 2, under *Patrocinium*.

tically ceased, though vestiges of it still survived even under Constantine in some African towns. But the bankruptcy of the cities, deepened by the general economic decay and the crushing weight of imperial taxation, killed civic spirit and changed the honor of public office into an impossible burden to be shunned. To retain even a modicum of municipal organization for securing the imperial revenues, the emperors were driven to change the membership of the local senates from voluntary to compulsory and hereditary. Thus, municipal patriotism and initiative were killed at the root, and local autonomy was destroyed. The state had been saved at the cost of the practical enslavement of its citizens.

This result should not be unduly charged to Diocletian and Constantine, however. They were faced with the necessity of immediate action to save the state from total collapse, and their drastic and hastily improvised remedies were honestly applied to meet the crisis. Though they did not succeed in checking the decline and their measures finally aggravated it, they gave the Roman state a new lease of life for a time and stabilized the East for centuries. Without their work the Roman Empire might have ended in the third or early fourth century.

II. ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DECLINE

Roman prosperity ceased before the death of Marcus Aurelius, and the civil strife at the end of the century caused further decline. There was some recovery under the two Severi, but economic disintegration was rapid during the succeeding fifty years of chaos. Decadence became the normal condition. The old confidence in the *pax Romana* was lost and a general sense of insecurity became permanent. The freedom and safety of travel and trade were interrupted. Monetary economy yielded rapidly to a natural economy. The land tax was paid increasingly in kind, as were also pensions and wages, and even the pay of the soldiers after the middle of the third century, though some money payments continued for another century. Gold and silver went into hiding. A concrete evidence of this condition is the marked increase in the hoards of third-century coins found in Gaul and other former lands of the Roman Empire.

The retrogression was greatly increased by the financial chaos resulting from the drastic depreciation of the coinage. Even before the third century the real value of the silver denarius had been reduced by one-half, and by the time of Gallienus it was ninety-eight and one-half per cent of baser metal, merely plated copper or lead. Little was accomplished by either Aurelian's or Diocletian's reforms until Constantine succeeded in establishing a new stable coinage. The arbitrary impositions of the emperors upon the *curiales* of the cities in contrast to the lighter taxes of the great estate-holders also hastened the decline.

In the Eastern provinces the decline was less marked, owing to their older tradition of industry and trade. Transcontinental trade with the Far East was disturbed after the second century by the disintegration of the Chinese Empire and the rise of New Persia, but it was still fairly active in the latter half of the

third century. Sea trade with India and China suffered a more rapid decline, and in so far as such commerce continued, it was in the hands of Hindus, Arabs, and Abyssinians.

Internal trade between and within provinces also markedly decayed through the financial chaos and the general insecurity on land and sea. The heavy cost of land transportation, growing impoverishment, and economic development of the more backward provinces also militated against industry for export. The prosperous trade and the glass, pottery, and other industries of Gaul and the Rhineland rapidly declined, so that the imperial government had to set up state industries to equip the army and practically conscript labor to insure a constant supply of goods. Increasingly, each district produced necessities for its own local needs, and the limited interprovincial trade was now largely in luxuries. Thus industrial products gradually became cruder and less artistic, declining in quality as well as in quantity. Though capitalism had been highly developed in the centers of the Empire, there were always vast expanses that had never risen much above a primitive agricultural economy.

Even at best, Roman capitalism was comparatively simple and rested on very precarious foundations, which gave way amid the storm and stress of the third century. With the decline of the urban middle class and the growing impoverishment of the cities, Roman society, especially in the West, gradually returned to an agricultural economy. A strong evidence of the decay of industry and trade is the notably smaller area of the towns. Rome continued to be a great metropolis of half a million, despite its loss of political prestige. But judging by the limited area enclosed within the new walls of the third and fourth centuries, most cities of the West, especially in Gaul, had shrunk to one-fourth of their former area. They had ceased to be busy hives of industry and trade and had become mere centers for administrative officials. The market for industry was also distinctly limited. The population of the Roman Empire probably never reached a total of over 65,000,000, very sparse compared with that of the same area today, and after the second century it steadily declined in most sections. Of this population also, only a small percentage had more than the most simple wants, and their buying power was very limited.

North Africa escaped the German invasions until the close of the fourth century and had a steady market at Rome for its oil and grain, thereby retaining its prosperity. Economic life in Britain suffered a gradual decline after the middle of the third century, except for a brief revival under Constantius and Constantine. But the numerous coin hoards of the fourth century found in the island indicate that this was only temporary. Some fertile sections of Gaul protected by Roman garrisons, such as the vine land of the Moselle Valley, long retained their prosperity, but, in general, viticulture markedly declined during the century in Gaul and other provinces. Despite the repeated settlement of German war captives as cultivators on large sections of devastated frontier lands within the Empire, the total area of cultivation greatly decreased. Spain ceased to produce a surplus of agricultural products for export to Rome, and good farm lands in Italy and even in Egypt failed to find

cultivators. The repeated attempts of the emperors, from M. Aurelius on, to check this tendency prove that it was by no means limited to devastated areas.

I. SERFDOM, OR THE ROMAN COLONATE

In previous chapters we have had occasion to refer to the decline of agricultural slavery, the rapid substitution of a system of free tenantry both on imperial estates and on private *latifundia*, and the gradual degradation of the tenants to a quasi-servile status. As we have seen, the imperial estates were managed by *conductores*, who divided a large part of the land into small plots, which were leased to free cultivators, or *coloni*. At first, there was no essential difference between the terms *conductor* and *colonus*, who was also a *conductor* on a small scale. Naturally, however, the gulf grew ever wider between them. The *conductor* was a man of some substance, while the *colonus*, though free, was a poor peasant cultivator who had only the labor of himself and his family and could easily become a dependent through debt. His obligation to certain services on the home estate of the *conductor*, or private bailiff, and the change from a money-rent to payment in kind incident to the decline of capitalistic economy in the third century contributed to his gradual loss of freedom. The disintegration of production and the growing pressure of the state to secure sufficient revenue and keep production going completed his degradation to serfdom.

The system of cultivation in small plots by tenant *coloni* developed first on the vast imperial estates in the early Empire and spread to the private *latifundia*. During the third and fourth centuries the concentration of land in a few hands was extremely rapid, and many of the imperial estates now returned to private hands. The few who were able seized the opportunity to buy or lease on easy terms, or to appropriate outright devastated lands. Such investment in real estate was encouraged by the financial chaos of the times. The need of protection against invasion also drove the small owner to yield his lands to the large proprietor who had fortified villas. But in return for protection and patronage the client was required to sacrifice his liberty of movement and become permanently attached to his land. Though irregular and only private contracts, such arrangements were readily recognized by the government as valid, since many high officials had *latifundia*, and the emperors yielded in order to insure the payment of the land tax by the landlords. Thus the system was finally legalized by its unchallenged use. Instead of the *colonus* holding the land, it held him. Finally, the serfdom of all agricultural workers on both private and imperial lands was established in public law by the imperial decree of Constantine in 332 A.D. The Egyptian doctrine of *idia*, or *origo*, binding all cultivators to remain in their native place and pursue their hereditary vocation, was universalized for the whole Empire. Henceforth the *colonus* was a member of a caste rigidly fixed by law, from which he could not escape.

This gradual degradation of the free owners and cultivators in the Roman Empire to serfdom is embodied in the very history of the word *colonus*, which is derived from the verb *colere*, "to cultivate." A *colonus* was originally a free citizen owner and cultivator either in Italy or in a Roman or Latin colony.

From this he declined to a free tenant paying a money-rent and some service. Later he paid in kind and labor and contracted to remain on the job during the busy seasons of sowing and harvest. Still later the word connoted one who was permanently bound to the soil and to his hereditary vocation, first in fact and finally by imperial decree.

The process of submergence of the agricultural classes which finally culminated in the Roman colonate is extremely difficult to analyze, especially since the institution was not formally recognized in public law until the fourth century. The contributing causes were many and very complex, and differed widely in different sections of the Empire. The system was by no means an innovation in the later Roman world, for from time immemorial, in Egypt, Asia, much of Greece, and pre-Roman Gaul, there probably existed a system of quasi-serfdom quite similar to the Roman colonate.⁷ In Italy and most of the Western provinces, however, its gradual evolution may be traced to Roman methods of working the land by farming it out to tenants. The diversity calls for a more detailed analysis.

In Egypt, where agricultural slavery had never been extensive, the peasant cultivators had been a submerged class from the hoary past. Under the Ptolemies they were obliged, besides their annual rental, to give personal service to the state, such as cultivation on the royal lands, each in his own village community (*idia*). Under Roman rule this principle of *idia* was given a still more rigid application, and the rental was raised from one-fifth to a third of the crop. The residents must cultivate all land in each village, either as owners or tenants, and were sometimes also required to till vacant lands outside their district. No villager might leave his *idia* during the seasons of sowing and harvest. The many flights from their village to escape the compulsory labor and taxes greatly increased the amount of unleased royal lands, causing the state to enforce the rule of *idia* all the more strictly. Proprietors of the now numerous private estates were also held responsible for the contracts on the vacant public lands in their districts. Finally, when municipal councils were introduced into Egypt in the third century, councilors were forced to assume the duty of raising the taxes for respective nomes, and to insure collection their tenants were forbidden to leave their holdings. Thus all tenants on either public or private lands were finally bound to the soil.

In Asia Minor the process was quite similar. The royal lands of the Seleucids, which were taken over by Rome, developed to great estates owned by the earlier emperors. As in Egypt, these imperial estates were cultivated by peasant tenants who lived in their rural villages. Most of the other lands were connected with the cities and worked by more or less free peasants who lived in village communities. Gradually, each of the peasants on the imperial domains became permanently attached to his native village (*idia*) to insure his regular performance of compulsory services. On the municipal lands, also, the native rural population was finally bound to the soil as tenants of the municipal

⁷ On the growth of the colonate, cf. H. F. Pelham, *Essays on Roman History*, Oxford, 1911, pp. 275 ff.; M. I. Rostovtzeff, *Studien zur Geschichte des Römischen Kolonates*, II-IV; Pauly-Wissowa, *Art: Colonatus* by O. Seeck. On the peasant cultivators in Egypt and Asia in the Hellenistic Age, cf. Vol. I, Chapter Thirty.

proprietors, who as local senators must exact from them the tax quota for their municipality or pay it themselves.

In Africa the development followed a different course. At the beginning of the Principate a large part of the land was in great private estates held by wealthy Roman senators. These rented to large contractors for a gross sum, who sublet to tenants. In contrast to Italy, therefore, here the *conductor* and *colonus* were sharply distinguished. The *conductor* was a middleman from the first, and money-rent was rare. As we have seen, the early emperors, especially Nero, confiscated the bulk of these lands, adding them to the imperial domain. The vast territories were administered by imperial procurators, each of which had supervision over a large district. By the early Principate, the labor on the estates was largely done by free *coloni*, either Italians or native holders of the public lands who paid tribute to the state.

The management of the estates was in the hands of a tenant contractor who leased them from the procurators. A portion of the estate was retained under the direct supervision of the *conductor*, while the remainder was sublet in small lots to *coloni*. According to the edict of Mancian, probably issued by an imperial procurator under the Flavians,⁸ the *coloni* were required to pay a rental of a specified proportion of their crop besides contributing a certain number of days' work with their teams on the home farm of the person from whom they leased, whether *conductor*, a private owner, or his bailiff (*vilicus*). The *coloni* might be either landless people on the estates or small peasant farmers who lived in the neighboring villages.

The imperial government sought to extend the area of cultivation by encouraging *coloni* to occupy vacant domain land. Over all land thus brought under the plan, they were granted life tenure, and if planted to orchard, it became hereditary in the family of the *colonus*, though, in either case, an annual rental in kind must be paid to the state. Hadrian carried this policy of developing peasant owners still further by extending the right of occupation and possession to all kinds of land not already under cultivation. But in all this, the basic evil for the *coloni*, compulsory services, was not remedied. The problem defied solution, for interference by the emperors to check the oppression of the *coloni* by the middlemen meant a distinct decrease in the area of cultivation, while a let-alone policy of leaving the *coloni* to the tender mercies of their middlemen resulted in their desertion, leaving the land untilled.

During the chaotic third century the failure of the earlier attempt to develop an independent group of peasant proprietors in Africa resulted in the return to the policy of large private estates to maintain the imperial revenues. Thus the middlemen became proprietors instead of tenants and were obliged to take over the responsibility for cultivation of the unoccupied public lands adjacent to them. The necessary next step to enable them to meet the state demands was to regiment the labor on their estates. Thus the Egyptian principle of *idia*, or *origo*, was extended to Africa, and the *coloni* were bound to the land on which they had once settled as free tenants. The same results

⁸ Cf. Chapter Twenty-three, Sec. II, 1.

obtained also on the municipal lands, except that here the estate-holders of the towns served as the middlemen.

In Italy, where large private estates instead of imperial domain prevailed, the rise of the colonate was again different in type. Here, the *latifundia*, which were far more extensive than the peasant holdings, had been exploited by the abundant supply of slaves. But already in the days of Varro, free tenants and day laborers were beginning to supplement slave labor, and during the Principate free *coloni* gradually became dominant. This shift to free tenantry was the natural result of the marked decline in the slave supply due to the Roman peace, the suppression of slave-trading pirates, and the commonness of manumission. To these causes may be added the humanitarianism of the second century and the relatively uneconomic character of slave labor in view of the now higher price of slaves. The free *coloni* worked the estates of the proprietors in return for a certain share of the product. Finally, the *coloni* of Italy, as elsewhere, were degraded from free tenants to serfs by the necessity of keeping up cultivation and imperial revenues during the chaos of the third century. For lack of data the degradation of the free tenants to serfdom cannot be traced in other sections of the Empire, but the phenomenon was universal and resulted from similar causes and conditions.

Probably a basic cause of the development was the inclusion in the Empire of vast territories occupied by comparatively primitive peoples. In this connection may be mentioned the repeated settlement, from the time of M. Aurelius, of tens of thousands of half-free Germans on lands within the Empire with obligation of military service and payment of a rental in kind.⁹ In the tax system of Diocletian these and the *coloni* and even the small owner were all placed on the same basis. A fundamental factor also was the heavy burden of taxation to support the vastly increased cost of bureaucratic government and the unfortunate system of tax collection. Thereby the emperors defeated all their attempts to develop a strong, independent peasantry as state tenants. Doubtless also, the hoary system of Egypt reacted upon the free agricultural system of the West. The economic disintegration, invasions, plague, and financial and political chaos of the third century completed the tragedy. Diocletian hardened the irregular requisitions and compulsory services into an inflexible caste system, and finally Constantine in 332 A.D. bound all *coloni* to a perpetual and hereditary serfdom by legal decree.¹⁰ But the decline of agriculture and the flights of the *coloni* were not checked, for the remedy only aggravated the disease. The sequel was even worse oppression of the peasantry, increasing poverty, loss of initiative, depopulation, and further decline in production.

Though deprived of his liberty, however, the *colonus* gained security, which was a distinct advantage in the evil times ahead. His attachment to the soil

⁹ These were called *laeti*, or *inquilini*. The same term was earlier used of landless tenants who lived on the land of the owner.

¹⁰ *Theodosian Code*, V, 9, 1. "Anyone, with whom shall be found a *colonus* owned by another, shall not only be obliged to return him to his native estate, but shall also have to pay the capitation for the time (that the *colonus* has been with him). . . . As for the *coloni* who attempt flight, they may be loaded with chains, like slaves." Strictly, until the decree of Theodosius I (393-395 A.D.) the *colonus* was attached to the tax register of the estate where he lived, not to the soil itself, though this distinction meant little.

was a right as well as an obligation. Public duties could not be imposed upon him that would take him away from the land. The estate could not be sold without him, nor could he ordinarily be shifted from one estate to another. He could not even be evicted by the fiscal agents for inability to pay his tax. Though he was bound to the land, he also possessed it in perpetuity and by hereditary right. His dues and duties to his landlord were not extreme. They were fixed by law and could not be arbitrarily increased. In legal theory, also, he was a free man who might contract marriage, will property, and even bring suit if his tenure was infringed.

2. THE NEW LANDED PROPRIETORS AND THE "PATROCINIUM"¹¹

Meanwhile, over against the submerged peasantry arose on the ruins of the old landed aristocracy, senatorial and municipal, a new class of great landed proprietors, largely ex-soldiers and ex-officials. The decay of industry and commerce had made their position more outstanding, since land was rapidly becoming the only source of large wealth. The monetary chaos also affected them little, since the product of their estates was consumed largely on the place. Many of these were the *clarissimi*, a new senatorial aristocracy living on their country estates all over the Empire and belonging to the provincial senates only as patrons. They were exempt from the municipal *honores* and *munera*, and refused the municipal *curiales* entry to their estates. They were so powerful as to evade control or taxation by the municipal and largely by the imperial officials. Such great estates were not included in the city territories. They, therefore, became a refuge for fugitive slaves, *coloni*, *curiales*, or traders who refused the tax. The great proprietor also defrauded the *fiscus* by engaging in commercial transactions without paying the impost and commonly evaded the land tax by deceiving, defying, or conniving with the governor or imperial officials. By force or fraud also he often got assigned to himself the lands (*fundi limitrophi*) that were used to maintain the frontier legions.

In relation to the smaller proprietors and peasantry, he became ever more the actual ruler of the countryside. He had his own private prisons and soldiers, seized property, managed the middle and lower classes with impunity, evaded his duties if in the local *curia*, and otherwise took the law into his own hands. In these ever more difficult times his power and properties were greatly extended by voluntary clientage. Many freemen of the lower and even of the middle classes turned themselves or their properties over to him for his protection as patron. Thus developed the *patrocinium potentiorum* as the forerunner of the later feudal order. It was by no means entirely new, for it had an analogy in the old client system far back in the early Republic. The *patrocinium* of the later Empire, however, was primarily economic in character and placed the protégé far more directly and absolutely under the power of the patron. Under the earlier Empire, in so far as it had existed, the man-

¹¹ Cf. F. de Zaleuta, *De Patrocinii Vicorum* in *Oxford Studies in Social and Legal History*, I (1909), Pt. II; F. Lot, *The End of the Ancient World*, Pt. I, Chap. vii. On the relation to the medieval manor, cf. P. Vinogradoff, *Growth of the Ancient Manor*, Bk. I, Chap. ii. On the corruption of the bureaucracy in the later Empire, cf. S. Dill, *Roman Society in the Last Century of the Western Empire*; F. Lot, *op. cit.*, Bk. I, Chap. x.

agement was extralegal. But its later extensive growth, when it took over whole villages and defrauded the *fiscus*, awakened the fourth-century emperors to its danger to their imperial authority. They sought to curb its development by repeated legislation, even attempting to fix the law so that documents granting property by *protégés* to patrons should be legally void, but in vain.

3. SERFDOM IN INDUSTRY AND TRADE: THE "COLLEGIA"

By a process similar to the development of the colonate, the industrial and commercial classes were also gradually reduced by the state to practical serfdom. As we have seen, the emperors of the second century had encouraged the development of the professional *collegia*, especially those engaged in the distribution of foodstuffs, such as shippers and dealers in grain, pork, wine, and oil. At first such service to the state was considered an honor and was rewarded by the grant of special privileges. But, during the disintegration of economic life in the third century, these services gradually came to be considered compulsory public duties, and what was once an honor became a grievous burden. Septimius Severus founded new colleges until all the city trades in Rome were organized for the service of the state. He also appointed his own judicial representatives over each guild, so that from his day the colleges came increasingly under direct government supervision as a part of the machinery of the administration. Naturally, the first to be brought under imperial control were the colleges of shipowners and wholesale merchants of foodstuffs who supplied Rome and the army. Others that were early regimented were the colleges of artificers, remakers of rag cloths, and woodcutters in the large centers of Italy and the provinces that were connected with the security of life, such as the local fire brigades.

To maintain the provisioning of Rome, Alexander Severus changed all services that furnished supplies to the capital to monopolies. But as these privileged associations broke down in the later third century, with the rapid disintegration of commerce and industry, the emperors were driven to make their services compulsory and kept up their membership by transforming them to hereditary castes under a practically military discipline. At first a regimentation of the group, the compulsion was later clamped upon each individual member, who was finally, like the *colonus*, permanently attached to his vocation and place of residence, and his sons after him. The drastic step by which the merchants and transporters of foodstuffs were made agents of the state subject to the stern discipline and direct control of military officials is probably to be traced to Aurelian, but if not, to Diocletian. In any event, the members of these associations were henceforth bound to them and their depleted numbers might be increased by compulsory conscription of new members.

By the beginning of the fourth century the miller or shipper was legally required to remain at his task for life and to train his sons in the same vocation. How many vocations were included in the state compulsion and how far its application extended beyond Rome in the early fourth century is uncertain. But it probably extended to such cities as Alexandria and Carthage at least, and since it was applied by Constantine in his new capital, the system

of hereditary state serfdom for the industrial and commercial classes, as for the *coloni*, probably became general throughout the Empire in the course of the fourth century.

4. THE "CURIALES"¹² AND THE DECLINE OF THE MUNICIPAL MIDDLE CLASS

The savage proscriptions, exactions, and confiscations of Maximinus, the ravages of the barbarian invasions in many parts of the Empire, the general decline of economic life, and especially the heavy liturgies and requisitions of the third century had sadly depleted the municipal bourgeoisie. Imperial interference in the financial affairs of the municipalities had become ever more common with the growth of autocracy, the pressure of taxation, and the growing impoverishment of the cities. Thus, by the time of Diocletian, the local senates had lost most of their original initiative in legislation, administration, and finance. The *curiales*, from whom local magistrates and senates were chosen, had so declined that it was increasingly difficult to secure candidates to man the municipal offices and to bear the municipal and state burdens. Naturally, as the older families died out or became impoverished, the individual responsibility for collecting the tax quota for the district became an ever more impossible burden.

To meet the difficulty the emperors appointed curators of the city finances, a practice which became almost universal under Diocletian. In addition, he and Constantine fixed the responsibility for tax collection more firmly upon the *decuriones*, or local senates. They must apportion the total quota among the different land units (*jugu*) and individual units (*capita*) and assume the responsibility for collection of the full amount, whether of payments in kind or money taxes. As the burden grew ever more crushing, it became increasingly difficult to secure voluntary candidates for the municipal senate. Appointment was therefore practically enforced, and the property qualification was lowered to increase the eligible list. Finally, during the fourth century, the responsibility was extended to the entire body of *curiales*, which was constituted as a hereditary caste. Henceforth, they were serfs of the *curia*, legally attached to their residence and responsibility, as were the *coloni* to their estate and the members of the *collegia* to their native place and vocation.

Thus Roman society in country and town gradually became rigid and stagnant. The old upward movement from class to class practically ceased. Initiative was crushed, culture was stereotyped, the old resiliency was forever lost, and Rome was no longer able to assimilate the barbarians. Of course, the urban middle class did not entirely disappear, and there were still some well-to-do in the provincial and Italian cities. But it was a sadly changed bourgeoisie from that of the second century. It was a class servile in spirit and devoid of civic pride or initiative that sought to evade its state obligations and looked to exploitation and speculation for its wealth. Yet even this degenerate middle class steadily declined as the cities became ever more impoverished and depopulated.

¹² For earlier references to the *curiales*, cf. Chapter Twenty-three, Sec. II, 8.

III. THE DECADENCE OF CULTURE

I. ART AND ARCHITECTURE

The only art in which Rome was ever truly creative was architecture, and even this shows a distinct decline in artistic quality after Hadrian. To be sure, extensive building continued far into the fourth century. Some outstanding examples are the grandiose Septizonium (a portico in seven stories) by Septimius Severus on the Palatine, the gigantic Baths of Septimius Severus, Caracalla, and Diocletian in Rome, the vast palace of Diocletian at Spalato (Salona), the colossal basilica of Maxentius and Constantine in Rome, the elaborate city gate (Porta Nigra), and the fine brick basilica of Constantine and his father at Trèves, the arches of Septimius Severus and Constantine in Rome, amphitheatres at Verona, Pola, and Thysdrus in North Africa, and the vast circus of Maxentius near Rome. Constantine caused a whole new city to spring up on the Bosphorus, and public works such as the building of roads, harbors, lighthouses, and aqueducts continued well into the third century.

In technical ability, also, the architecture was little inferior to that of Hadrian's day. The vaults of the Basilica of Constantine can compete with the dome of the Pantheon in "height and span." But proportion and perfect finish in detail are conspicuous by their absence in these gigantic and grandiose creations, for art is not mere bigness or tasteless and showy decoration. They were also built too hastily, and for fine hewn stone are substituted coarse materials set in masses of mortar. It has been well said that after the Antonines there were no architects, "only masons."

Municipal architecture rapidly decayed with the growing impoverishment and loss of public spirit. In the greatly reduced cities of the third and fourth centuries, also, there was little room for great building. Only under imperial patronage in a few centers did it continue on a large scale. The insecurity caused the emphasis to be upon strength and defense in building. Palaces take on the appearance of fortresses, as the vast palace of Diocletian at Spalato. Even the country homes of the great proprietors emphasized strength rather than comfort, beauty, or elegance. The early Christian churches, modeled after the Roman basilica, were poorly built and showed little artistic initiative for several centuries. By the opening of the fourth century the finer qualities of ancient architecture had long disappeared, and the building began to take on a distinctly medieval character.

Sculpture, which had always been largely imitative for Romans, suffered a still more rapid decadence. Portraits of emperors and magistrates continued to be very numerous through the third century, but early lost any truly individual character. The fine Roman realism of the early Empire is gone. The bust of Gallienus is a real, though conventional, likeness, but we have not a single reliable portrait of Constantine. The alleged colossal statue of Constantine is very mediocre and is no exception. From his time on the portraits are lifeless works, and the prevailing materials are colored marbles, as porphyry, and more precious stones, as onyx.

In relief sculpture the decline began still earlier, though the figures of men and horses on the Arch of Marcus Aurelius are still worthy works of art. Those of Septimius Severus, however, have degenerated to mere drawings on stone. To secure bas-reliefs for his monumental arch Constantine was reduced to pilfering those from the arches of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius. The figures on the panels from his own day are pitifully weak and stiff in contrast. His Arch has well been called the "gravestone of the arts of Greece."¹⁸ For the adornment of his new capital he was reduced to stealing wholesale from the art treasures of Delphi and other Greek cities. Relief sculpture continued on Christian sarcophagi, but in an even more frigidly conventional style.

In the minor arts the coins of the third century are not unworthy, except for a lack of finish. Mosaics on pavements rapidly declined, but those on walls and domes retained some artistry until the fourth century. Through the influence of the Near East, it emphasized gilt and glitter at the expense of careful design. Engraving on precious stones, whether in relief (cameos) or by incision (intaglios), suffered an eclipse after the middle of the second century. Work in terra cotta had long been decadent, and by the third century only the cheapest and commonest objects found any market. The same is only less true of art work in bronze and iron, while, according to Pliny the Elder, the goldsmith's art was decaying in the West even in his day. He also speaks of painting as a dying art, but miniature painting on manuscripts continued until the fourth century, as is evident from the worthy examples in the Vatican Virgil and the Ambrosian Homer. Fragments of fourth-century tapestries from Egypt and the Crimea reveal a surprising identity in texture with the famous Gobelins of France.

The causes of the decadence of Roman art may be traced partly to the shortcomings of the Roman character itself. Except in architecture and to some extent in portrait sculpture, the Romans were never more than effective imitators and dilettanti in art at best. Art to them was always a hothouse product, largely produced by Greeks and Orientals, and after Hadrian even the Roman technique and taste rapidly declined. Other factors were economic and esthetic. Art requires a perfection of technique that consumes much time, which is possible only in a fairly secure and prosperous society. Successful art also requires an active demand for its products, and such a demand rapidly declined after 150 A.D. Even in the crafts, only the cheaper and coarser products found a market in the third and fourth centuries. Constantine's edict of 337 A.D., granting immunity from public burdens to fifty-eight liberal professions or artistic vocations so that the artificers might improve themselves in their crafts and train their children to be still better craftsmen, is the epitaph of the arts.

From the esthetic standpoint a primary factor in the decadence was the very richness of the heritage from Greece, which for centuries had blighted creativeness even among the Greeks. The creative period in art was long past for the ancient world even when the Empire was established. Art cannot thrive forever on a merely imitative tradition, despite the development of a fine tech-

¹⁸ P. A. Gregorovius, *History of the City of Rome in the Middle Ages*, Bell and Sons, 1894-1902, Vol. I, p. 85.

nique. Another factor was the archaizing tendency encouraged by Hadrian, which exerted a blighting effect on art and literature alike. Mithraism and Christianity were only servile imitators of the already decadent art products and by their symbolism reduced art to an even more frigid stereotype. The attitude of the church to classical art also may have exerted some influence in the decadence of ancient plastic art. The church fathers condemned some of the finest representations of gods and heroes as idolatrous. They also attacked as licentious the nude art and the mythological scenes on vases and in mural paintings. But ancient art had long been decadent before Constantine, when the church gained a dominant influence in the Empire. In art, as in other phases of civilization, the secret of the decadence must be sought in Roman society itself.

2. EDUCATION AND LETTERS

Despite the political and economic chaos of the third century, public education seems not to have markedly declined. Septimius Severus and Constantine were well educated in literature, Julia Domna, the Syrian wife of Severus, presided over the chief literary salon of Rome, and Constantine was at home with scholars. In general, also, the emperors, though mostly rough soldiers, continued the second-century policy of fostering higher education, endowment of chairs, and subsidies to the higher municipal schools. At both his old and new capitals, Constantine placed education under imperial supervision, though there was apparently no dictation as to its content. Even during the next two centuries of decline, the upper classes were generally devoted to the literary tradition of the past. A liberal education was still a social necessity, a badge of rank, and a sure recommendation for social or political preferment.

The attitude of the Christian church to Greco-Roman education in the third and fourth centuries as subversive of Christian ideals is not entirely clear. In the East the Greek fathers, such as Origen and Clement of Alexandria, upheld the Hellenistic tradition, but among the Latin writers in the West there was less unanimity. Tertullian was strong in his condemnation of pagan letters and asks indignantly, "What have Athens and Jerusalem in common?" Even a polished Latin rhetorician like Lactantius was critical of classical writers. Jerome and Augustine were thoroughly committed to ancient literature, though Jerome had his doubts about it in his later life. Doubtless the active conflict between Christianity and the old religions had its effect on the Christian attitude towards the pagan classical authors. On the whole, however, the opposition could not have been effective until the church was well established as the state religion. Since the educated Christian leaders necessarily received their instruction in the Greco-Roman schools also, they were naturally conditioned to the enjoyment of classical literature. The stronger hostility came in the fifth century, during the last struggle of paganism.

Already in the third century Latin and Greek were losing their old monopoly. Though Greek was adopted universally for the church ritual in Asia Minor, it yielded to the vernacular on the Eastern frontier and in Egypt, leading to the rise of Syriac, Armenian, and Coptic as literary languages. In

the West Greek died out in the lower schools and was beginning to decline even in higher education. Latin held its ground in the West, both in church and secular literature, against the native tongues, but the grammar and spelling of spoken Latin were already showing evidences of corruption, and this was reflected in the literary language. Already at the beginning of the fourth century the new Romanic tongues were in process of development, and Latin was becoming the language for education, literature, and the church rather than the language of daily life. But classical Latinity was by no means dead. The Latin classics were thoroughly studied in the schools of Gaul during the fourth century, and Christian authors long continued to write in the ancient Roman manner.

3. LATIN LITERATURE

As we have seen, Latin literature showed a distinct decline after Hadrian, and during the anarchic third century it suffered a virtual eclipse. Skill in versification continued, but there was little poetry worthy of the name. The four eclogues of Nemesianus show some true poetic feeling, but they are imitations of Calpurnius, an imitator of Virgil. Latin prose had even less to offer. Aside from the *History* of Marius Maximus, the continuer of Suetonius, whose work has not survived, the only historians worth mentioning were the Greeks Dio Cassius and Herodian. With the poverty of style, vapidness, and utterly uncritical character of the *Historia Augusta*, part of whose biographies were probably written in the later third century, we are already familiar. The rise of a new school of oratory in Gaul and the fact that the chief Latin fathers were in Africa reveal how far the intellectual centers had shifted from Rome.

The only creative intellectual activity was in jurisprudence under the Severi, and this was a continuation of the work of Salvius Julianus, Sextus Pomponius, Gaius, and Q. Cervidius Scaevola under Hadrian and the Antonines. Outstanding for their legal erudition and later influence under the Severi were the Syrians, Papinian and Ulpian, and Julius Paulus.¹⁴

In the fourth century Latin literature experienced something of a revival, though it lacked any creative quality, and was largely leaves without fruit.¹⁵ The ablest pagan poet of the century in Latin was Claudius Claudianus of Alexandria, who came to Rome about 395 A.D. Though a Greek, he handled the Latin language with remarkable ease and grace, better than any Roman poet since Statius. But his poetry is marred by extreme panegyric and conventional rhetoric. There was little inspiration for a poet in the outworn Roman civilization. His chief themes, the eternity and grandeur of Rome, and the beauty and sufficiency of the pagan religion are pathetic in view of the fact that both were rapidly dying. He could only look backward to the great achievements of earlier Rome, as he does in his twenty-sixth Panegyric.¹⁶

Ausonius, a famous professor of rhetoric in Bordeaux (Burdigala), fell far

¹⁴ Cf. Chapter Twenty-two, Sec. III, and the résumé of the development of Roman law in Chapter Thirty, Sec. III.

¹⁵ Though our political narrative of Rome ends with the death of Constantine, some discussion of the fourth-century writers is included here to illustrate the continued decline of culture.

¹⁶ Lines 50 ff., however, almost vie with Virgil's *Aeneid*, VI, and Horace's *Odes*, Bk. III. With Claudian, the history of pagan Roman poetry practically ends.

below Claudian in his shorter poems, but his *Mosella*, describing a journey on the river Moselle, shows some genuine poetic feeling and a real appreciation of nature. Though his poetry reveals classic dignity and a clever use of language, it is artificial, flowery, and marred by extreme laudation and absurd list-making. He was probably a Christian, though there are no specific Christian references in his poems. The most important Christian poet of the fourth century was Prudentius of Spain, who wrote both epic and lyric poetry. In narrative and descriptive power he could vie with Claudian and Ausonius, and he had what they had not, the fresh inspiration and genuine enthusiasm of a great faith.¹⁷

Fourth-century Latin prose was afflicted with the same disease as was poetry, a plethora of words without ideas. It is insincere, artificial, sterile, and dominated by vapid rhetoric, obtrusive learning, extreme eulogy, and slavish imitation. Its products are copies of poor copies, and its only message is a hollow echo of the past. History was dying, letter writing was sterile, and oratory had no message except the most extreme panegyric.

The last notable historian in Latin was Ammianus Marcellinus (330-400 A.D.), a Greek of Antioch and an official in the imperial army. He undertook to be the continuator of Tacitus, including the period from 96 to 378 A.D., but only the last eighteen of his thirty-one books have survived, covering the last twenty-five years of the history. He is quite accurate and shows a good insight into political situations and character, but is no master of Latin prose style. He gives an admirable picture of the corruption and degeneration of his times. But despite the disastrous defeat of Rome by the Goths at Adrianople in 378, he has no apprehension of the approaching breakdown of the Empire. Aside from Ammianus, history was hopelessly decadent. Fourth-rate copies of Suetonius, trivial biographies, meager and inaccurate epitomes, unblushing forgeries, arid compilations with not a trace of insight or critical sense, and all in the most pedestrian Latin, were all that such writers as the authors of the *Historia Augusta*, Aurelius Victor, or Eutropius could offer. In these the characteristics of the early Middle Ages are already exemplified.¹⁸

Though an active school of rhetoric flourished in fourth-century Gaul, Roman oratory had lost its reason for existence except in the Christian pulpit. Its main stock in trade is self-abasing panegyric. Q. Aurelius Symmachus, a Roman senator, its chief representative, took Cicero as his model, but was sadly lacking in Cicero's wit or intellectual initiative. In the stirring times of the late fourth century, he has little to say. The same was true of letter writing, also especially exemplified in him. He is a dull stylist devoid of ideas. In the language of Gibbon, his *Letters* are "barren leaves without fruit or even without flowers," or as another has expressed it, "tinsel wrapped in endless folds of

¹⁷ The earliest Christian poet was Commodianus, a bishop of the third century, whose long poem against paganism is of interest for its wavering between classical quantitative and medieval accentual meter.

¹⁸ On the *Historia Augusta* and the epitomists, cf. Chapters Twenty-two and following chapters. Aurelius Victor wrote brief accounts of the emperors from Augustus to Julian. Eutropius wrote an epitome of Roman history from the beginnings to 365 A.D. Despite his simple style and pure Latinity, his work has no independent historical value.

tissue-paper.”¹⁹ Such dull imitations of the younger Pliny as these or the letters of the Gallic Sidonius Apollinaris in the next century make Pliny seem great in comparison.

Grammarians, commentators, epitomizers, and compilers prevailed among prose writers, providing texts which exerted a significant influence for medieval education. The most important were Donatus on Terence and Virgil (lost), and Servius and Macrobius on Virgil. The Commentary of Macrobius is pedantic and tasteless, revealing well the state of Roman culture in the fourth century. He quotes multitudes of unknown grammarians, but seems not to know Quintilian. But though pedantic purveyors of secondhand learning, they are of great value historically and as an aid to an understanding of the classic authors. Valuable also are the scholiasts' excerpts and summaries of earlier researches on the Latin language. The grammatical primer of Donatus was a standard text for the next thousand years. Such writings helped preserve Latin as the language of culture. In the third and fourth centuries literary taste as well as creativeness had so declined that many of the earlier Latin classics were either no longer read or studied only in epitome, as Livy. Thus, much valuable literature was lost, and we should have even less had not parchment replaced papyrus for literary manuscripts in the fourth century.

4. GREEK LITERATURE

The revival of Greek literature under Hadrian continued under the Severi, but suffered a decline during the years of military anarchy. As we have seen, the only historians worthy of mention in the third century were Greek, Herodian and especially Dio Cassius, grandson of Dio Chrysostom and praetorian prefect of Alexander Severus. His vast *History of Rome* from its beginnings to 229 A.D. required twenty-two years to produce. Of its eighty books, only XXXVII to LIV complete, extensive fragments of XXXVI and LV to LX, and epitomes of LXI to LXXX have survived. Though uncritical in his selection of sources and reflecting the prevalent superstitions of his age, he has a statesman's insight into political and constitutional questions and is largely free from the bitter prejudices of Tacitus. His work is especially valuable where Tacitus fails us.²⁰

Greek poetry is represented in the fourth century by Quintus of Smyrna, who undertook to complete the story of the *Iliad* and connect it with the *Odyssey*. Though his rhythm is good, he has no creative power or insight and can only parrot the words of the master without grasping his thought.

Greek science ended in a flash of creative genius with a work on arithmetic by Diophantus, who made the first known use of algebraic notation. The last great system of Greek philosophy, Neo-Platonism, was also founded in the third century at Alexandria by Plotinus. His six *Enneads* of nine books each revitalized Platonism and were the most systematic attempt at a comprehensive interpretation of the universe since Plato and Aristotle. No Greek philos-

¹⁹ Another prominent contemporary orator and letter writer was the emperor Julian, dubbed "Apostate" because he sought to bring back the old religion.

²⁰ For previous references to Dio, cf. introductory analysis of sources in Chapters Fifteen, Twenty-two, and Twenty-seven.

opher ever faced more frankly the problem of evil. Though including strong Oriental elements, the philosophy of Plotinus was distinctively a Hellenic product, harking back to Plato, Aristotle, and the Stoics. It is an idealistic monism in which matter has no independent existence over against the universal One, but is essentially evil and nonbeing. To him soul has a very real existence. It is the unifying principle and is not to be interpreted in terms of the body. His god was absolutely transcendent, but the gulf was bridged between this abstraction and man by lesser gods, emanations from the absolute spirit. Plotinus was a thinker rather than a wordmonger like most of his contemporaries, but his system was too difficult for the declining intellectual life of the later Roman Empire, which could appreciate only the superficial, and sought only immediate results. It therefore later degenerated in the hands of his successors to an eclectic hodgepodge of half-truths and popular superstitions.²¹

5. SUMMARY

On the whole, the game was played out for secular literature and learning, both Latin and Greek, as for every phase of pagan civilization. The knowledge and the classics that were not incorporated in the arid intellectual epitomes were doomed. In summary, the qualities of ancient secular literature and thought in their decline were literary polish with poverty of ideas, exaggerated rhetoric and panegyric, indiscriminate worship of the past, tastelessness, bombast, and literary insincerity. It displayed a pedantic parade of learning which "turns epics into grammars," list-making, arid epitomizing, obscurity, irrelevance, eclecticism, intellectual weariness, and a love of the bizarre, superstitious, mystical, and sentimental.

The causes of the decline are not far to seek. Even in Hellenistic literature the Greek creative spirit was largely spent, and Hellenistic science was doomed after about 150 A.D. In things cultural the Roman mind was always imitative rather than creative. Absolutism, the regimentation of the masses, the ruin of the middle class, the decline of civic spirit and morale, the decay of city life, the gradual impoverishment of the Empire, and the early separation of Roman literature and learning from life were also important factors in the decline and final breakdown of ancient Mediterranean culture. It was inevitable that Christian literature, which had a vital message, should gradually usurp its place and enter into its heritage.²²

IV. CAUSES OF THE DECLINE OF ROMAN CIVILIZATION

We have traced the gradual decline of ancient civilization in the later Roman Empire. The question now naturally arises, Why did such a mighty and brilliant culture become decadent? Why did ancient society gradually revert to a primitive simplicity from which it must painfully rebuild itself through many centuries? This question has long baffled historians and other thinkers. Its essential difficulty, as of all such problems of causality in history, is its

²¹ On its later development, doctrines, and vast influence, *cf.* Chapter Thirty, Sec. I.

²² Christian literature in Greek and Latin will be briefly treated in Chapter Thirty, Sec. II.

almost infinite complexity. Another difficulty is the practical impossibility of distinguishing clearly between symptoms and causes of decline. Historians have been prone to center their attention upon only one of the factors, as if they were mutually exclusive and not a complex network of interrelated causes. We must rid ourselves of the crude nineteenth-century mechanistic conception of unilinear causation and think in terms of dynamic interaction.

The decline must also be conceived not as a sudden breakdown due to the attacks of German barbarians from without, but as a very gradual process of decadence from within. The final catastrophe came in the late fifth century when the worm-eaten structure was about ready to fall of its own weight. Yet it required over a century and a half of invasions, a period longer than American history since the founding of the Constitution, before the German invaders finally ended the effete Empire in the West.

The gradual decadence of Roman civilization was no exceptional phenomenon. The ancient world furnishes numerous examples of such decline, whose usual symptom was a certain intellectual weariness and loss of creative energy. Civilization became fossilized and static, interest in cultural progress yielded to a mere materialistic struggle for existence. Some of the nations of the ancient Near East seem to have gone down in their bloom through invasion, as in the fall of early Babylonia to the Kassites, the Hittite Empire to the Thracians, and Assyria to the Medes and later Babylonians. But this was certainly not true of later Egypt, Persia, or Greece. They were all effete before their final conquest.

Also, in the ancient Orient, the shift in nations sometimes meant little loss of culture, as in the line of succession from Assyria to Persia, the Parthians, and the new Persian Empire of the Sassanids. The two great instances of permanent decline in culture, rather than of mere transference of culture, are Greece and the later Roman Empire. In the Greek city-states we have found that one cause of decline was their political separatism and interstate war. But their fatal shortcoming was the failure to spread prosperity and culture beyond the privileged few and the resulting chronic internal strife between masses and classes.

After the conquest of the East by Alexander, Greek civilization gained a new lease of life as a cosmopolitan Hellenistic culture. But, though less provincial, both prosperity and culture were still a monopoly of the aristocratic few, the Greek and Macedonian city exploiters of the vast native rural population. Meanwhile, Greece was gradually more impoverished and fell ever more into political and social anarchy until it finally lost its freedom to Rome, despite its superior culture. This failure to extend prosperity and culture to the masses and the resulting deadly social conflicts were also significant factors in the final decadence of Rome, her conqueror.

In considering the problem of the decline of Roman civilization, a brief critical review of suggested causes may clear the air. For centuries popular writers and orators have seized on the so-called moral degenerateness of Roman society as a warning to modern nations. But they have conceived of "moral" in a narrow, negative sense of sex morality and only as related to

the upper class in the Roman court and capital. Unfortunately for their theory also, the most flagrant period of social immorality in the Roman leisure class seems to have been in the heyday period from 50 B.C. to 100 A.D., rather than in the later Empire.

Some historians have made political and military factors the exclusive causes, such as the failure of Rome to provide any real share in the government by some form of representation, or the insufficiency of the armed forces, or the growth of autocracy and decline of the senate. But though these doubtless played some part in the interacting network of causes of decline, they were actually effects of factors that lay far deeper. A merely political interpretation is always in danger of being superficial. Moreover, we are by no means as sure as we once were that even modern democracy is any guarantee against breakdown.

Others have stressed the destruction of Greek creative initiative by Rome's conquest, but Hellenistic civilization was already declining before its absorption by Rome, and the culture of the Greek cities of the East retained some remnants of virility and creative initiative much longer than that of Rome and Italy.

The exclusive economic interpreters, who would reduce history to a simple formula, have centered on the alleged fact that the ancient world never developed a truly capitalistic economy. But we have found abundant evidence in our study of both Greek and Roman civilization that their major premise is false. Even if it were true, the problem would still remain as to the reasons for the failure. Neither may the oft-emphasized theory of "soil exhaustion" be unduly stressed, for there was never any general soil exhaustion. Ancient agriculture decayed for the same reasons as did other phases of ancient economic activity. Economic, like political, explanations do not necessarily reveal the hidden causes of social decline, and economic factors represent only one phase in the multiple system of reciprocal causes.

Still others have emphasized a biological and racial solution. The decline of Rome has been blamed on malaria, on the extermination of the best by wars, on race suicide, and on the contamination of the old Roman stock by slaves, freedmen, and immigrants from the East, who bred more freely. But malaria affected only certain parts of Italy and was itself a result of the lapse of drainage facilities and proper cultivation due to the later general decline of initiative. Ancient warfare also usually resulted in no such slaughter as modern. The century of civil and foreign wars culminated in the Golden Age of Augustus. Modern biologists and anthropologists also have revealed the essential fallacies in all theories based on the alleged general "inherent" inferiority or superiority of racial types. As a matter of fact, Greek and Oriental slaves were often far superior to their Roman masters both in ability and culture. And while Celts and Germans were still backward in civilization, certainly the most pronounced racialist would not assert their racial inferiority to their Roman cousins. The theory of inferiority is especially absurd when applied to the Greeks, of whose creative culture the Romans were wholesale imitators. Such theories cast no real light on the problem of Roman decline, except as they

point out the failure of the Roman stock to reproduce itself, and the fact that Roman imperial absorption of undeveloped peoples was later far beyond her power to assimilate them, thus leading to increasing barbarization.

Critics of organized Christianity, such as the eighteenth-century rationalist, Gibbon, and the skeptical philosopher, Nietzsche, have made it the chief scapegoat, responsible for the decline of ancient civilization. They have pointed to its nonmilitary character, its emphasis upon docility instead of the aggressive virtues, the contemplative as opposed to the active life, and the race suicide of the best through monastic celibacy. But Rome's virility and public spirit were doomed long before Christianity became dominant, and after the state adopted the religion, Christians were as loyal and patriotic as any citizens. The triumph of Christianity was only one phase of the gradual psychological change in the ancient world from creative activity and interest in cultural and material progress in this world to a decline of faith in reason and worldly achievement, and an escape to mystical religion, supernaturalism, and otherworldliness described in the following chapter. This mental change was a factor in the decay of ancient civilization, but it was itself the product of complex hidden causes which still baffle explanation.

In a sense, however, it is true that Christianity, like the other Oriental religions and Greek philosophy, was a factor in, as well as an evidence of, the disintegration of ancient classical civilization. By their very individualism and cosmopolitanism, they all emphasized the individual rather than the state, a prophecy of the attitude of the church to the state in the Middle Ages.²³ They undermined secular power by attacking the old civic religion and helped to change the very intellectual atmosphere in which Roman civilization lived. Yet Christianity did not destroy the already decadent Roman culture, but only entered into its heritage.

The ponderous attempts of Spengler and others, obsessed by the false biological analogy to prove scientifically that every culture or society passes through an inevitable course from birth through childhood and maturity to age and death by an absolutely predetermined process, are only dogmatic assertions on insufficient data. Even if the theory were true, it would furnish no vital explanation of the inner process of growth or decadence.²⁴ In their zeal to fit all history to the Procrustean rack of their own abstract schemata, alleged parallelisms between cultures are unduly stressed, while overlooking their vast and essential differences, as well as the utter diversity of external conditions.

All the above theories are either historically false or essentially one-sided attempts to give a simple, monistic answer to an extremely complex problem. Or they are mere restatements of the fact of decline without real explanation. The factors in Roman decline were hopelessly complex and reach far back into the Republican period. The true picture reveals processes of political, economic,

²³ The church, however, was not an individual, but a great corporate body, a state within a state.

²⁴ Mr. Arnold Toynbee, in his discussion of the rise, growth, and decay of societies, in his work, *A Study of History*, Oxford University Press, 1934, 3 vols. to date, is far more satisfying, though, somewhat open to the same criticism.

social, physical, intellectual, military, and spiritual disintegration, each a most complex process in itself and all intimately interrelated.

The interpretation of M. I. Rostovtzeff in his *Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*²⁵ penetrates far more deeply below the surface than most previous attempts to account for Roman decadence. He traces it to the failure of ancient culture, both Greek and Roman, to penetrate to the masses. It remained an aristocratic urban veneer of the propertied few, who grew indolent, self-satisfied, and indifferent in the later Roman Empire, while the underprivileged masses increasingly resented their depressed condition. In his view, the final factor was a prolonged social conflict between the urban civilization of the propertied classes and the ignorant country masses in the anarchic third century, whereby the former were broken and impoverished. Their fate was sealed by the wholesale enslavement of the urban middle class to the service of the totalitarian state by Diocletian and Constantine in the attempt to save the Empire from immediate collapse. Thus the educated and propertied classes were absorbed by the poor, untutored masses. Through this leveling process the civilization that centered in them gradually relapsed to barbarism, and all phases of life, political, social, economic, and cultural, reverted to primitive simplicity.

In its essential elements this picture of the brilliant historian has much of truth, but he falls into the same monistic error as other interpreters. The failure of ancient civilization to spread to the masses and the consequent social strife were doubtless significant factors in the decline, but they were only two of a multitude. There is no essential reason why the whole explanation should center here rather than at some other point. Furthermore, there is no sufficient basis for interpreting the military anarchy of the third century as a conscious class conflict between country and city, as we have seen. The real social conflict, then, as also in Republican Rome and the Greek states, was not between urban classes and peasantry, but between the haves and have-nots wherever found.²⁶

If one must organize his interpretation of Rome's decline around some central idea or factor, it might well be imperial expansion,²⁷ whose reflex effects had the deepest ramifications in every phase of Roman civilization. This has been the organizing idea through all the preceding chapters of our history. As we have seen, it was through expansion and Greek influence that the very texture of Roman life and society was transformed and that a multitude of diverse and baffling problems arose, which, never adequately solved, became chronic diseases in the social body and led to final decay and death.

Politically, imperial expansion resulted in the anomaly of a world empire based on a city-state organization. Only Roman citizens were represented in the government, and this meant little except to residents of the capital. During

²⁵ Cf. also his *Ancient World*, Vol. II, Chap. xxv.

²⁶ One may suspect that the theory was suggested by the tragic leveling of the very small minority of educated upper and well-to-do middle classes to the ignorant rural masses of Russia through the revolution of 1917.

²⁷ Cf. A. Toynbee, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 128-154, on the effects of colonization and imperial expansion on any society, a sane though somewhat overdriven analysis.

the last century of the Republic the world was ruled by an increasingly corrupt and exclusive senatorial oligarchy, a greedy capitalist class, and a proletarian mob led by unprincipled demagogues for their own selfish advantage. Even after all Italy won civic rights and Roman citizenship was extensive in the provincial municipalities, the vast mass of the inhabitants were exploited subjects ruled by a small minority of privileged owners. The result was the outrageous mulcting of the provinces, and cutthroat partisan strife between Optimates and populares, and civil war between competing generals who returned from their campaigns to dictate to the state. Meanwhile, the army was transformed from yeomen citizen owners to propertyless volunteers beholden to their general rather than to the commonwealth. The civil power was increasingly dominated by the military power, and law and order were replaced by force and violence. Finally, the old Republican machinery, contrived for a primitive farmer community, broke down under the weight of world empire. Thus ended the Republic with the resort to one-man rule.

The Augustan Principate brought peace, prosperity, and a brief flowering of creative culture. It relieved the provinces from exploitation, stimulated civic patriotism, and gave the state a new lease of life. But security was bought at the cost of liberty, both political and intellectual, and its loss soon struck at the root of creative culture. The very idea of freedom was lowered and its supreme human value depressed in the minds of a generation who passively submitted to the autocratic authority of one man as their "present god." Despite the apparent enthusiasm for the new order in the writers of the Golden Age, the literature lacks something of the freshness, independence, and power of the best from Greece and Republican Rome. There is a note of pessimism and disillusionment in the rejoicing, and a tone of intellectual weariness and the spirit of escape are already in the air.

After Augustus, the poorly veiled military autocracy soon showed its true character in the Julio-Claudians and Domitian. The senate's part in the government gradually decreased. The imperial succession was increasingly determined by military force, either by praetorians or provincial armies, and civil war again devastated Italy. The happy second century also had its darker side. Its rulers were increasingly paternalistic and autocratic, despite their humanitarianism, and the old ruling classes in Italy and the provincial municipalities were rapidly being robbed of all vestiges of political or civic initiative, as we have seen. Finally, in the military anarchy of the third century, all the old evils of civil war returned, multiplied manyfold, and the inherent weaknesses of the Principate as a solution of the political problem were glaringly revealed. The army which had been created to establish and protect the Empire became its master and destroyer, and only by clamping Oriental absolutism upon the entire population could the state be saved from complete collapse. Thereafter, with the loss of every vestige of political initiative, the Empire in the West lived on at a poor dying rate until it finally fell a victim to the barbarian invaders.

Even under the Principate of the first two centuries, despite the ever wider expansion of the citizenship and large local autonomy in the municipal cities,

the vast mass of underprivileged in city and country were dominated by a relatively small, aristocratic minority of urban propertied classes. Except for the old Roman senatorial class, who were exploited and exterminated, these led a life of indolent contentment and sterility. Under the brilliant exterior of the second century, the lack of creative power or initiative and a stagnant indifference in this class are only too evident. Refusing to reproduce itself, it must be recruited from without instead of from within. It thus prepared the way for its own extinction. Amid the invasions and internal anarchy of the next century, the emperors, dominated by their barbarized armies, sought to save the state by a process of leveling, which reduced this urban class to humiliation and beggary. From this blow neither this class nor ancient civilization, of which it was the heart, ever recovered. The Empire lingered on, living on the tradition of its past greatness, but its effete institutions and organization became ever more primitive, until they were little above those of their barbarian conquerors.

Rome had not the initiative to create new political machinery adequate to the needs of Empire. Her only resort was to one-man rule, which is always an admission of political failure and intellectual weariness. Military might prevailed over civic order. The state created a military machine which it could not control. Expansion proceeded far beyond the power of Rome to assimilate, and beyond the strength of the comparatively simple economic basis to support. The older parts could not stand the strain of the new, and the vast structure finally broke down of its own weight. Moreover, imperial expansion itself drained Italy of its best and eventually robbed it of the very initiative necessary to rule an empire. Rome and Italy were leveled to the status of provinces, and finally the capital itself was transferred to the East.

Imperial expansion also brought with it the germs of decay, economically and socially. Its heritage was the decline of the peasant farmer, the evil of *latifundia*, a vast overdevelopment of slavery in the Republic, a resulting grave proletarian problem which was never solved, a check to a healthy industrial development, a parasitic finance and commerce, and the necessity of a huge import of grain which should have been raised at home. It made for extreme luxury for the favored few, created grave social problems that became ever more acute, greatly widened the gulf between rich and poor, and stimulated that bitter class strife which was finally an important factor in the decline of ancient civilization.

The great expansion of cultivation, trade, and industry in the first two centuries of the Empire reacted badly on the economic prosperity of Italy. After the middle of the second century also, the very development of economic self-sufficiency in the newer provinces, due to the cost of land transportation, meant a gradual decline in industrial skill and craftsmanship. This tendency was greatly enhanced by the economic disorganization of the third century. The devastating effects of invasion, pestilence, and military anarchy, the financial chaos resulting from repeated debasements of the propertied classes, the destruction of the economic initiative of all classes by the crushing regimentation of the state and the loss of security, and the vast increase in imperial taxes

and requisitions in the face of a rapidly declining production brought a gradual relapse to primitive forms of economic life. Cities decayed and disappeared, and urban civilization, never more than a thin veneer, was gradually overwhelmed by the vast mass of country ignorance and barbarism.

Rome also paid dearly for her Eastern expansion by inheriting the evil Oriental social system. The small city owner in agriculture gave place to vast slave estates, which, with the decline of the slave supply under the *pax Romana*, yielded to tenantry. Under the pressure of imperial requisitions and exploitation by the *conductores*, free tenants were gradually reduced to state serfs in the colonate, while the city artisans and traders in the *collegia* and the middle class of *curiales* met a similar fate, as we have seen. Thus the curse of the Egyptian and Asiatic serf system of agriculture, hereditary and compulsory labor for all, state requisitions, absolute regimentation of the individual by the doctrine of *origo*, and fossilization of all society into a rigid caste system became the blighting heritage of the West.

In our study of the Republic and early Empire, also, we have seen that expansion had a degenerative effect on the social and moral fiber of the Roman people. The new wealth and luxury from their too easily gotten gains turned them from healthy industry to wealth and exploitation. Too sudden contact with the brilliant but effete Hellenistic civilization transformed the very texture of the Romans and undermined their social institutions of family and religion. The ruggedness and sturdy manhood of the earlier Roman aristocrat became only a memory. The old spirit of patriotic service for the commonwealth gave place to exploitation of the state and the idea that it owed the citizen a living. The self-satisfied leisure class, by their growing indifference to civic duty, prepared the way for their own downfall. Unwilling to expand their ranks, they were not strong enough to support the fabric of world civilization and were therefore finally overwhelmed by the ever-increasing mass of underprivileged. The corruption of public spirit and the decline of individual morale rather than a degeneration of morals in the narrower sense were both symptoms and causes of the final breakdown.

The old stock was also depleted and scattered by colonization and lost its virility by parasitism, luxury, and race suicide. Refusing to reproduce itself, it was recruited from foreign elements rather than from within. The influx of slaves, freedmen, and immigrants from Greece and the Orient changed the character of Rome and Italy, and after the second century A.D. the process of foreignization was greatly enhanced by the repeated filtering of Germans into the Empire, many of whom entered even into the military and civil service. Thus were the Romans Orientalized and barbarized. While these were not inferior races, they were either undeveloped peoples, as the Germans, or largely from the uncultivated classes of the East, whose influx meant a dangerous retardation to Roman culture. Instead of assimilating them, therefore, Roman civilization was increasingly assimilated to them.

Culturally, also, expansion had its unfortunate side for the Romans, despite their splendid Hellenic heritage. It foisted upon them a culture whose creativeness was already largely spent and prevented them from realizing a natural

evolution. Historically, the Roman mind was not very creative, except in engineering, architecture, law, and political institutions. But we shall never know what it might have been had it not been early overwhelmed by an old and vastly higher culture, which furnished supreme models in almost every field of literature, art, and thought. Such masterpieces dulled even Greek creativeness in most fields after the fourth century. The result for Rome was a marked decline in literature after the high point from Cicero to the death of Augustus, and by the middle of the second century Roman literary creativeness had practically ended. The same was true of art. Domination by a higher culture was, of course, not the only factor in the decadence. Declining economic welfare, depletion of the old virile stock, political chaos, and the loss of freedom by state regimentation all played their part. But Roman culture was already distinctly on the decline before most of these factors were notably active.

In any event, an essential change gradually developed in the very mentality of the ancient world after the Augustan age. The old vigorous initiative and interest in achievement slowly gave place to an intellectual weariness, a loss of faith in reason, and an escape to mystical religion. Creativeness was spent. Literature and learning were reduced to the barest imitation and the production of dry manuals and summaries of ancient knowledge. The only voice was a dull echo of the past.

In religion, also, imperial expansion had its disintegrative effects on all that was characteristically Roman. With Greek culture came skepticism and rationalism, which undermined the old civic religion and family and local cults. Though temporarily revived by the Augustan reforms, there was no fundamental change. Stoicism and other Greek philosophies took the place of religion for the upper classes of the later Republic, and Oriental cults and Chaldaean astrology and magic became increasingly popular in the Roman West. From the beginning of the second century A.D., especially, such Oriental and Greek mystical religions and philosophies won an ever wider following even among Romans. Stoicism became a religion; Neo-Platonism, the eclectic mixture of all the religions, philosophies, and superstitions of the East, became the final representative of Roman religion and culture. Finally, the best organized of these Hellenized Oriental religions, Christianity, conquered the dying Roman state, establishing a culture with an utterly different outlook, medieval, not classical, on the ruins of the Roman.

In the above analysis we do not presume to have solved the problem of the decline of ancient civilization or even to have contributed essentially to its solution. Like other students of the problem, we have largely explained what happened rather than why it happened, for there is nothing more baffling than the problem of historical causation even of the simplest events. The germs of Roman decadence are evident in the very fact of Roman expansion. But there is no monistic explanation. Ancient civilization, never more than a thin veneer of an urban privileged few, was always in a precarious position. The comparatively simple economic basis of the ancient world also proved insufficient to sustain so vast and complex a political structure as the Roman Empire. It finally broke down under the strain of the ordeal of the third century, and

the drastic reorganization of Diocletian and Constantine brought no real recovery, only further regimentation, continued impoverishment, and reversion to primitive simplicity. State regimentation and the vast increase in the cost of centralized government to stop the decline only aggravated it.

In the last analysis, we return to the gradual loss of virile mentality in the cultivated leisure class of the second century for whatever reason which made the debacle of ancient culture all the more imminent. It only required the political conflicts, regimentation, and loss of economic welfare and security in the next century to complete the ruin. The leveling policy of the emperors only succeeded in lowering the status of the civilized classes to that of the underprivileged and ignorant masses, without raising the latter. Thus the bearers of ancient culture, already afflicted with the disease of intellectual weariness, were finally overwhelmed by ignorance, crudity, and barbarism.

Chapter Thirty

ROMAN PAGANISM, CHRISTIANITY IN THE LATER EMPIRE, AND A RÉSUMÉ OF THE DE- VELOPMENT OF ROMAN LAW

I. ROMAN PAGANISM

I. THE DOMINANCE OF RELIGION AND THE FAILURE OF PHILOSOPHY

The trend from reason to emotional religion, already notable in the age of the Antonines,¹ was greatly strengthened by the ordeal of the third century. Religions of all varieties thrived, and superstition was general in educated circles as well as among the masses. Even the most cultivated classes no longer found spiritual satisfaction in philosophy.² Stoicism had become a religion with a full-fledged theology, supplementing its impersonal divine Reason with the whole Greco-Roman pantheon of lesser gods. Neo-Platonism from its inception had strong mystical and ascetic elements. As a scientific system, it sought to develop certain religious convictions as the means of salvation. By mystical contemplation it would free the soul from the bonds of the body, so that it might return to God, the pure *nous*, or mind.

In its purer Hellenic form as taught by Plotinus, however, it could hardly have caught the imagination of the third and fourth century mind. The philosophy was transformed to a full-blown religion by his successors. Porphyry, his pupil, developed it to a systematic theology of polytheism, co-ordinating all ancient cults to one in opposition to Christianity.³ Jamblichus (c. 330 A.D.), an ultra-mystic of unlimited credulity, carried the process of harmonization to its logical conclusion by allegorical interpretation, so as to include all gods as intermediaries. Finally, in the fifth century, Proclus reduced Neo-Platonism to a bizarre mixture of mythological fancy and barren scholasticism, which Windelband has called "the philosophical mummification of Hellenism." Thus, later Neo-Platonism became the embodiment of all the magic and superstition of the ancient world, and magic became the very essence of religion. Yet in such sincere spirits as the emperor, Julian the "Apostate" (360-363 A.D.), the mathematician Theon, and his daughter Hypatia, who made the last brave stand for the pagan faith in Alexandria early in the next century, it still retained the noble ethical ideal of Stoicism. As the palladium of all the

¹ Cf. Chapter Twenty-five, Sec. III.

² The number of Romans who did was always very limited. Historically, a purely philosophical or ethical system has generally failed to meet the spiritual needs of even intellectuals in the long run.

³ As an aggressive opponent of Christianity, his books were later burned.

pagan cults, Greek, Roman, and Oriental, and as the quintessence of all that remained of the old declining culture, it served as the final rallying point against Christianity for dying Greco-Roman civilization.

2. THE GRECO-ROMAN CULTS AND THE STATE RELIGION

The age-old pagan cults of family, local shrine, and countryside long retained a remarkable vitality, as the inscriptions that directly reflect the popular beliefs abundantly prove. The religion of the Italian peasantry had deep roots, and the provincials clung never more tenaciously to their local deities. Never were temples, shrines, altars, and sacrifices more numerous. Even in the fifth century Christian polemics had to give much attention to persisting "pagan"⁴ cults. Their vitality is further seen in the power of the old religion to assimilate new elements as the Oriental religions, its creation of new deities, and its obstinate persistence against the dominant Christianity until the close of the fifth century.

The state religion of Rome also not only persisted, but seemed to regain some of its old influence among the educated classes in the fourth century. Their loyalty to it was quickened, since they rightly believed that the fate of Roman civic religion was inseparably bound up with the fate of ancient culture, whose very foundations were being undermined by militant Christianity. This was the secret of the attempted reaction of the emperor Julian and the later attempt of the Roman senate to assert itself against the Christian emperors. The emperor cult was badly damaged by the long line of military usurpers of the third century, none of whom received deification. But it was temporarily revived by Diocletian, who frankly posed as a "present" god in his own right aside from Roma and was deified by the senate at his death. With the victory of Christianity, however, the emphasis necessarily shifted from deification and emperor worship to absolutism by divine authority. The emperor at Constantinople was the supreme representative of God on earth. In the West the claim was assumed by the Roman bishop as Pope, and later by secular rulers, and was finally developed by early modern political theorists into the divine right dogma.

3. THE ORIENTAL RELIGIONS

The influence of the Hellenized Oriental religions of salvation, already dominant in the second century, was still stronger in the later Empire. These cults have been sufficiently described in Chapter Twenty-five and therefore require little further elaboration here, except to indicate later developments. Judaism continued in the schools and synagogues of the Jewish Diaspora and was probably strong at Rome, but had ceased to be an active missionary religion. The once extremely popular Egyptian cult of Isis also gradually declined after the Severi. The attempt of Elagabalus to merge all other religions in the cult of the sun-god of Emesa died with him, and the Babylonian *Sol Invictus*,

⁴ The word "pagan" (*paganus*) originally signified the inhabitants of a country district. Later, it connoted ignorant country population as opposed to the civilization of the cities. Finally, it took on the derogatory meaning of heathen, as opposed to the dominant Christian faith.

"Invincible Sun," to whom Aurelian gave the supreme official position in the Roman Pantheon, never gained wide recognition.

The more ethical cult of the Persian sun-god, Mithra, however, already widely popular in the time of the Antonines, was now the chief rival of Christianity.⁵ Especially popular in the military camps and highly favored by the Severi, Mithraism became the most stubborn foe of the dominant Christian religion after Constantine. Like the cult of Isis, however, Mithraism's wide extension was due not only to proselytizing zeal, but also to the large numbers of Oriental devotees diffused through all parts of the Empire. Not only the conversion of Constantine, therefore, but the breakdown of intercommunication during the confused conditions in the later Empire was partly responsible for the final decline of these cults in the West.

In accord with the prevalent syncretism of the age which made possible a combination of a transcendent monotheism or pantheism with all the gods of the pagan Pantheon, Mithraism drew much from other Oriental religions. From the cult of the Earth-Mother of Asia Minor, it borrowed the initiatory rite of the *taurobolium*, and its worship of the sun was only one of many types. Its many parallels with Christianity also suggest some possible reciprocal influence between them. The early Christians did not usually think of disbelieving in the existence of the pagan gods, considering them false gods or demons. We have also seen how confused in his own mind Constantine was as to Christianity and sun worship. In the later Empire there was a general intermingling and assimilation of all pagan cults and philosophies, especially in Stoicism and Neo-Platonism, which came to represent the essence of later pagan culture and religion. Only in Christianity, therefore, did conversion to one of the Oriental cults necessarily mean renunciation of any of the others, and even in Christianity there was inevitably much unconscious assimilation of pagan elements, as we shall see.⁶ Probably the relative strength of Mithraism as the outstanding opponent of the dominant Christian cult in the late third and early fourth centuries has been exaggerated. It was already fighting a losing battle with its rival, which was the only religion that was still rapidly expanding, and that, too, at the expense of the other Oriental cults.

II. CHRISTIANITY IN THE ROMAN ⁷ EMPIRE

(70-337 A.D.)

I. THE EXPANSION OF CHRISTIANITY AND THE RISE OF CHRISTIAN LITERATURE

During the first century Christianity had made a gradual but steady advance, especially among the more humble classes. By the death of St. Paul, it had its

⁵ For a description of this cult, cf. Chapter Twenty-five (end). Cf. Pl. XXII.

⁶ On the methods of religious conversion in Roman society, cf. T. Frank, *Aspects of Social Behaviour in Ancient Rome*, Harvard Press, 1932; A. D. Nock, *Conversion*, Oxford University Press, 1933.

⁷ For the fate of the Jews and Judaism under the Flavians and Antonines, cf. Chapters Twenty-one, Sec. I, and Twenty-two, Sec. VI.

bands of devotees in every important center of the East, in Rome, and probably in some other towns of Italy and the West. Half a century later the younger Pliny could plausibly write of its wide popularity in Bithynia: "This contagious superstition is not confined to cities only, but has spread through the villages and rural districts," so that the pagan temples "have been almost deserted" and the festivals neglected. Tacitus also refers to them, probably with some exaggeration, as "very numerous" (*multitudo ingens*), even at the time of the Neronian persecution.⁸ By the time of Marcus Aurelius the faith was not only one of the dominant religions in the East, but was strongly rooted in Italy, Africa, and Gaul and was rapidly becoming the chief competitor of Mithraism. A century later it may well have comprised over half the population in large parts of Asia Minor and a strong minority in much of the West.

The reasons for the steady spread of Christianity over the Roman Empire against great odds, until it became the dominant religion in the state, are not far to seek. The Christian church was by far the best organized of all private religious groups. After the break of the Christians from Judaism they did not long remain in isolated religious communities. The church rapidly took on a distinctly organic character. Before the close of the first century it had already developed a compact body of clergy with wide powers over the laity, and by the time of Marcus Aurelius the clerical hierarchy was well developed and the organic unity of the church was being strongly emphasized.

Christianity was also unique in its thorough system of intercommunication between the different churches by letter and official visitation during the second century. Already by the third century the bishops of the *metropoleis* in many provinces were convening regular assemblies of bishops from all the lesser cities in the manner of the provincial *concilia*. Thus provision was made for mutual financial aid, and divisive developments in creed were checked. This led, under Constantine and later, to the convening of delegated councils of prelates from groups of provinces corresponding somewhat to the diocesan grouping of provinces for political administration. Such a representative assembly of the bishops of the Western churches was held at Arles (Arelate) in 314, and in 325 A.D. a truly "ecumenical" (world) council was called by Constantine at Nicaea to settle the Arian question, as we have seen. Before his death the ecclesiastical machinery for effective centralized administration of the universal church through the monarchical bishops, with the bishop of Rome as the leader, was essentially complete, though his universal supremacy was not yet formally recognized.

Christianity also had a distinct advantage over the other Oriental religions in its remarkably effective system of propaganda for the faith. From its inception it was blessed with a multitude of zealous missionaries of the cross,⁹ whose widespread evangelism was made especially fruitful and permanent by the early development of organic church unity. But an outstanding aid in Christian propaganda was the creation of a special literature such as no other ancient religion

⁸ *Letters*, X, 96, *Loeb Classical Library* translation (W. Melmoth), by permission of the Harvard University Press; *Annals*, XV, 44. Cf. Pl. XXII.

⁹ For the deeper reasons for their conversion and zeal, cf. below, pp. 711-712.

except the Jewish had yet produced. Besides their accepted background of the Old Testament as the inspired word of God, the four Gospels and the records of the work of the apostles, such as the Acts, the Epistles of Paul, and other apostolic writings,¹⁰ had early acquired a special sanctity. By the middle of the second century they had been codified into a sacred New Testament containing the inspired message of the new Gospel. These books were also translated from the original Greek into several Latin versions for use in the West. Already before 170 A.D. a formal list of New Testament books, including all the present ones except the two Epistles of Peter, James, and Hebrews, was recognized as canonical or divinely authoritative by the universal church.¹¹ Before the end of the century Latin and Syriac versions had appeared, including all but three or four of the lesser books. The first known use of the term *Novum Testamentum* for the accepted books was by Tertullian early in the next century. Some books, notably Hebrews, Revelation, and the second Epistle of Peter, were long disputed, especially in the East, where there were at least three different traditions. The settlement was largely due to the influence of Jerome and Athanasius and the Roman church. But the present canonical list of New Testament books was not finally ratified in the West until the end of the fifth century, and the process was not fully completed for both the Eastern and Western churches until a century later at the Council of Tralles. The criterion for admission to the canon was whether a book was believed to be by an apostle or else by an immediate disciple of an apostle.

The New Testament writings were immediately followed by a continuous and ever-increasing stream of Christian propagandistic literature, first in Greek and, after the middle of the second century, also in Latin. The first were the Greek writings of the so-called *Apostolic Fathers*, written with the same purpose as the New Testament books and believed to have preserved the apostolic tradition more directly than the later writings.¹² Following these, beginning with Justin Martyr, Tatian, and others in the latter half of the second century, were the Apologists, both Greek and Latin, who wrote in defense of the faith against paganism and heresy. Their writings did much to systematize the authorized Christian creed as a means of clear differentiation from both. The first of such works in Latin was the *Octavius* of Minucius Felix, written in answer to the attacks of the pagan writers, Fronto and Celsus, in the reign of M. Aurelius.¹³ Among the great Greek systematizers of Christian theology were Irenaeus in the latter half of the second century and Clement of Alexandria and especially Origen in the first decade of the third.

Notable contemporary Latin Apologists were the passionate Tertullian and St. Cyprian, who died for the faith in 258, both of the African church. Though tinged with the Montanist heresy¹⁴ in his earlier career and harsh in his style,

¹⁰ For the dates of these writings, cf. Chapter Twenty, Sec. IV.

¹¹ This list is the so-called Muratorian fragment found in 1740.

¹² For detailed descriptions of these and the later Christian writings, the reader is referred to histories of the early church, for which see Bibliography. The chief apostolic writings are the epistles of Clement of Rome and Barnabas, works by Ignatius of Antioch and Polycarp, the *Oracles of the Lord* by Papias, the *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, and the *Shepherd of Hermas*.

¹³ On this interesting dialogue, cf. Chapter Twenty-six, Sec. III. ¹⁴ Cf. below.

Tertullian was very widely read and exerted a wide influence. Especially significant is he as the founder of Western Christian theology, as a pioneer in the Christianization of the Latin tongue, and as the outstanding opponent of classical philosophy and literature in the West. His passionate recriminations are an exception to the rule of balanced moderation and logical argument in the Christian Apologists. In this respect, Christianity had the advantage over its pagan opponents.

Lactantius, a professor of rhetoric, contemporary with Diocletian and Constantine, who wrote an able exposition of Christian doctrine and an ironical work, *On the Deaths of the Persecutors*, is especially notable for his excellent classical Latin. The earlier patristic writers placed little emphasis upon literary style. Even in the middle of the second century the church of Rome consisted largely of people hardly able to speak or write Latin. But during the next two centuries this condition had gradually changed. With the "Christian Cicero," Lactantius, Christian literature, with its genuine sincerity and virile message, was already rapidly displacing the vapid and degenerate Roman prose. Christian writers, educated in the best Greco-Roman schools, had now become masters of an elegant Latin style, while, unlike their pagan contemporaries, they had something compelling to say. Before the close of the fourth century the Greek and Latin Fathers were the great writers, with whom no pagan author could compare.¹⁶ Thus, ancient classical literature, like pagan civilization, gradually declined and was finally displaced by Christian, which represented a very different spirit and outlook, though embodying the ancient classical tradition. As a result, the Roman language was declassicized and Christianized, while the formal Latin tongue exerted in turn a vital influence in shaping the spirit of the Christian creed.

From the time of M. Aurelius, also, Christianity had kept extensive historical records, among which were the *Acts of the Martyrs*, including a multitude of volumes. Eusebius, a Palestinian bishop in the time of Constantine, collected the church traditions into the first standard *Ecclesiastical History*. A pioneer in the field, it exerted a powerful influence upon both church and secular historical writing for the next millennium. Its theological interpretation of history, drawn from the Old Testament prophetic writers, became the accepted interpretation throughout the Middle Ages.

Christianity had still other distinct advantages over the pagan cults. It had a more enduring spiritual appeal. It was even more thorough in its universalism than the religion of Isis or Mithra, being no respecter of persons, rich or poor, male or female, bond or free. The very ideality of its moral demands appealed to the more heroic soul. It satisfied the yearning of the times for special mystic knowledge or illumination (*gnosis*) through a mystical union with the deity and offered a far more vivid, personal consciousness of God than did the

¹⁶ The outstanding ones were (Greek) Athanasius, the orthodox opponent of Arius, and the eloquent preachers Basil, Gregory Nazianzen, and Chrysostom; (Latin) St. Ambrose, bishop of Milan, St. Jerome, the scholar-humanist and a great factor in declassicizing Latin, who translated the Bible into the Latin Vulgate, and St. Augustine, the great author of the *City of God*, which, above all other works, shaped the theological thought of medieval Christendom for the next nine centuries.

pagan cults. Its essential exclusiveness also inspired a conviction of sure knowledge, and its brotherhood and philanthropy won many. But probably its strongest appeal was the magnetic personality of its historic founder¹⁶ and the more concrete offer of a personal immortality of a higher ethical quality through the "power of his resurrection and the fellowship of his sufferings."

2. THE DANGER OF SCHISM AND HERESIES

Despite the advantages of Christianity over other cults and the apparent unity and militant aggressiveness of the church, it was long faced with two grave dangers that sometimes threatened its very existence. The first danger was from within, lest the church be hopelessly split by heresies and doctrinal disagreements. Heresies arose in the early church as a natural result of differences of interpretation at a time when Christian thought was still in a fluid state. But there were also special causes, such as the influence of Greek philosophy and religious syncretism, dissatisfaction at the growing externalism in the church, ecclesiastical party strife, and the difficulty of arriving at a rational interpretation of the doctrine of the person of Jesus as both divine and human. Even in late New Testament times, the heresy of Docetism, which taught that the human body of Jesus was only a phantom, was already strong.¹⁷

By the middle of the next century Gnosticism, which included the Docetic heresy in its teaching, furnished a distinct crisis to the church, and the danger was overcome only at the cost of the development of a rigid creed and church organization. Gnosticism taught an inner mystical wisdom (*gnosis*) for the esoteric few by which they were saved from the evil world of matter. It had absorbed many of the mystical, magical, and ascetic ideas from the Oriental cults and Neo-Pythagoreanism which were soon to be appropriated by Neo-Platonism. Some of these were the belief in an absolutely pure, transcendent God, lesser beings as emanations from him, the material world as essentially evil, and salvation from bondage to the material by mystic knowledge and contemplation. Christ was the revealer of the transcendent God, while the God of the Old Testament was an inferior being. Its chief early leader was Marcion, a great ascetic and protester against the growing legalism in the church, who, despite his excommunication, exerted a powerful influence in the East. While attacking real abuses in the church, Gnosticism was especially dangerous to church unity, and in denying the humanity of Jesus, it struck at the very root of Christianity as a historical religion.

Montanism, named from its founder, Montanus, was also rife in the latter half of the second century as a reaction against the growing secularism in the church. Montanus was an extreme ascetic and claimed to be the revealer of a new dispensation of the Holy Spirit. Despite his repeated condemnation by the orthodox bishops, the movement long had a wide influence, and the ascetic phase of his teaching finally won. The real question was, Should the church

¹⁶ It was not necessary to have seen him physically. Witness the remarkable conversion of Paul and multitudes of others from that day to this.

¹⁷ Cf. I John 2: 22; 4: 1-3; II John 7. Cf. also the Gospel of John 1: 7, which stresses the orthodox doctrine.

conform to the world and its authorities in order to conquer it, or should it remain a society of religious devotees, separated from the world? Montanus and many old-fashioned and more spiritual souls stood for the latter against the inevitable tide. For the only hope of the church as a permanent institution in the Roman Empire was to adapt itself to its environment and undertake to Christianize the state.

To accomplish this she must shape her theology by pagan philosophy, form her organization and law by Roman constitutional and legal patterns, enrich her worship by the elaborate ceremonial of the day, and appropriate its art, industry, and commerce to her own needs. This path she chose against Montanus and the spiritual protesters. Thereby, she was finally able to conquer the Roman state, though, according to protesters like Montanus and Tertullian, who led the movement against secularism in Africa, at the loss of her own soul. But it was through this struggle and victory over Gnosticism and Montanism in the late second and early third centuries that the "Catholic" church was born.

Arianism chose the opposite horn of the dilemma from Gnosticism and Montanism by asserting that Jesus was not coequal with God, of similar but not the same essence. But the controversy continued to rage and Arianism long remained a grave danger to the unity of the church. A striking evidence of this is that all the German tribes that later settled in the Empire, except the Franks, were converted to the Arian faith.¹⁸

Another controversy which threatened to split the church, despite all the efforts of Constantine to quell it, resulted from the Donatist heresy in North Africa. The Donatists were a powerful sect whose basic tenet was that all priestly acts depended for their validity upon the personal character of the priest. The result was a bitter conflict in the African church over the bishopric of Carthage. As we have seen, Constantine was especially concerned with church unity because of its intimate relation to the unity of the Empire.

The reflex effects on the church resulting from its struggle and victory over these earlier heresies were epochal. To these bitter controversies can be traced the rise of a significant part of Christian literature, the absolute emphasis on church unity, a systematized authoritative creed, the extreme emphasis upon orthodox creed as the primary essential in religion, and the development of a rigid hierarchical organization culminating in a universally authoritative Roman bishop or Pope as the arbiter of Christian truth. Also, the victory entailed the assimilation of much from the heresies themselves, as an integral part of Christian doctrine.

3. PAGAN OPPOSITION TO THE CHURCH AND THE FINAL TRIUMPH OF CHRISTIANITY

The other grave danger to the church was from without, the persistent opposition of Roman paganism, whether from the emotional prejudice of the untutored masses, hostile propaganda of intellectuals and aristocrats, or organized persecution by the Roman state.

¹⁸ For further detail, cf. below, Sec. II, 3 (end).

The charge of "hatred of the human race" (*odium humani generis*) against the Christians as antisocial, which first appears at the time of Nero, had become the general attitude of Roman masses to the rapidly growing "sect" in the second century.¹⁹ There were many reasons for this. The emotional enthusiasm of the Christians for their faith made them appear as fanatics to those who did not seek to understand them. Their intolerance and attack on the traditional gods were resented as atheism by the masses, and the large number of Orientals and Greeks among their adherents accentuated this resentment. Their clannishness and aggressiveness, their disturbance of the set social habits, and the danger to vested interests resulting from their attacks on idol worship also inflamed the masses against them.²⁰ They were unjustly believed to be guilty of the grossest crimes of incest, murder, and cannibalism. Their doctrine of social equality, also, was interpreted as social revolution, and this misunderstanding was enhanced by their growing tendency to celibacy and their preaching in the inflamed language of prophecy an early return of Christ to judge the world. Mob attacks of the prejudiced masses against the Christians broke out frequently in the first two centuries and were responsible for a number of the martyrdoms, and sometimes for more serious mass persecutions, as at Lyons in the reign of M. Aurelius. Such popular opposition gradually died down during the third century, however. After Constantine there existed an easy friendship between the opposing cults.

From the second through the fourth centuries Christianity also had to face persistent hostile propaganda by pagan men of letters, philosophers, and rhetoricians, both in Latin and Greek.²¹ Such were the polemics by Fronto, Lucian, Aristides, and Celsus in the second century, which called forth many reasoned defenses of the Christian faith, such as those of Justin Martyr, Minucius Felix, and the fiery Tertullian. Examples in the third and fourth centuries were the attacks of Porphyry, the Neo-Platonist, and Julian, the "Apostate" emperor. But such polemics were very numerous and persisted even beyond the fourth century, despite the dominant position of Christianity in the state after Constantine.

The Christians were misunderstood by the imperial government as well as by the cultivated classes and masses, and with reason. Christianity and Judaism alone of all religions refused to fulfill the conditions of tolerance demanded by the Roman state, that they should not endanger established moral, political, and social order, and should tolerate other religions. The unity of the Empire, symbolized by the worship of Rome and the emperor, was an ideal fundamental to all true Romans. But here was a rapidly growing organization, alien to its spirit, a state within a state, demanding supreme loyalty to another object than Rome.

This was increasingly felt as the Christian church developed into a well-knit organization, with its large body of clergy distinct from the laity and its

¹⁹ Cf. Tacitus, *Annals*, XV, 44; Pliny, *Letters*, X, 96.

²⁰ Cf. Pliny, *Letters*, X, 96, 10, and Acts 19 on Demetrius, the silversmith.

²¹ Similar polemics against Judaism and the Jews, mostly by Greeks, largely died out after the bitter conflict with Hadrian. The Jewish religion was tolerated for Jews, but not for proselytes. Celsus violently attacked Jews as well as Christians.

monarchical bishops, a process which had already gone far before the close of the second century. By their intolerant refusal to compromise with the Roman gods of family and state or to bow to the cult of the emperor, and their aversion to participating in the state festivals, taking oath, and sharing the responsibilities of citizenship, they naturally incurred the charge of non-co-operation. Their frequent assemblies were also an object of suspicion to a government that forbade political meetings. Probably from Domitian's reign, Caesar worship, as a test of loyalty, began to be more definitely imposed on Christians, which, to them, was idolatry and sacrilege. Neither could understand the other, for the Christians interpreted the requirement religiously, while the Romans saw in it only a political act.

No state was ever more tolerant of diverse religious cults than was the Roman imperial government. It would readily have admitted Christ to its Pantheon, had his devotees been willing to live and let live. But their uncompromising spirit made such a *modus vivendi* impossible.²² The surprising fact is, therefore, not that there were sporadic persecutions by the state, but that they were not very much more regular and persistent. This is especially true in view of the spread of the new faith.

The persecution under Nero was only a passing whim of a despot and represented no general imperial policy against Christian worship.²³ Domitian lives in Christian tradition as a hated arch-persecutor of the Christians and a second Nero. But, as we have seen, his brief persecution of Christianity at Rome in 95 A.D. was only a part of a general religious policy of championing the imperial cult and opposition to the Jewish and other Oriental religious propaganda. Apparently, the only evidence for any extensive persecution by him is from late and untrustworthy Christian writers. His attack seems to have been brief, local, and sporadic, directed against a few prominent persons, and not primarily or generally against Christianity itself.²⁴

For a half century after the crucifixion the Roman governors in the East made no official move against the Christians. But at the close of the century there were enough executions to furnish a precedent for the future. The governors found some legal basis for action in the laws of Caesar and Augustus against unauthorized associations, or in the refusal of the Christians to recognize the cult of the emperor.

The attitude of the Roman state to Christianity in the second century is clearly enunciated in the famous correspondence between Pliny and Trajan.²⁵ Evidently no definite imperial edict had been issued against the Christians or even Pliny would not have written for advice concerning them. The vague practice of Roman officials seems to have been to punish as outlaws proved cases of refusal to sacrifice to the emperor that were brought before them, but to leave the initiation of proceedings to private prosecutors. In Bithynia, how-

²² Of course, to have compromised on the central issue would have meant the failure of Christianity.

²³ Cf. Chapter Eighteen, Sec. V, 3.

²⁴ On the whole problem, cf. above, Chapter Twenty-one, Sec. IV, 3, and B. W. Henderson, *Five Roman Emperors*, Chap. III.

²⁵ *Letters*, X, 96, 97. The translations given below are from the *Loeb Classical Library* translation (W. Melmoth), by permission of the Harvard University Press.

ever, where the Christians were already very numerous, the problem perplexed Pliny, especially as he was swamped with a multitude of anonymous charges, many of which were denied by the accused.

Pliny's letter clearly shows that the popular belief was still strong that the Christians were guilty of immoral and antisocial practices. But his investigation revealed that, far from being guilty of such outrages, "their worst sin was their meeting at stated times for religious service to worship Christ as a god, and binding themselves by a solemn oath not to commit any wicked deeds, never to commit any fraud, theft, or adultery, never to falsify their word, nor to deny a trust, . . . after which it was their custom to separate, and then reassemble to partake of food, . . . but food of an ordinary and innocent kind." Even this practice, however, they had abandoned after his decree against assembly.

In a brief, businesslike answer to his anxious wordy letter, Trajan clearly states the sane and just Roman policy in the matter. All accusations must be thoroughly sifted, and no anonymous charge should be admitted as evidence. No blanket rule can apply, but each case must be decided on its merits, and large discretion must be given to officials on the ground. They should not seek out the Christians, but if one is accused and found guilty, he must be punished, unless he recants, when he should receive full pardon. His answer is thus a compromise. Disloyalty to the state, implied in Christianity, if proved, cannot be tolerated, but extreme measures are not in accord with the humanitarian spirit of the age and seem unwarranted against a sect in which he sees no serious danger. Evidently the Roman government was not then actively hostile to the Christians and did not share the hatred of the excitable Eastern mobs against them.

This continued largely to be the attitude of the successors of Trajan in the second century. Many reasoned defenses of the Christian faith were written to prove that it was not dangerous to the state. The state sponsored no general persecutions in the second century, and occasional martyrdoms, such as that of Ignatius, bishop of Antioch, and Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna, were due rather to the fury of the mob. Hadrian showed a balanced attitude in his rescript about 123 A.D. to the governor of Asia, in which he insists upon a fair trial and clear proof of guilt before condemnation, and warns that false accusers will be punished by severer penalties. Only one Christian is known to have been executed in his reign and three under Antoninus, one of them being Polycarp. Incipient persecutions in Achaia and Macedonia by overzealous officials were ordered stopped by Antoninus.

That Marcus Aurelius, the humane idealist and most Christian, ethically, of all pagans, should live in Christian tradition as a severe persecutor is one of the anomalies of history. The accusation, however, is not well founded. He instituted no change in policy or general persecution of the Christians. There is no evidence of positive hostility to them on his part,²⁰ though he was perhaps less active in checking the attacks of mass prejudice. But the rapid spread of Christianity in the Western provinces had probably made the conflict of Christians

²⁰ The oft-quoted harsh reference to Christians in his *Meditations*, XI, 3, is now believed to be almost certainly an interpolation. Cf. C. R. Haines in the *Loeb Classical Library* edition, pp. 381-385.

with the masses somewhat more acute than formerly. The known cases of persecution in his reign are Justin Martyr and his six companions, three at Pergamum, perhaps one in Africa, and the forty-eight executions at Lugdunum in Gaul. This latter, the only known case of mass persecution in the second century, was due to an attack of the furious mob on the Christians, not to government initiative. The answer of Marcus Aurelius, then on the German frontier, to the Roman governor's request for advice repeated practically the policy of Trajan, punishment if proved guilty, but pardon if they recant. Roman citizens had the privilege of being beheaded. Others must fight the wild beasts in the arena. These were the traditional Roman punishments, however, and were not the invention of Marcus Aurelius. His rescript of 177 A.D. ordering punishment of new sects which caused popular tumults by spreading doctrines "by which the ill-balanced minds of men are disturbed," though not directed primarily against Christianity, doubtless incited such attacks upon the Christians at Lugdunum. Probably his engrossment with the Marcomannic War made him give slight attention to the matter.

Thus in the second century, as in the first, persecution was only spasmodic, not a general policy, primarily the result of mass prejudice rather than of government initiative. Large discretion was given to magistrates in the matter, and the tolerant and compromise method of the Roman state in dealing with Christianity was probably a far greater factor in its rapid growth than the "blood of the martyrs."

During the first half of the third century the church enjoyed a new period of general toleration. There are no authentic records of persecutions under Septimius Severus. The Syrian Alexander Severus even included Abraham and Christ among the deities of his palace shrine and decreed immunity for Christians. In 250 A.D., however, Decius, as a part of his vain attempt to check the general insubordination and anarchy, demanded that Christians abjure their faith and join in the state worship. Seven years later Valerian decreed that all Christian clergy should attend official pagan ceremonies. These decrees resulted in a number of martyrdoms and recantations. But these persecutions were too brief and spasmodic to affect the church seriously. Furthermore, mass public opinion was now far less actively hostile to the Christians, and the provincial governors followed no settled policy of opposition. In 260 A.D. Gallienus rescinded the decrees of Decius and Valerian as futile. During the next forty years the Christians were not only free from any official persecution, but were practically exempted from the worship of the emperor. Thus, both military and civil service were open to them, and they showed no disposition to shirk civic duties, except participation in the pagan rites.

Strange to say, Christianity faced its most extensive and persistent ordeal of persecution between the years 303-311 A.D. under Diocletian and Galerius, just preceding its final triumph. In these years the number of Christian victims exceeded all previous totals. Diocletian, who was naturally tolerant and had a Christian wife, may have been influenced by the zealous Galerius. But his determined attempt to curb the aggressive faith was probably motivated largely by his general policy of imperial unity and restoration of order in the state. If

so, the two suspicious fires in the imperial palace immediately after his first edict may well have strengthened his purpose against the Christians as probable incendiaries.

In any event, in 303 he published edicts ordering confiscation of church property, dismissal of Christians from civil offices, deprivation of their judicial rights, enslavement of all Christians of plebeian status, arrest and imprisonment of the chief clergy, and destruction of the churches and their sacred books. Heavy penalties were imposed upon those who refused to sacrifice to the state gods. These were followed by a fourth edict in 304 requiring all citizens to offer public sacrifices and libations to the gods. The extent of enforcement of the decrees varied, but it was especially harsh under Galerius, while Constantine in Gaul paid little attention to them. Diocletian himself vacillated, withdrawing and repeating his edicts. The persecution lasted intermittently after Diocletian, under Galerius, until 311 A.D., when he finally confessed its futility by issuing his Edict of Toleration.

Despite the many martyrs among its leaders and the large number who fell away, the church emerged more thoroughly organized and aggressive than ever. The edict of Galerius was followed by Constantine's adoption of the Christian standard in 312, as a result of his victory over Maxentius at the Milvian Bridge. The following year, in co-operation with Licinius in the East, he issued the Edict of Milan granting general religious toleration for Christians and exemption from all pagan ceremonies anywhere in the Empire.²⁷ For a time Maximinus Daia in the East, impressed with the danger to the state from a powerful church, instituted new harsh persecutions. He also established pagan hierarchical priesthoods like the Christian and issued propaganda against the Christian Scriptures.

As a result of the later break of Licinius with Constantine, his disgust at the bitter theological factions, and his fear of a strong church, uncured by the state, he also broke his Milan decree of toleration. He forbade church synods and philanthropies, prohibited women from attendance at the religious services of men, expelled Christians from his palace, and finally from the administrative service. But with his final overthrow and the establishment of Constantine as sole emperor, the Christian church not only enjoyed universal toleration, but was given the preferred place in the state.

Such great personal decisions as the conversion of Constantine to Christianity are difficult to fit into any formal or exclusive scheme of historical determinism. While Christianity had gradually advanced in strength during the second and third centuries, nowhere, except perhaps in Asia Minor, Syria, and Alexandria, did its adherents number one-half of the population. Christians were still, even in Constantine's day, distinctly in the minority in the West, excluded from the public service and opposed to state religion. His decision to favor it as the chief stabilizing force in the Empire can therefore hardly be explained on the basis of its strength or as the natural culmination of its development in the previous century. Perhaps he was impressed by its aggressiveness and strong organization as a nucleus about which to organize a universal religion to aid imperial

²⁷ Cf. Chapter Twenty-eight, Sec. II, 2, 3.

unity. Though conditioned favorably toward Christianity from the first by his Christian mother and tolerant father, his attitude throughout was probably determined largely by political interests rather than by deep religious convictions. Yet he doubtless sincerely believed in the truth of Christianity, according to his light. In any event, in first deciding to cast his lot with this well-organized minority, he showed a type of imagination rare among Roman statesmen.

His conversion was a very gradual process which did not culminate until his final baptism into the faith on his deathbed. During the first four years of his reign (306-310) he represented the Herculean dynasty, but with Maximian's death he traced his descent from Claudius the Goth, thereby connecting himself with the worship of the "Unconquered Sun," whose legend, *Sol Invictus*, appears on his coins. Probably the final failure and recantation of the bitter persecutor, Galerius, was a strong factor in his decision to seek victory against Maxentius under the banner of Christ as the most powerful God. His victory confirmed his faith and his Arch of Triumph still testifies to his belief in divine aid, as we have seen. In gratitude he ordered persecution of Christians to cease in the East, restored church property in Africa, and exempted the clergy from public liturgies. His Edict of Milan, however, did not go beyond a decree of equal tolerance for all religions.

During the years following he showed a growing belief that the welfare of the church was intimately related to the interest of the whole Empire, and therefore did his utmost, though without success, to end the Donatist heresy in Africa.²⁸ In a remarkable letter to the bishops in council at Arles (Arles), he clearly attests his adherence to Christianity and identifies its interests with his own as emperor.

After the year 320 he legislated extensively in favor of the church, granting the bishops judicial authority in their courts, permitting citizens to bequeath property to the church as a legal corporation, legalizing celibacy, and freeing Christians from required participation in pagan festivals. Yet he retained the imperial cult, public divination, and the state worship, and as its head, he kept the old title of *Pontifex Maximus* until his death. Until at least 325, also, the image and legend of *Sol Invictus* appeared on his coins, but was later replaced by the Christian monogram. His policy of tolerance and compromise is seen in his establishment of Sunday as a general holiday in 321, which was a holy day to Christians and sun worshipers alike. On becoming sole emperor in 324 he issued two decrees restoring personal and property rights to all Christians who had previously suffered under the persecutions. He also repeated the decree of universal toleration, while strongly suggesting that all might wisely accept the Christian God.

In 325 he again showed his strong interest in church unity as the necessary basis for a united Empire by convening and presiding at the first "ecumenical" (world) church council at Nicaea to settle the bitter controversy over the person of Jesus. Arius and his faction contended that Jesus was only of like substance (*homoiousion*), not coequal with the Father, while Athanasius and the

²⁸ Cf. above, Sec. II, 2.

orthodox party insisted that he was of the same substance (*homoousion*). Doubtless Constantine had little understanding of the intricate theological problems involved, but through his influence the problem was settled in favor of the orthodox party in the interest of church unity. Despite the decision, however, the controversy continued to rage, for though Arius yielded, Athanasius refused all conciliation until the emperor finally banished him to Gaul.

Even to the last, pagan temples were not suppressed, though idols were prohibited in them, and no public money was allowed for the restoration of pagan altars and shrines. On the other hand, splendid Christian churches were built by Constantine at Constantinople and over the alleged tombs of St. Peter and St. Paul in Rome, and by his mother in Palestine at Bethlehem and other holy places. Yet Constantine never formally made Christianity the state religion and was not a full-fledged member of the church through baptism until his dying hour. His full conversion to the Christian faith seems to have been quite gradual. Probably he never had much appreciation of its deeper meaning and never separated it entirely from the sun worship of his dynasty. He had a more or less superstitious conviction of Christ's power in the world, but little understanding of his religion as a spiritual or ethical system. It did not keep him from the execution of his wife, Fausta, and his eldest son, Crispus, with the most savage vengeance. For this he was attacked by such pagan writers as Zosimus, though, according to tradition, they may have deserved harsh punishment. Though probably sincere, his chief interest in the church was probably political, to establish his dynasty, and unify the Empire by close co-operation of the state with a universal religion.²⁰

The existing political and religious conditions made it impracticable for him to attempt to make Christianity the exclusive religion at once. Paganism was still distinctly predominant in the aristocracy and among civil and military officials and his own dynasty was legally based on the solar religion. He therefore followed a policy of compromise of universal toleration, while increasingly favoring Christianity. Probably he vaguely conceived of Christ as the true manifestation of the God whom he had worshiped as the Sun, since the solar religion and Christianity had many striking similarities. In any event, as the first Christian emperor whose services to the cause were immeasurable, he was naturally revered as "great" by the early Christian historians of the church.

Though paganism persisted with remarkable stubbornness for over a century after Constantine, the victory of Christianity was assured. The honest attempt of the emperor Julian, in the middle of the fourth century, to restore the Roman religion and culture to their old position was foredoomed to failure, as he himself finally admitted.

²⁰ Cf. A. A. Vasiliev, *Byzantine Empire*, University of Wisconsin Press, 1928-29, on the problem of Constantine's conversion.

4. THE TRANSFORMATION OF CHRISTIANITY FROM SIMPLICITY TO COMPLEXITY IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE³⁰

While Christianity was gradually winning its way in the Roman Empire, it was necessarily adapting itself to its pagan environment and undergoing to some degree the same process of syncretism as its rival cults. We have already had occasion to call attention to the beginnings of this Hellenizing process in the teaching of St. Paul.³¹ The evolution of the church in the next three centuries carried the process to its practical culmination. This process of Hellenizing, Romanizing, and pragmatic adaptation of Christianity for secular success against paganism and heresy in the Roman world meant a marked growth from simplicity to complexity in creed, ritual, and church organization.

The New Creedal Emphasis

In so far as we can discover from the New Testament tradition, the religion of Jesus was a simple way of life with a supremely spiritual and ethical emphasis upon a right personal relation to God and an unselfish attitude to others. His religion was intensely personal rather than traditional. His primary interest was not in an intellectualized creed to be accepted, but in great spiritual principles by which to guide the life. But, as we have seen, already in St. Paul the simple way of life of the Nazarene was amplified to a Christian creed with a Hellenistic emphasis upon a divine Christ instead of the historic Jesus, and a mystical atonement for sin for all believers through his death. The Hellenizing process is still more apparent in the Prologue of the late³² Fourth Gospel ascribed to John. Clear evidences of the new creedal emphasis and insistence upon a unitary orthodoxy against divisive heretical doctrines are also in the pastoral Epistles.

Gradually, through the influence of Greek philosophy toward a reasoned system of belief and through the stress of the conflict against paganism and heresy, the church increased its emphasis upon ecclesiastical unity based upon an orthodox, centrally authoritative creed. Its first historic example is the simplest form of the so-called Apostles' Creed, the baptismal formula in Matthew 28:19, which some scholars believe is a mid-second-century interpolation to oppose the Gnostic Marcion. By the time of Tertullian at the close of the century, the creed was believed to have apostolic authority. The grave danger of a divided church in the deadly conflict with paganism as a result of the powerful Gnostic and Arian heresies initiated a great era of controversial literature, church councils, and creed-making. Naturally associated with this was a grow-

³⁰ In the following sections the attempt is made to trace very briefly the early development of Christianity objectively, entirely regardless of any implication as to whether the more complex religion was better or worse than the simpler form. The origin of an institution or belief is no criterion of its present value or truth. Indeed, the development of the religion of Jesus to Hellenized and Romanized Christianity was unavoidable in such an environment, if it was to live and develop at all. The question of better or worse, then, is largely irrelevant. For excellent interpretations of the development through the first century, cf. A. D. Nock, *Early Gentile Christianity and Its Hellenistic Background*; W. R. Halliday, *The Pagan Background of Early Christianity*, Chaps. I-IV.

³¹ Cf. Chapter Twenty, Sec. IV.

³² Usually dated near the close of the first century or early in the second.

ing emphasis upon the necessity of one authoritative, orthodox doctrine, the symbol of church unity to which all must subscribe, the *sine qua non* of salvation. Other emphases were upon a universal (catholic) church to which all except outlaws must belong, a sacred canon of revealed truth in the authorized Christian scriptures as a basis for right doctrine, monarchical bishops as the authoritative media of divine truth from Jesus by apostolic succession, delegated ecumenical councils of prelates to determine orthodoxy, and finally the gradual centralization of universal spiritual authority in the hands of the bishop of Rome.

The process of creed-making and Hellenization of Christian thought proceeded rapidly in the writings of the church Fathers, Greek and Latin. Since they were necessarily educated in the Greco-Roman schools, they were naturally imbued with the eclectic mixture of Greco-Oriental philosophy and religion then dominating the Roman intellectual world. The great pioneer Greek systematizers of Christian theology were Irenaeus, Clement of Alexandria, and especially Origen in the late second and early third centuries. Origen brought eclectic Stoicism, Pythagoreanism, and Platonism into the very structure of Christian doctrine. During the third and fourth centuries, also, Neo-Platonism, in the hands of successors of Plotinus, its founder, became the final quintessence of pagan eclecticism, and some of its ideas were being assimilated by the Christian leaders. Thus Christianity was intellectualized and made into a complex theological system.

From Simplicity to Complexity in Ritual

According to the New Testament record, the founder of Christianity, as did his forerunners, the great Hebrew prophets, placed supreme emphasis upon the spiritual and the inner life rather than on externals in religion. Herein consisted his chief conflict with the religious leaders of his day to whom elaborate ceremonial and legalism were fundamental. In the early apostolic church the service seems to have been very simple, consisting of prayers, Scripture reading, hymns, and preaching. As is evident from St. Paul's criticism of the Corinthian church,³³ the early custom was to commemorate the Last Supper simply as they ate together in Christian fellowship. It was as yet no part of an elaborate church ritual, least of all a "sacrament" in the later sense. Baptism was a symbol of entrance into the new life, following immediately on conversion, and, while already somewhat mystically interpreted by St. Paul, was not yet a sacrament as later interpreted.

Largely through tendencies original within itself, but abetted by the influence of its Hellenistic environment, however, the development of Christianity to a more elaborate ritualism and mystical interpretation of the religious symbols was quite rapid. At least by the middle of the second century, baptism had become a sacrament in the hands of the priests for removing "original sin inherited from Adam's fall" and was not now performed until after a period of fasting and instruction. Such terms from the Greek religious initiations as

³³ I Cor. 11:20 ff.

"enlightenment," "seal," and "mystery" were also being applied to it.³⁴ The Lord's Supper also became a sacrament in the hands of the priest through which atonement for sin and mystical union with Christ was gained.³⁵ It had now become a ritualistic ceremonial as a part of the service of worship.

Some other early developments from simplicity to complexity were the beginning of the use of images and pictures in worship, the veneration of Mary and the saints, and the growth of priestly confessional and the sacrament of penance.

The Growth of Church Hierarchy

The above developments in creed and sacraments were naturally associated with a marked advance from simplicity to complexity in church organization. Whatever may have been the intentions of Jesus, we have no clear evidence in his recorded words that he founded a church. Whether he expected his followers to continue as he did within the pale of Judaism cannot be dogmatically answered. In any event, the first act of his disciples after his departure from them was to organize an independent body. Under the zealous evangelism of the first disciples and Paul, the faith spread and soon required a more thorough organization. At first each local Christian community was a separate body, but practical needs soon demanded a more organic system. Before the close of the first century the church had already developed a compact body of clergy with special powers.

The New Testament officials were presbyters (*presbyteroi*), or "elders," who administered the affairs of the local society, deacons (*diakonoï*), whose function it was to attend to the material wants of the needy Christians, and general overseers (*episkopoi*). There was at first no essential distinction between presbyters and other laymen or between the *episkopos* and other elders, except officially. By the time of M. Aurelius, however, the mediatorial clerical hierarchy was essentially complete. Presbyters had developed to priests (a corruption of *presbyteros*), spiritually distinct from laymen as a result of a special ceremony of ordination. *Episkopoi* had evolved from overseers to monarchical bishops (a corruption of *episkopos*), different in essence from common priests through laying on of hands. The doctrine of the apostolic succession had developed as the key to the hierarchical system, according to which the line of bishops had been unbroken from Peter through each generation. These served as the authoritative channels of orthodox Christian truth and were the divinely appointed medium of all grace and truth to man. Thus did the church become a highly centralized organization under the authority of monarchical bishops.

³⁴ A *mysterion* in both Christianity and its pagan rivals was a secret rite in which the individual voluntarily participated and by which he was united in communion with the deity involved. Usually it was connected with a purifying ritual of initiation by which the individual was reborn or converted to a new spiritual life, which commonly gave hope of a blessed immortality. The emphasis upon a spiritual and moral conversion, however, was far less strong in the pagan cults than in Christianity.

³⁵ Cf. A. D. Nock, *op. cit.*, pp. 109 ff., for a sane, but perhaps overconservative, view of the limited influence of the mystery religions upon the development of baptism and the Eucharist. As he well emphasizes, the difference lay in their different views of "salvation" (*soteria*). To the pagan religions it was a sure investment, while to Christianity it depended far more upon the right spiritual attitude.

It was an organic unity in creed, sacraments, and organization, outside of which there was no salvation.

Meanwhile, the growth of hierarchy and centralization was proceeding apace toward the universal supremacy of the bishop of Rome. This was in accord with the political model in the autocratic Roman Empire. It was also the logical completion of the hierarchical pyramid, and practically necessary to secure church unity and an authoritative final court of appeal on doctrine.

In this development, the bishop of Rome had special advantages over the other bishops. Rome was the majestic world capital and metropolis of the West. The Roman church was believed to have been founded by Peter, who was reputed to have been its first bishop. Its sequence of bishops from Peter on was cited as early as 150 A.D. Probably by 100 A.D. the Roman congregation was the largest in the West, and unlike some of the other churches, it had been unfailingly orthodox. The development of the doctrine of the "keys" as given to Peter by Jesus³⁰ also exerted a powerful influence in favor of the reputed successors of Peter at Rome. Finally the removal of the political capital to the East, beginning with Diocletian, gave special opportunity for the Roman bishop to develop wide authority in the West, free from undue interference of the secular power. Even at the end of the first century, Clement of Rome speaks with some authority on the Corinthian church. From this time on there are many evidences of the gradual development of the theory of the universal authority of the Roman bishop, though the tradition was by no means uniform for several centuries.

Thus, before the middle of the fourth century, most of the characteristic marks of the early medieval church, ecclesiastical authority with its hierarchical distinction between priest and layman and priest and bishop, its doctrine of apostolic succession, its sacraments and elaborate ritual, and its emphasis upon church unity and orthodox doctrine as opposed to heresy were already an integral part of Christianity. Though the supremacy and universal character of the Roman bishop were not yet generally recognized, the doctrine was already well developed, as we have seen. Except for a few doubtful books, also, the sacred canon of the New Testament as the revealed word of God was fully recognized as authoritative.

The Rise of Asceticism and Monasticism

The ascetic life, based on the dualistic philosophy of the material and physical as essentially evil, long dominant in the Gnostic heresy and in Oriental and later Greek thought, especially Neo-Platonism, was also quite generally accepted by fourth-century Christianity. The hermit life had long been popular in the East as a special mark of sainthood, and the cenobitic, or monastic, life had early developed from this. During the fourth century the Christian monastic movement spread rapidly from Egypt, where Pachomius had developed one of the first monastic rules, to Palestine, Asia Minor, Greece, and the West. Athanasius brought it to Italy in 339, St. Martin of Tours later developed

³⁰ Based on an interpretation of Matt. 16:18 f. Compare Matt. 18:18.

it in Gaul, and under the zealous leadership of St. Jérôme and St. Augustine, ascetic monasticism was gaining new prestige by the close of the century.

III. RÉSUMÉ OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF ROMAN LAW

I. ROMAN LAW UNDER THE REPUBLIC

We have had occasion to touch on the history of Roman law at different points in the preceding chapters.³⁷ It now remains to interpret the development as a whole, especially for the period of the Empire. The evolution of Roman law falls naturally into six divisions as follows: (1) the period of unwritten custom, (2) from the Twelve Tables to the end of the Republic, (3) the first century of the Principate, (4) the classical period of Hadrian and the Severi, (5) the post-classical age from 235-526 A.D., and (6) the final codification under Justinian in the sixth century.

A brief mention of the sources of Roman law under the Republic will reveal the factors in the development. Earlier custom never ceased to exert some influence, though it played an ever-decreasing part in historical times. The Twelve Tables were, as Livy said, "the source of all public and private law." Another source of private law was *leges* and *plebiscita* passed by the assemblies. But the amount of comitial legislation on private law during the Republic was not large. Strictly, also, the senate was not a legislative body. Its *senatus consulta* were mostly on constitutional rather than private affairs and were direct advices to magistrates rather than laws. Its control of the government from the third century B.C. was such, however, that its decisions had practically the force of law.

An important factor in the growth of Roman law was *interpretatio* (interpretation). This was originally by the pontiffs when law and religion were not yet differentiated. But from the third century on it proceeded through juriconsults specialized in law. On the request of litigants, or especially of judges, who were not trained lawyers, these specialists "responded" with decisions on the legal points involved in the case. Such responses or interpretations exerted a significant influence in molding Roman civil law and in tempering the strict letter of the law (*strictum jus*) with equity (*aequitas*) even under the Republic. Cicero thought that the juriconsult should be skilled in responding (*ad respondendum*), in aiding on points of procedure (*ad agendum*), and in drafting legal forms (*ad cavendum*) in all matters of law and custom needed by the private citizen in the state. Such legal specialists were Q. Mucius Scaevola in the second century B.C. and Servius Sulpicius Rufus in Cicero's day. Besides these technical services, the juriconsults were teachers of law and wrote learned legal works.

By far the most significant influence in the development of Roman law under the Republic was the praetor's edict. As we have seen, on assuming

³⁷ Chapter Four, pp. 69-71 and throughout; Chapter Seven, p. 148; Chapter Nine, p. 189; Chapter Fourteen, pp. 299 f.; Chapter Fifteen, p. 326; Chapter Twenty-two, pp. 509-510; Chapter Twenty-three, pp. 530-532; Chapter Twenty-six, p. 616; Chapter Twenty-seven, pp. 636 f.

his office, the urban praetor was accustomed to publish an edict, valid for the year (*perpetuum*), stating the principles he would follow in his administration. While naturally continuing much from preceding edicts, each new praetor was free, until 67 B.C., to add new principles and interpretations. Thus, though the praetor was not a legislator, his edicts became very important sources of Roman law.

From the first, Roman private law recognized a difference in the legal status of persons, whether citizen or alien; freeman, slave, or freedman; and patrician or plebeian, until the latter won full rights. With the growth of trade and the coming of foreigners to Rome in considerable numbers, a *praetor peregrinus* was established in 242 B.C. to handle cases for those to whom the *jus civile* did not apply.

This distinction between the legal status of citizens and aliens, very important in public law under the Republic, lost its significance under the Empire. But in private law it remained important until Caracalla's decree of universal citizenship. The *peregrini*, or aliens, had only the rights which belonged to the *jus gentium*, such as were recognized in the law of all nations. They were excluded from the rights that were peculiar to the *jus civile* and that were distinctly Roman. These latter rights were usually grouped under the two heads of *conubium* and *commercium*. Thus the *praetor peregrinus* administered non-Roman systems of law that applied to the personal status of the alien.

In publishing his edicts, therefore, he naturally had recourse to more flexible and universal principles based on Greek precedent. The same was true of the provincial governors who also published their edicts. Thus there gradually developed through the edicts of the *praetor peregrinus* and the promagistrates a general system of rules governing the relations between freemen, which greatly influenced the edicts of the urban praetor and therefore Roman law toward flexibility and equity. These should not be confused with either civil law or private international law. Though Roman in origin, they were more flexible and free from the formal element of the *jus civile*. This law came to be called *jus gentium*, originally that part of law which applied to both Romans and foreigners and had equal validity everywhere, like Aristotle's "natural," as distinguished from *nomikon*, or man-made, law. This conception became a commonplace, especially to Stoic thinkers. Cicero identifies the "law of nature" with *jus gentium* as the law common to all peoples, which is universal and morally binding above all decisions of senate or assembly. Though included in the *jus civile*, it is far more universal and less formal.

Under the earlier Republic, most of what is usually classified as criminal law, except murder and treason, was included in civil law. Cases were first handled by the consuls, with the culprit's right of appeal to the assembly. When such appeals became absurd, owing to the size of that body and its unrepresentative and irresponsible character, the senate assumed the authority to carry the appeals to a *consilium* of senators with final power. This led to the establishment of special jury courts (*judicia publica*) by Sulla for all major crimes. These were presided over by praetors and were composed of senators,

whose verdict was final. These courts were patterned after the *quaestiones perpetuae*, permanent courts for the trial of provincial governors for malfeasance in office. Judging by the limited data, criminal law never was subjected to the scholarly analysis applied to civil law, and in the cases before the assembly or *quaestiones*, the orator was more important than the jurist.³⁸

2. ROMAN LAW UNDER THE PRINCIPATE

The rise of a uniform political system for the whole Empire demanded a corresponding creation of a uniform system of law. Hence the development of jurisprudence was furthered and the study of civil law stimulated by the establishment of the Principate. During the first century of the Principate the old sources of law continued, though, except for the work of the jurists, with declining significance. Some of the most fundamental reforms of Augustus, such as those on marriage, divorce, manumission of slaves, and legal procedure, were *leges* passed by the assembly. After 25 A.D., however, all comitial legislation ceased.

Until Hadrian's codification of the *Edictum Perpetuum* and prohibition of its further development, the praetor's edicts continued, but their flexibility and independence rapidly declined as sources of law after Augustus. They were really only suggestions of the emperor, though Hadrian was probably the first openly to claim legislative power.

The responses of the juriconsults, on the other hand, became increasingly important in legal development, though they doubtless regularly interpreted the precedent in accord with the growing authority of the princeps. Augustus and his successors permitted the most eminent jurists to give *responsa* publicly when consulted, but their decisions were not legally binding on the emperor or his judges. Hadrian went further and organized a judicial *consilium* of expert jurists.³⁹

New sources of law also developed under the Principate. The first was the *senatus consulta*. As we have seen, while the senate exerted a powerful influence on legislation in the Republic, it was never strictly a legislative body. With the early passing of the assembly under the Principate, however, the senate took its place in legislation until 206 A.D. Its decrees were, of course, largely reflections of the emperor's suggestions, however.

A new source of law under the Principate which became increasingly important with the growth of autocracy was the decisions of the emperors (*constitutiones principum*). Augustus was careful not to assume direct legislative power; yet the influence of the princeps on the development of law was naturally very great from the first, and before the middle of the second century his decisions were frankly recognized as having the force of law (*legis vicem*). This was by no means an entire innovation, since Republican magistrates

³⁸ On criminal law under the Republic, cf. the above references to Chapters Four, Seven, and especially Nine (Sulla). Cf. also *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. IX, pp. 876 ff.; Vol. X, pp. 147 f.; Vol. XI, pp. 841-844.

³⁹ On the important measures of Hadrian affecting law and courts, cf. Chapter Twenty-two, pp. 509-510. A *consilium* had been used from Augustus on, but it was thoroughly organized by Hadrian.

issued edicts by virtue of their *imperium*. Gaius, in the age of the Antonines, says that there never was any question that "the decisions of the emperor were as good as a statute since he himself received his *imperium* by a statute." These decisions took several forms, *edicta*, *decreta*, *epistulae*, *rescripta*, and *mandata*, as we have seen.⁴⁰ In all such imperial decisions previous *constitutiones* served as precedents.

It is especially to the work of the great jurists of the period from Hadrian to Alexander Severus that Roman law owes much of its fame and influence. To them must be credited the wide interest in legal matters and the growth of technical legal literature in this so-called "classical" period of Roman law. As a result of the marked decline of public oratory under the Empire, the greatest legal minds turned from oratory to law, as a career. The jurists of the early Principate had no official position, but with Hadrian came an important change in their status. They served in the *consilium* and began to hold imperial posts. Most of the later great jurists were praetorian prefects, an office then next to the emperor's in importance.

Besides their *responsa* and their work in official capacity, they produced a great legal literature of vast influence on the future study of law. Their writings included texts for beginners (*Institutiones*), general works on civil and criminal law, commentaries on the Edict and *senatus consulta*, digests of *responsa*, and histories of Roman law. The modern edition of the final *Digest*, made under Justinian in the sixth century, fills a volume of almost a thousand large double column pages, and the original sources of this *Digest* would make twenty such volumes. Yet these constituted only a part of the total of such works.

After the first century A.D. the great jurists were no longer Roman aristocrats, but an increasing proportion were provincials. Of the four most notable, Julianus was from Africa, Papinian and Ulpian were from Syria, while the origin of Paulus is unknown. Their legal interpretations and outlook, as always, were naturally colored by the political and other conditions of their age. Labeo, the staunch Republican, for instance, under Augustus, had a very different outlook from Ulpian in the reign of Caracalla. Other jurists of the first century, besides Labeo, were Capito, Sabinus, Cassius Longinus, a liberal reformer in law, and Proculus, who founded the Proculian school of law.

The greatest jurists from Hadrian to Alexander Severus have been named in previous chapters. They were all imbued with Stoic influence and sought to rationalize law and reduce it to a consistent philosophical system. The greatest, perhaps, was Salvius Julianus, who codified the *Edictum Perpetuum* for Hadrian. His *responsa* bulk quite large in Justinian's *Digest*, and he is always given the primacy with Papinian. No other Roman jurist so impressed himself on law. Sextus Pomponius, also under Hadrian, wrote a history of Roman law and contributed considerably to Justinian's *Digest*. Gaius, probably a Greek, though he wrote in excellent Latin and was a Roman citizen, did his work under the Antonines. Despite his lack of originality, he is cited very extensively in Justinian's *Digest*. His *Institutes*, an elementary law manual for

⁴⁰ Cf. Chapter Twenty-three, pp. 530 f., for definitions.

students, became the basis of the final *Institutes* of Justinian's compilers. He was nowhere cited, however, until the fifth century.

Aemilius Papinianus, the greatest Roman jurist except Julian, served under M. Aurelius, Septimius Severus, and Caracalla, who murdered him for refusing to justify his assassination of his brother, Geta. He was the first Roman jurist to hold the office of praetorian prefect. From his works are nearly six hundred citations in Justinian's *Digest*. Ulpian of Tyre virtually governed the Empire for a time under Alexander Severus. Though not so original as some of the greatest, he is very lucid. This perhaps accounts partly for the large number of citations from him in Justinian's *Digest*, 2,464, over one-third of the whole. Julius Paulus, a contemporary, was a voluminous writer of vast influence, though harsh style. His extracts comprise one-sixth of the final *Digest*. The two latter were mostly compilers, but their great achievement was to collect the results of the legal work done in the classical age. With them the great line of jurists ended, broken by the next half century of military anarchy and decline. Their tendency to compile, schematize, and define was itself a sign of the passing of the creative age in law and a part of the general decadence. Modestinus, the latest, was far below even Paul and Ulpian. After 250 A.D. the practice of conferring with the jurists died out, and the lawyers merely cited past legal authorities.

The great jurists greatly influenced the development of Roman law as well as stamping their thought upon it for all time. Their emphasis upon general principles in the solution of legal problems and upon human rights as based on a more fundamental moral law than mere custom or arbitrary legislation did much to humanize Roman law. It tempered the strict letter of the law with equity. As a result of their work, also, legal concepts were more clearly defined, and their many legal maxims gave logical consistency to the law. Indirectly, the jurists were legislators, modifying the existing law to meet new conditions. This is always inevitable, for law is not a merely technical affair apart from actual life, but a social subject. Though their *responsa* doubtless influenced strongly the acts of the emperors, these very interpretations of the jurists were inevitably shaped by the growing autocracy of the times. Aside from the jurists, the chief influences shaping classical law were Greek rhetoric and Stoic and other philosophic ideas from Greece and the Hellenistic East.

During the period Roman law lost much of its old rigidity and formalism. There was a growing distinction between *jus* and *aequitas*, a growing tendency to abstract thought, a great increase in legal writing, and a growing trend toward reduction of law to a rational and logical system. Meanwhile, *jus gentium* had changed from a body of customs common to Rome and the provinces to the universal law of nations, and finally to that primitive law which Universal Reason has implanted in all mankind.

3. ROMAN LAW UNDER THE DOMINATE

With the coming of absolute autocracy, courts and law were wholly dependent upon the emperor, and both civil and criminal procedure lost all

connection with Republican institutions. The rule henceforth was frankly stated, *Quod placuit principi legis vigorem habet* ("The will of the emperor has the force of law"). The source of law now centered in the autocrat. Appeal was no more to the *responsa* of living but of dead jurists. A canon of authority of the classical writers developed. Finally, by the famous *Law of Citations*, published by Theodosius II in 426 A.D., the canon was limited to Papinian, Paul, Ulpian, Modestinus, and Gaius. In case of a tie vote the opinion of Papinian was to prevail. Thus Rome's great legal creativeness had so declined that no living jurist seemed worth consulting, and the appeal was more to the number of the opinions than to their weight.⁴¹

The great legal tradition of the past was now ever more assiduously studied. Advocates were no more merely orators but specialists in law. Law schools, which had all been private under the Principate, now became public, and great centers for law study developed in Rome, Carthage, Gaul, Beyrout, Constantinople, Alexandria, Caesarea, Athens, and Antioch. Finally, in the sixth century, Justinian suppressed all but Beyrout and Constantinople.

The language of law, even in the East, was Latin until the fifth century. It was in the post-classical period of Roman law that the influence of Greek thought was especially dominant. This was also the time when the great work of codification was being done, which preserved Roman law as one of the greatest heritages of the ancient to the modern world. The code of Theodosius II, published in 438 A.D., was a collection of imperial edicts which constituted the law of the whole Empire both in East and West. Finally, between 529 and 534, Justinian's commission of expert jurists led by Trebonian published the *Corpus Juris Civilis*, a compilation of all the sources of law then valid, so as to make for unity of legal interpretation. The work was composed of three parts: the *Code of Justinian*, the *Digest*, or *Pandects*, and the *Institutes*. The *Code* was a collection of all imperial constitutions that were still in force throughout the Empire. The *Digest* was a classified compilation of abstracts from the writings of the classical Roman jurists, undertaking to cover the whole civil law, including what was not contained in the *Code*. The *Institutes* was a manual for use as a text in the schools of law. Somewhat later a fourth compilation was added, the *Novels*, or *New Constitutions*. Though Greek and Oriental influence bulked large in this final codification, it was not primarily an Oriental system imposed upon a classical framework, as some have interpreted. Justinian's aim was essentially conservative, and he succeeded in conserving a large amount from the classical Roman past.

Roman law in the post-classical period of autocracy and fossilization had certain marked qualities. It was universal in character. The old distinction between *jus gentium* and *jus civile* had lost all practical meaning with the coming of universal citizenship. Law was thoroughly rationalized into a great logical system. There was also far more emphasis upon equity as opposed to the strict letter of the law. Cases were judged by a universal rational or moral standard to which all law must conform. The law was more humanitarian, favoring the weak against the strong, even at the cost of the general welfare. Law was no

⁴¹ Of course, the basic work had already been done.

longer a growing institution from within, but was handed down from above by the divinely ordained autocrat. Yet the unbounded confidence in the power of negative legislation to check the general disintegration and end the economic ills was pathetic. Regulations were continually repeated, as is usual with dead letter laws, and only aggravated the evils.

The humanitarian emphasis in Roman law was largely due to the dominant influence of Greek and Oriental philosophical ideas in this period, which were alien to the true spirit of Roman law. But after the middle of the fourth century Christianity as the state religion was also an important factor. The church was practically a state within a state, and its clergy were granted extensive privileges, such as freedom from taxes and personal and military services. The emperors endowed churches, supported the clergy, and granted the right to the church to receive bequests. An independent judicial authority of the clergy was also recognized. In the domain of church doctrine and discipline there was no appeal from the jurisdiction of the episcopal courts, and even in civil cases the decision of a bishop was valid where both parties agreed to submit to it. The church also had criminal jurisdiction over its clergy for lighter crimes, and the right of refuge to Christian instead of pagan temples was established.

Roman law, like other phases of Roman civilization, was in the process of being Christianized, especially the law relating to slavery, the family, and marriage which the church changed to a religious sacrament. But the effect should not be exaggerated. All Christian morality did not come into Roman law with Constantine's conversion. In some respects, indeed, the influence was bad, resulting in the intolerant legislation against pagans, Jews, and heretics. On the whole, however, Christianity exerted a distinctly humanitarian influence.

In fine, Roman law developed with Roman civilization through a thousand years from a set of technical customs of an exclusive aristocracy to a universal rational system of human rights. The evolution was from pedantic literature to equity, from the arbitrary and the accidental to a scientific, logical system, from *jus civile* to *jus gentium*, and from aristocratic pride of family and Roman birth to a universal human emphasis. Meanwhile, it evolved from a popular institution growing from within to a finished, authoritative system autocratically imposed from above.⁴²

⁴² For the influence of Roman law on future civilization, cf. the following chapter.

Part Nine

EPILOGUE

31. *The Roman Heritage to Western Civilization*

Chapter Thirty-one

THE ROMAN HERITAGE TO WESTERN CIVILIZATION

Human history has been likened to a palimpsest, or ancient manuscript, on whose partially erased pages new records have been repeatedly written. It has also been compared to a vast, age-old ruin into which have been built all the diverse architectures of past centuries. But history is far too vital and infinitely complex to be adequately represented by such mechanical analogies. They have value, however, as suggesting that the past is not only built into the present, but is the very stuff of which the present is made and which constantly conditions it.

To a traveler in Rome, who has the adequate background to appreciate its inexhaustible historical wealth as well as its vivid modernity, therefore, such analogies constantly appeal. For Rome, of all living cities, is the city of the ages and most deserving of the name "eternal." Some, such as Athens or Jerusalem, have as many or more centuries to their credit and have left a remarkably rich legacy to the future. But no other city is so symbolic of the whole history of Western civilization as Rome. No other has so built into itself all previous Mediterranean civilizations and handed its contribution on to the West as essentially its own product. No other, therefore, lives so fully in our present civilization or so largely determines its character.

In the preceding chapters we have traced the remarkable development of Rome through more than 1,000 years, from an obscure rural village to a vast Empire practically coextensive with civilization, and have observed the symptoms of its later decline. We have also repeatedly called attention to the essential continuity of Western civilization from Roman. It now remains to view the Roman achievement and its heritage to the West as a whole, so that the momentous meaning of the history of Roman civilization may appear in its true proportions. This heritage from Rome is a tremendous fact which constantly imposes itself upon us in a multitude of ways, for Western civilization was born out of the very matrix of the Roman Empire. The dictum of Freeman is still largely true. "The history of Rome is the greatest of all historical subjects, for this simple reason, that it is in truth synonymous with the history of the world."¹ To know Roman civilization, therefore, contributes much to the knowledge of our own, for the Roman Empire is the mother of us all, the bond that unites all European and American nations, regardless of national or racial differences or family strife.

¹ In his introduction to the English translation of Mommsen's *History of Rome*, Everyman's Library, p. vii, by permission of the publishers.

I. ROME AS THE INTERMEDIARY OF GREEK CULTURE AND CHRISTIANITY TO THE WEST

This vast Roman heritage has a double aspect. Rome was the purveyor both of her Romanized heritage from Greece and the Orient, and of her own more distinctly Roman products. She was therefore the great intermediary who built the bridge over which the rich legacy from antiquity has found its way to the modern world. We have seen how Greek culture had its roots deep in the Orient from the beginning, and how finally, through Alexander's conquest of the Near East, a far more cosmopolitan Greco-Oriental culture was born, the Hellenistic.² We have seen how Rome inherited this culture by her conquest of southern Italy, Greece, and the East Mediterranean lands, and transmuted it to a Roman product in the alembic of her own national character, by which her culture became bilingual and thoroughly Hellenized. We have traced the development of Oriental religions and Greek philosophies and their gradual expansion in the Roman West, until one of the religions, Christianity, after being Hellenized and Romanized, finally won supremacy in the later Empire. We have also seen how Rome gradually extended this culture to the west and north in Spain and Gaul, on the Rhine, and in the Danubian provinces,³ with the result that there was no definite break in the continuous tradition of culture between the decline of the Empire in the West and the earlier centuries of medieval Europe. Thus, from the fifth to the eleventh century A.D. the history of Western Europe is largely the history of the assimilation by its Celtic and German heirs of these two great heritages from antiquity, Greco-Roman culture and institutions, and Hellenized, Romanized Christianity.

Of the rich Hellenic heritage, including Hellenized Christianity, to Rome and its transmission through the medium of Rome to the West, there is no need of more than a brief summary here.⁴ Greek poetic masterpieces, with their themes, diction, meters, and figures, became the model for Roman poets and were therefore transmitted in Latin literature, as well as directly to English and European literature. Greek rhetoric, oratory, and literary criticism dominated Roman poetry, prose, and eloquence, and continued for better or worse in European literary tradition. Romanized by Cicero, the Senecas, Quintilian, and second-century writers, and taught in the Greco-Roman schools throughout the Empire, Greek rhetoric also shaped the intellectual outlook of the Latin church Fathers, served as the model for the Christian sermon, and was a formative influence in the development of the creed. The rich Greek mythology became embedded in Roman literature, art, and religion, including, to some degree, Christianity, and was therefore transmitted wherever Roman civilization penetrated. Greek education, elementary, secondary, and higher, was adopted throughout the Roman West, Christianized, and in a much diluted form became essentially the system of the Middle Ages. The

² Cf. Vol. I, Chapter Nine and following chapters, especially Chapters Twenty-nine to Thirty-three.

³ Cf. above, all chapters on western expansion and culture.

⁴ For a fuller analysis, cf. Vol. I, Chapter Thirty-three, which might be reread to advantage at this point.

brief epitomes of Greco-Roman learning, made during the decline of creative culture from the fourth to the seventh century, became the accepted texts in medieval education.

The voluminous summaries of Hellenic science by the Roman, Pliny, and the Greeks, Ptolemy and Galen, in Roman imperial times, became the standard medieval compendia.⁵ Interpretations of Greek philosophy by such Romans as Cicero and Seneca⁶ entered into the texture of medieval Christian thought. A Latin translation of a fragment of Aristotle's *Logic* posed one of the chief problems of medieval philosophy and theology. Cicero's Romanized version of the political thought of Plato, Aristotle, and the Greek Stoics in Latin dress did much to shape the political and legal ideas and principles of medieval and early modern times. Christianity also, partially Hellenized in creed, ritual, and ethics, as we have seen, dominated the later Roman Empire and was passed on as an integral part of the Roman heritage to the West. Greek and Oriental legal concepts and principles entering Roman law through the influence of Greek rhetoric, philosophy, and some of the great jurists of the second and third centuries were transmitted with the Roman legal heritage. Hellenic types of architectural decoration, the three orders, and the post and lintel structure were appropriated by Rome and extended wherever Roman influence penetrated.

The above statement must suffice here, but Rome was the intermediary for the spread of Hellenic civilization and Hellenized Christianity to the West in a multitude of ways and to a far greater extent than can possibly be indicated by any brief summary. By the establishment of the imperial capital at Constantinople also, Rome enabled the Greek culture and institutions to persist throughout the Middle Ages in the East. They therefore exerted a profound influence upon the culture and institutions of Russia and some of the Slavic peoples of the Balkans, and finally gave a strong impetus to the renaissance of Greek in fifteenth-century Italy.

II. THE MORE DISTINCTLY ROMAN HERITAGE

I. THE INFLUENCE OF THE LATIN LANGUAGE

Rome was far more than the purveyor of the appropriated heritage of Greece and the Orient to Western civilization, however. She also contributed many distinctly Roman elements. One of the most significant and far-reaching of these and the medium through which the Roman heritage came is the Latin tongue. In no phase of Roman civilization was continuity with medieval European culture more complete than in language. Latin was the unifying agency amid the chaos and localism of the earlier Middle Ages. Whatever was left of intellectual life in the general decline was entirely Latin, which became the universal language of scholarship, history, philosophy, theology, education, law, and the church throughout the medieval period. Men studied,

⁵ On the Greek scientists (Hippocrates, Aristotle, and the Alexandrians and their later Greek summarizers), cf. Vol. I, Chapters Twenty, Twenty-eight, Thirty-two, Thirty-three. On Pliny, cf. above, Chapter Twenty-six, Sec. II.

⁶ On these, cf. above, Chapters Fourteen, Twenty.

debated, wrote, prayed, and preached in Latin. It shaped the thought of the Western church in patristic writings, in the Vulgate Latin translation of the Bible by St. Jerome, in the developing creeds, and, finally, in scholastic theology and philosophy.

Except for Anglo-Saxon, Latin was also practically the universal language of literature until the twelfth century; during this time the vernacular idioms were still in process of formation as literary languages. Medieval Latin prose and poetry bulked large until the late Middle Ages. Latin continued to be the universal language of scholarship until well into the eighteenth century. In the Roman Catholic church it still persists as the sacred language of its ritual, Bible, and creed, and it is still embedded in the language of law and diplomacy of most modern nations.

Out of the vulgar, colloquial Latin in the early Middle Ages, by the simplification of inflections and syntax and by changes in spelling and pronunciation, and to some extent in vocabulary, the Romanic languages, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, French, and Rumanian, were born.⁷ With Greek, Latin has also furnished most of the terminology for English science and scholarship in all fields, and about two-thirds of the words of our common English vocabulary are of Latin origin. Thus Latin is the "open sesame" for both English and the Romanic languages. Without Latin neither English language nor literature would exist in anything like their present form. Latin is still the basis of one-half of human knowledge. The Latin-speaking peoples, including the population of Latin America and the Latin lands in Asia and Africa colonized by Spanish and Portuguese, amount to more than 200,000,000.

The classical Renaissance was about eighty per cent Latin. Through the work of the humanists, Latin ceased to be a living language, but classical, Ciceronian Latin was restored and became the basis of education, scholarship, and literary style until the nineteenth century. Its effect upon the education and culture of modern England, Europe, and America of both hemispheres and of the Europeanized sections of Asia and Africa has therefore been immeasurable, and while Latin in Western education is now on the wane, its influence is still significant. The logical Roman character of the language and its formal, terse, stately structure were stamped upon much of the thinking and writing, both medieval and early modern, especially in law and theology. Medieval handwriting also had its sole origin in Latin, to which all varieties of it may be traced. When we recognize the vast historical significance of the Roman Empire, Roman law, and the Roman Catholic church and consider that their language was Latin, we gain some appreciation of the momentous influence of the language, even outside the strictly literary field.

2. THE INFLUENCE OF LATIN LITERATURE AND EDUCATION

Language, however, is only the vehicle of literature, another outstanding legacy from Rome. While for the most part inferior to its Greek models, it is one of the greatest among world literatures and by far the most significant in

⁷ On the process, cf. the interesting analysis of H. Bradley in the *Legacy of Rome* (ed. Cyril Bailey), Oxford Press, 1923, pp. 351 ff.

its directly formative influence upon English and European literatures. The Carolingian Renaissance of the later eighth century and especially the classical Renaissance of the twelfth century resulted in a remarkable revival of Latin poetry. It stimulated a wide reading of Latin authors, especially poets, and the writing of much good Latin prose and verse. From the fifth century until well into modern times, the extent of knowledge and use of the Latin classics is a direct index to the level of culture of any period. Practically all the present Latin classics except Tacitus were known in the Middle Ages. The old notion, born of an exaggerated idea of the Italian Renaissance, that there was then little or no appreciation of the Latin classics as literature is belied by the writings of such a humanist as John of Salisbury, the humanistic spirit of the Cathedral school of Chartres, and much else that is now known of the classical Renaissance of the twelfth century. A great medievalist has well observed: "Anyone who still believes that the Latin classics were a sealed book to the men of the Middle Ages, who cared only for the next world and had no appreciation for the beauties of literature, art, and the joys of the realm of sense, should ponder the popularity of Ovid and grow wiser." The fact that they allegorized him, as he points out, was only a rationalization to justify what they preferred to read. He emphasizes the wide diffusion of Ovid in the twelfth century as one of the surest evidences of the classical revival.⁸ It was only through the dominance of scholasticism and practical interests in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and the lapse of monastic discipline, that the interest in the classics declined, making possible their seeming complete rediscovery by the humanists of the Italian Renaissance. "There is a humorous aspect," writes E. K. Rand, "to the triumphs of the humanists, who 'discovered' Latin authors long treasured on monastic shelves."⁹

Nevertheless, there was a new and rapidly growing revival of interest in the classics as literature and in every phase of classical civilization from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century, which was accompanied by a changing attitude from the ascetic to a frank interest in this world and man. While a direct knowledge of the Greek classics, long practically lost to the West, was now regained, this renaissance, like the preceding medieval ones, was predominantly Latin. Thus, Latin literature, far more than Greek, was the chief influence in the new humanistic education that dominated intellectual life and literature until far into the nineteenth century, and still exerts a strong influence.

Whatever our evaluation of the thought and literary quality of Latin literature, as compared with the Greek, therefore, it was Latin, rather than Greek literature, that exerted the more dominant and direct influence in shaping education, thought, and literary style not only in medieval but also in modern life. Whether in epic, pastoral, or didactic poetry, it is Virgil, rather than the Greek Homer, Theocritus, or Hesiod, who is in the direct line of succession for English and European literatures. The same may be said of Cicero rather

⁸ Cf. C. H. Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century*, Harvard University Press, 1927, p. 107, by permission of the publishers.

⁹ *Latin and Greek in American Education* (ed. Kelsey), 1911, p. 287, by permission of the University of Michigan Press.

than Demosthenes in oratory, of Quintilian and Cicero rather than Isocrates and Aristotle in rhetoric and literary criticism, of Plautus and Terence rather than Aristophanes and Menander in comedy, of Seneca rather than the incomparably greater Euripides and Sophocles in tragedy, of Catullus and Horace more than Sappho, Alcaeus, and the Alexandrians, of Ovid and the Latin love elegists rather than their Alexandrian models, of Lucretius rather than Epicurus, of Livy and Tacitus rather than Thucydides and Polybius in history, and of the Roman rather than the Greek Stoics.

A brief analysis of the more important lines of influence of Latin literature upon medieval and modern European, and especially upon English literature, will serve to make this point more meaningful.¹⁰ Few were the English writers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries who were not influenced by a Latin education. Sir Thomas More, Francis Bacon, and John Milton were fluent in Latin, Ben Jonson, Cowley, Addison, and Samuel Johnson were great Latin scholars, and Latin was still more dominant in France.

Modern European and English comedy owe a considerable debt to Plautus and Terence, for they are its chief sources. Plautus is a literary ancestor of Molière and Shakespeare, European burlesque comedy, and farce. Some English plays borrow specific details from both him and Terence, and many that show no definite borrowing of details reveal their influence. A considerable number also are indebted to them for their plots in whole or in part.¹¹ Terence was popular in the Middle Ages and in allegorized form became a means of edification. Both poets had wide popularity in France in the seventeenth century, and it was largely through the French medium that they influenced post-Restoration English comedy. Shakespeare's *Comedy of Errors* is based on the *Menaechmi* of Plautus, and Dryden's *Amphitryon* is also from Plautus, indirectly through the French of Molière. French and post-Restoration comedy of intrigue also stem from Latin comedy, and the influence of Plautus and especially Terence on Spanish comedy is very strong.

On French and English tragedy, from the Italian Renaissance through the eighteenth century, Seneca exerted a profound influence far beyond his merits. As the only accessible model in Renaissance England, when Greek studies were yet in their infancy there, his tragedies were famous and were acted at the University of Cambridge. His moralizing and bloody, turbulent scenes appealed to the England of that day, and he furnished Elizabethan tragedy with some of its stock characters, as the nurse, ghost, and tyrant. But English interest in him soon paled before such geniuses as Marlowe and Shakespeare. On Ben Jonson, however, his influence was still strong and direct. In France Seneca especially appealed to the French taste for his rhetorical finish. He was therefore their model in tragedy from the French Pleiad to Corneille and Racine in the seventeenth century.

¹⁰ The influence of several of the more important Latin authors on later literature is also briefly emphasized in some of the preceding pages. Cf. Chapter Seven, Sec. III, 2; Chapter Fourteen, Sec. II; Chapter Seventeen, Sec. I; Chapter Twenty, Sec. I; Chapter Twenty-six, Sec. II.

¹¹ For an impressive detailed list of the plays of Plautus and Terence with their specific influences on English writers, cf. G. Norwood, *Plautus and Terence* (O.D.G.R. series), (ed. G. P. Hadzits and D. M. Robinson), Longmans, 1932, Appendix, pp. 181-192. (See Bibliography, A, 3.)

In epic and pastoral poetry Virgil is the perennial model for all his successors. No classical poet has left such a stamp on the literature and education of Italy, Spain, France, and England as he. To the medieval Christians, who interpreted his fourth eclogue as a prophecy of the birth of Jesus, he was an inspired authority and almost a Christian. The learning, deep piety, and pathos of his *Aeneid*, and its picture of the lower world in the sixth book, made him the master of all wisdom and magic to them. The epic became a sort of Bible or means of supernatural guidance, and a mass of fantastic legend clustered about his name; for example, in the *Gesta Romanorum*. Dante makes him his guide, except through Paradise, and acknowledges him as his revered master, "the poet." His *Inferno* is saturated with the influence of Virgil, though it is, of course, quite different in plan and spirit.

To the humanists of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries he was still the supreme poet, above either Homer or Theocritus, and by 1500 A.D. ninety printed editions of his works had appeared. Such typical writers of Renaissance Italy as Petrarch, Boccaccio, Ariosto, and Tasso are all indebted to him. In pastoral poetry he, rather than his Greek master, Theocritus set the European and English tradition, from Calpurnius and Mantuan to Pope.¹² Unfortunately, the already artificial character of pastoral in Virgil's *Eclogues* was even more marked in his would-be successors. His allegorical element also was exaggerated in medieval poetry, and its effects long persisted in modern literature. His tenth eclogue is a primary source of romanticism for medieval and modern Europe.

In his *Aeneid* Virgil is not only the voice of the Roman Empire, but of universal humanity. Though a national epic of Augustan Rome, it became the epic of civilization. All post-Virgilian Latin literature, both prose and poetry, is saturated with Virgil. His *Aeneid* soon became the textbook of the schools and, reinforced by the revival of classical learning, exerted an ever wider influence in education until recent times. He was the model for the modern French epic, as seen in Voltaire's *Henriade*. In English literature Chaucer drew from Virgil, and Spenser's *Faerie Queene* is dominated by his influence. Milton is profoundly indebted to him. The Hell of his *Paradise Lost* is a combination of Virgil's and Dante's. The division into twelve books is Virgilian, as is his opening prayer to the Muse. His syntax is often on the Latin model, and his epic is constantly enriched by direct classical allusions, diction, phrases, figures, and rhythm from Virgil.

The Virgilian strain continues strong in many of the English poets of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Dryden called Virgil's *Georgics* "the best poem of the best poet," and Addison considered it the most "complete and finished poem" from antiquity. Dryden's translation of the *Aeneid* became an English classic, and the standard for later literary taste. Wordsworth and other English Romanticists drew inspiration from the *Aeneid* in their reaction against sterile pseudo-classicism. Keats translated the epic, and the spell of its influence appears in his *Lamia* and *Hyperion*. Matthew Arnold also pays full

¹² Spenser's *Shepherd's Calendar* (1579), including twelve elegies, is the finest example of pastoral poetry in English, but it finds its inspiration and model indirectly in the Greek Theocritus.

tribute to the perennial vitality of Virgil's art. But the Victorian poet, Tennyson, above all others, has caught his charm and has well been called "the most Virgilian of modern poets." In him Virgil's influence is most pervasive. His poems teem with echoes, parallelisms, quotations, and references recalling the Latin poet. In his *Ode* for the nineteenth centenary of Virgil's death, he devotes one stanza to the *Aeneid*, two to the *Georgics*, and two to the *Eclogues*.

Two secondary Latin epic poets of the first century A.D., Lucan and Statius, were favorites of the Middle Ages and exerted considerable influence later. Dante and Boccaccio imitated them to some extent, and both Lucan and "Stace" formed part of the chief Latin reading of Chaucer's day in England. His *Knight's Tale* is from the *Thebaid* of Statius. Clear traces of the influence of Lucan's *Pharsalia* also appear in Addison's *Campaign*.

The great philosophical poem of Lucretius was practically lost during the Middle Ages owing to the decline of culture and his antireligious attitude. But he was restored to fifteenth-century Italy by the humanist, Poggio, and his poem found many admirers. His influence is evident in many passages of Montaigne and in the language of Spenser's *Faerie Queene*. With the general acceptance of the new astronomy by the educated in the next century, the infinite universe and Atomism of Lucretius had more of an appeal, though his denial of Providence was not accepted. New editions of his poem were printed, Dryden translated parts from it, and Francis Bacon read him with approval. His influence appears in Hobbes's theory of the origins of religion, and the French Rationalist, Bayle, considered him one of the greatest of Roman poets. In the next century he was praised by Voltaire as the enemy of superstition and was popular with the French materialists. His influence also appears in eighteenth-century English writers, such as Thomas Gray, James Thomson (*The Seasons*), Pope (*The Essay on Man*), and Akenside (*The Pleasures of Imagination*). The coming of the theory of evolution in the nineteenth century made European thought still more hospitable to him. He became the favorite reading of many poets, such as Shelley, and echoes of him appear in Byron, Wordsworth, Mrs. Browning, and Tennyson. The latter's Lucretius presents an interesting picture of him as thinker and poet and the essence of his philosophy, including much paraphrase and often direct translation of sections of his poem.

The lyrics of Catullus and the *Odes* of Horace have also entered into the texture of European and English poetry. Combined, they furnish the model for many of the shorter English odes addressed to ladyloves. Catullus was practically lost to the Middle Ages, but was known to Petrarch, the first Italian humanist, who drew some inspiration from him for his *Laura*. The later Italian humanists wrote Latin verse after his model, and Ariosto and Tasso drew extensively from him. He exerted much influence on such early French poets as Ronsard and Joachim du Bellay, and on the English poets, Wyatt and Sidney, and John Skelton who called himself the "British Catullus." Some whole types of English lyrics, as the madrigal and epithalamium, have been traced directly back to him. Some of the lyrics of Ben Jonson and Herrick echo him, and he furnished the idea for Pope's *Rape of the Lock*. In

nineteenth-century England he was admired and imitated by Byron, Macaulay, Swinburne, Landor, and Tennyson, who called him "tenderest of Roman poets." Many of Tennyson's passages echo the Latin lyricist, and his *Hendecasyllabics* are all in Catullan meter. But in England Catullus never attained the wide popularity of Virgil, Horace, or Ovid.

Horace was repeatedly quoted in the Middle Ages, which even produced Horatian specialists. The late eighth-century English scholar, Alcuin, assumed his name, and Dante ranked him as one of the five great poets of antiquity. With the Elizabethan poets, his *Odes* came into their own. He was repeatedly translated and paraphrased, and was already a part of the grammar-school curriculum in Shakespeare's day. Ben Jonson was thoroughly Horatian, and many of his contemporaries show clear traces of Horace's influence. He was the model for all English lighter verse. The "cavalier" poets, such as Herrick and Suckling, repeatedly echo him, and Milton shows many traces of his influence. In the classical seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when Latin poets were at their height of popularity, Horace led them all in England and was also the model of French and Italian lyricists. The popularity of Horace's *Odes* did not wane with the coming of Romanticism in the nineteenth century. He was the favorite Roman author of Wordsworth, and probably few English poets have so fully caught the spirit of the Roman lyricist. Tennyson and Browning also show many traces of Horatian influence.¹³ His prophecy of himself proved true. He has built for himself a "monument more enduring than bronze."¹⁴

The influence of Roman love elegy on European and English literature is especially represented by Ovid. From the late eleventh century on he was the supreme model of the Middle Ages and necessary to a liberal education. His elegies on love and its cure were the direct inspiration of much of the poetry of the troubadours and the minnesingers, and thence of medieval lyric in general. He was the chief priest and inspired authority for the reckless "wandering scholars" and Goliardic poets. Through medieval Christian allegory, his "Heroines" of love were transformed to saints who lived for spiritual love, so that the author of the *Art of Love* was even cited as an authority on morals. In the thirteenth century his works were translated to French, Italian, and German. Chrétien of Troyes translated his *Art of Love*, and its author was the inspiration of his own *Romances*. Guillaume de Lorris, the first author of the *Romance of the Rose*, drew much from Ovid in a refined form, but in its later form by Jean de Meun, Ovid triumphs completely. Dante considered Ovid one of the great world poets, and no Latin poet, except Virgil, so strongly influenced him.

The Renaissance was even more the great age of Ovid. His elegies were an important source for Chaucer's earlier works, and he was a favorite of Petrarch and of Boccaccio, who was greatly indebted to him. To the Italian sonnet writers and the English poets of the sixteenth century, he was the

¹³ Cf. Mary A. Thayer, *The Influence of Horace on the Chief English Poets of the Nineteenth Century*, Yale University Press, 1916, pp. 35 ff., for a list of traces of Horace in the nineteenth-century English poets.

¹⁴ Cited above, p. 365.

special inspiration. Spenser's *Faerie Queene* is full of him and Gower's *Lovers Confession*, a miscellany of stories in verse, has Ovid for its model.

The favorite and most influential work of Ovid, however, was not his love elegies but his *Metamorphoses*, which have been aptly called the "Golden Legend of the Middle Ages." Many allegorized commentaries on them appeared in the twelfth century. For the Middle Ages and centuries after, they were the mine of ancient story for poets and artists. To the *Metamorphoses* Chaucer was indebted for several of his *Canterbury Tales*, for example, the monk's, the manciple's, and the knight's (indirectly through Statius¹⁵). Gower also drew heavily from Ovid's stories. He and Chaucer made him the fashion in England, where, before the end of the fifteenth century, his works appeared in several versions. In Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, much of the detail, many legends, and often the specific expression and diction are Ovidian. Shakespeare shows many traces of his influence, as for example in his *Venus and Adonis*, and he alludes to all fifteen of the books of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* in his plays. A critic of 1598 said that the soul of Ovid lived in Shakespeare. According to an analysis of classical allusions in Shakespeare, Ovid's influence over him was at least five times that of Virgil.¹⁶ Milton also drew much from Ovid in his earlier verse. Pope was much indebted to the Roman poet, and Dryden had a more intimate sympathy with Ovid than with any other of his ancient models. Among other seventeenth- and eighteenth-century poets, Herrick and Cowley, Swift and Addison, Congreve, Gay and Prior also show distinct traces of his influence.

With the coming of the Romantic reaction in literature, the vogue of Ovid markedly declined, but some were still attracted by the beauties of his style and sought their themes in his wealth of legend. Some nineteenth-century examples of his continued influence are Shelley's *Arethusa*, Kingsley's *Perseus and Andromeda*, the "Song of Calicles" in Matthew Arnold's *Empedocles on Aetna*, Swinburne's *Atalanta in Calydon*, the *Earthly Paradise* of William Morris, and the *Oenone* of Tennyson. Ovid was also a dominant influence in the literature of France, Italy, Portugal, and Spain, from the Renaissance through the eighteenth century. The German Goethe's debt also appears in his *Wilhelm Meister* and in the closing scene of his *Faust*.

The Roman satirists, Horace, Persius, and Juvenal, served as models for much in Italian satire and for such French satirists as Régnier and Boileau. Persius appealed especially to the clergy of the Middle Ages for his earnestness. Horace exerted a strong influence on earlier English satire, and Dryden, Butler, and especially Pope were also much indebted to him. His *Satires* and *Epistles* served as a general handbook of sound sense, good cheer, and practical wisdom for the cultivated classes in England and throughout Europe, and he was constantly quoted by English essayists and statesmen.

Juvenal, rather than Horace or Persius, however, became increasingly the model of English satirists. Of poetic satirists, the Elizabethan, Donne, and Dryden especially caught his spirit. Because of his sententious wisdom, Juvenal

¹⁵ Cf. S. G. Owen, *Ovid* (O.D.G.R. series), pp. 175-180, for detail on Chaucer's debt to Ovid in the *Canterbury Tales*.

¹⁶ Cf. Owen, *op. cit.*, p. 188.

was one of the most widely read and quoted of Latin authors. The most important examples of modern English satire, which best reflect the Roman spirit, are the *Moral Essays*, *Imitations of Horace*, and *Dunciad* of Pope, the satires of Dryden, Samuel Johnson's clever imitations of the third and tenth *Satires* of Juvenal in his *London* and *Vanity of Human Wishes*, and Byron's *English Burds and Scottish Reviewers*.

A word may be added here of the Latin epigram, which, unlike the Greek, emphasized not so much polish and delicacy as point and sting, and hence was essentially satirical in the later sense. The modern conception of epigram is essentially Roman rather than Greek, and Martial is its supreme exemplar. He was unknown throughout the Middle Ages, but was rediscovered by Boccaccio, and from the fifteenth century through the eighteenth he had many imitators. The most successful were Prior, Pope, and Burns.

It is difficult to estimate the influence of the Roman historians on Western historiography. During the Middle Ages it seems to have been very slight, though Livy, Caesar, Sallust, and Suetonius were known. The ancient Latin historians used in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were the brief epitomists such as Justin, Florus, and Eutropius. We must seek the background of medieval historiography, not in the leading Roman historians, but in such Christian writers as Eusebius and St. Augustine. Since the Renaissance, however, Livy and Tacitus have been much admired and followed notably by Gibbon, Macaulay, and Carlyle. Both are among our most valuable legacies from the past. The use of Caesar's *Gallic Wars* as a basic text for beginners in Latin prose of every generation since the Renaissance must also have had its permanent effects.¹⁷

Epistolography was a distinctly Roman art and has left its lasting impress upon modern literature and language. From Petrarch, the first humanist, through the eighteenth century, Cicero's *Letters* were the inspiration and model for the epistolary art and for elegant Latinity, and the same is true to a much lesser degree of the *Letters* of Pliny the Younger. Among their eminent successors were such artistic letter writers as Petrarch and Erasmus in the Renaissance, Madame de Sévigné of France, and Horace Walpole of England in the eighteenth century.

In oratory and rhetorical theory Cicero and Quintilian exerted a dominant influence until the nineteenth century. The early Latin church Fathers learned their prose style from them. Lactantius was called "the Christian Cicero," St. Jerome blamed himself for becoming too Ciceronian, and St. Ambrose and St. Augustine were devoted students of his writings. Though his orations and his three great works on oratory were known and revered in the Middle Ages, however, they were little read. In the twelfth century his influence increased, though even the classical scholar, John of Salisbury, who was devoted to him, knew little of his orations or rhetorical works.

Cicero's domination of modern prose style began with the Italian humanists and reached its zenith in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. The

¹⁷ On Caesar's *Commentaries*, cf. above, Chapter Eleven, Sec. II, 2; on Livy, Chapter Seventeen, Sec. I, 5; on Tacitus, Chapter Twenty-six, Sec. II, 2.

Renaissance was largely the work of his spirit. Petrarch called him "my Cicero," and Poggio, famed in the fifteenth century for his Ciceronian Latin, was dubbed the "ape" of Cicero. Unfortunately, this emulation of the Roman as the supreme model of elegant prose style degenerated in the late Renaissance to slavish imitation and pedantic copying. Cardinal Bembo, for example, would use no words not employed by Cicero. The great northern humanist, Erasmus, strongly opposed such pedantry, but was bitterly attacked by Julius Caesar Scaliger for his pains. Thus the word "Ciceronian" later became a term of opprobrium, connoting the deadening pedantic imitation of Cicero, and a synonym of "pseudo-classicism."

Cicero was the model for most of the pulpit and judicial oratory of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century France, and the same is true of the preachers and statesmen of England, from Jeremy Taylor to Chatham, Pitt, Fox, and Burke. The so-called "Johnsonian" style was based on him. The stately prose of the eighteenth-century historian of Rome, Gibbon, and the style of Cardinal Newman also are much indebted to him. With the decline of classicism in the nineteenth century, his conscious influence waned, but it is still strong, though no longer obvious, as he has now become fully assimilated by our modern culture. Though overshadowed by Cicero, Quintilian's great treatise on the *Education of an Orator* also exerted a strong influence on the style, literary criticism, and rhetorical theory of the leading humanists, and is still recognized as a work of distinct value in these fields.¹⁸

In any discussion of the influence of Roman literature, Apuleius, the second-century author of the *Metamorphoses* or the *Golden Ass* should not be overlooked.¹⁹ Through the early Middle Ages, he was famous as a powerful magician and thaumaturgist, and his story of Cupid and Psyche was much imitated. Since copies of the *Metamorphoses* are not numerous until the thirteenth century, however, the extent of his influence on the French Romances is uncertain. In the Renaissance he was popular and imitated as a great entertainer and storyteller. His story of Cupid and Psyche inspired many forms of literature, and many good English translations of it appeared. Spenser tells the story in his *Faerie Queene*, Keats made it the subject of an exquisite lyric, and many English writers adapted it to tragic and comic story and lyric. From the Italian Renaissance on, the story has also been a great inspiration to art.²⁰

As we have seen, Roman education was essentially Greek in method and content, though imbued with the Roman practical spirit. In education, therefore, Rome contributed not only its own product, but was an important intermediary for Greek culture to Western Europe. The Greco-Roman lower education in grammar (including literature), elementary rhetoric, music, and

¹⁸ For further detail on Cicero, cf. Chapter Fourteen, Sec. II, 2; on Quintilian, Chapter Twenty-six, Sec. II, 1.

¹⁹ Cf. Chapter Twenty-six, Sec. II, 5.

²⁰ An important phase of the influence of Roman literature which cannot be discussed here is the large number of masterly translations of the Roman classics into English and other languages. For English, cf. Bibliography. On the general subject of the debt of English literature to Roman, cf. Tucker, *The Foreign Debt of English Literature*, London, 1907, Chaps. II, III, and the chart opposite p. 114.

the elements of mathematics and astronomy, as well as the higher education in rhetoric and philosophy, was continued in the later Empire.²¹ Despite the decline of practical oratory with the advance of autocracy, rhetoric dominated literature and life, as we have seen. All other subjects of education were only contributory to the forming of the orator.

These ideals and methods of Roman education were spread with the Roman expansion to the West, and, in greatly diluted form, became the educational system of the early Middle Ages. Despite the hostility of the church to the pagan classics, which has often been exaggerated, the clergy had to know Latin, and must learn it through the Roman authors. Also, the church leaders must resort to the Greco-Roman schools of rhetoric and philosophy for their education, and hence could not escape their influence. The barbarian invasions, decline of culture, Christian suspicion of pagan learning, and the emphasis of the church upon an education of the clergy to serve its immediate religious needs, while hampering the continuity of Roman education, by no means broke it. In its essentials, it was continued in the monastic and later in the cathedral schools and universities of the Middle Ages. The medieval *trivium* (grammar, dialectic, and rhetoric) and the *quadrivium* (music, arithmetic, geometry, and astronomy) were essentially Greco-Roman, as was also their higher education in rhetoric and philosophy.

In the Italian Renaissance the Roman tradition of education largely continued, as is seen in the system of the great fifteenth-century humanist-educator, Vittorino da Feltre. Humanistic education, which shaped English and European education for centuries, was dominated by the spirit of Cicero and Quintilian. To Quintilian still, modern educational theorists repeatedly turn for a sane and humanistic statement of first principles, methods, and aims, and especially of the meaning and function of education.²²

3. THE POLITICAL INFLUENCE OF ROME

One of the most far-reaching phases of the Roman heritage to the future was the political. Through the conquest of Gaul, the Rhineland, and the upper Danubian lands, Rome provided the political framework for Western Europe. The Frankish Clovis and Charlemagne were, in a sense, the successors to Julius Caesar and the Roman emperors. Such modern European administrative divisions as the parish, county, and province, with their boundaries and the lines of communication between them, are largely traceable to Roman imperial administration. Medieval and modern Italy, southern France, and other Romanic lands, also reveal a direct continuity in some of the Roman political institutions. Such modern political terms as fiscal, salary, municipal, consul, proconsul, census, censor, tribune, dictator, emperor, imperialism, senate, province, candidate, election, civic, citizen, and many others suggest the persistence of the Roman political heritage. The Roman system of municipal

²¹ For detail on Roman education, cf. Chapter Seven, Sec. III, 1; Chapter Fourteen, Sec. I; Chapter Twenty-six, Sec. I.

²² For his principles of education, cf. Chapter Twenty-six, Secs. I, II, 1.

administration and local self-government persisted in the South and East, wherever there was a direct continuity of Roman civilization.

In the later Middle Ages the kings of France, Frederick II in southern Italy and Sicily, and to a lesser degree the rulers of England and Germany found in the autocratic Roman Empire their model and authoritative precedent for royal absolutism. The imperial power of the Roman Caesars is also suggested in modern Europe by the persistence of the corruption of the term in Kaiser and Czar. As we have seen, also, the sacred absolutism of Constantine and his successors at Constantinople, adopted from Persia, was later the heritage of Western Europe, with all the trappings of divine right kingship, and terms and conventions of slavish obeisance.²³

The ideals and practices of Roman imperial administration are also one of Rome's most valuable heritages to the modern world. As compared with most modern imperialism, it was especially successful, and modern states have much to learn from it. Particularly happy was Rome in her methods of Romanization and civilization of backward peoples in Western Europe. By her spirit of practical realism, wise compromise, generous grants of citizenship, and development of local, tribal, or municipal autonomy, she inspired a feeling of loyalty in the Western provinces. Even in her decline the poet Claudian could exclaim, "We who drink of the Rhone and Orontes are all one nation."²⁴ Rome transformed the separatism of the ancient Mediterranean world into a unity so thorough that her German conquerors still considered themselves representatives of the Eastern emperor at Constantinople, and the Empire persisted as an ideal throughout the Middle Ages and beyond in the Holy Roman Empire and the Holy Catholic church.

The Roman Empire, coextensive with civilization, the symbol of unity, peace, and order, continued to be the guiding ideal amid the localism and political confusion of the feudal era. Charlemagne considered himself the successor of Augustus, Constantine, and Justinian, as not merely a German king, but a Christian Roman emperor. His coronation by Pope Leo III in 800 A.D. as "great and pacific emperor of the Romans" was not conceived as a mere resuscitation, but a continuation of the Roman Empire. It marks the formal origin of the outstanding political institution of the Middle Ages, the medieval Empire, which came to be called the Holy Roman Empire. A proper understanding of it furnishes the key to an understanding of a large part of medieval politics and political theory.²⁵

Re-established by Otto the Great in the tenth century after being almost forgotten amid developing feudalism and the confusion and disintegration resulting from the Norse and other invasions, it was a powerful factor for three centuries, shaping the political theory and the political and ecclesiastical destinies of Europe. In theory, it was a universal state as the Roman Empire, and its direct heir, under God, the political arbiter of Europe, as the Papacy

²³ Cf. Index under term "Byzantinism."

²⁴ Cited from F. F. Abbott, *Roman Politics*, Longmans, Green, 1923, p. 134, by permission of the publishers.

²⁵ Cf. the illuminating interpretation of its theory, history, and influence by the late Lord Bryce, *Holy Roman Empire*, 2d ed., Macmillan, 1919.

was its spiritual arbiter.²⁶ The repeated interference of the German kings, as Roman emperors, in the political and ecclesiastical affairs of Italy had momentous consequences. It prevented the political unification of both Italy and Germany in the Middle Ages and for centuries after, and saved the Papacy from the disintegration and localism of the tenth and early eleventh centuries. Finally, worsted in the prolonged, intermittent conflict with the other great universal, the Roman Catholic church centering in the Papacy, it lingered on from the middle of the thirteenth century as a purely German institution.

Still the Holy Roman Empire caught the imagination of great minds such as Dante's as a universal state like the Roman Empire, the only guarantee of peace and unity in a disunited Italy and Europe. Its prototype, the Roman Empire, he idealized almost as a divine institution, by which alone the atonement of Jesus could have had universal effect.²⁷ Even in its weakness it still exerted a significant political influence under the leadership of the powerful Hapsburgs of Austria in the sixteenth century. Though increasingly a political anomaly, it still persisted until 1807, when Napoleon finally put an end to it. Even after its demise as an institution, its vague ideal of an international super-state to curb international anarchy continued to catch the imagination of European thinkers. Napoleon dreamed of realizing it by force of arms, and the dream reappeared in a new form in the Pan-Germanism of Kaiser Wilhelm II. Bismarck had excluded Austria from the German union, but Wilhelm later sought to include it by alliance, and the incorporation has finally been realized by the recent act of Nazi Germany, ending the existence of Austria as a state.

Far more truly, in proportion to its vastly greater power and persistent reality, was the other universal institution of the Middle Ages, the Holy Catholic church, the direct heir of eternal Rome. The Roman Empire in its decadence bequeathed its constitution to the Christian church as its last great legacy. Thus the Roman Catholic church became the chief medium through which the Roman inheritance has been transmitted, for in the language of the late German church historian, Harnack, "The Roman church is the old Roman Empire consecrated by religion."

Developing in the later Roman Empire, the church naturally took on the character of its environment as a necessary condition of its persistence and triumph, as we have seen.²⁸ From the dying Roman Empire it inherited its concept of absolute unity coextensive with civilization, its politically absolute ideology, its law, its imperial outlook, and its organization as an autocratic state with the Roman Pope as its practically infallible head, the divinely accredited spiritual, and, in the last analysis, the political arbiter of the world. As has frequently been pointed out also, the church inherited the administrative divisions of imperial Rome. The Roman city, or *civitas*, the territory of the city-state, the province, the imperial diocese with its *vicarius*, and the Empire as a whole corresponded, respectively, to the church territory of the city-state

²⁶ In theory, the authority of each had direct divine sanction, each supreme in its own realm and free from conflict.

²⁷ Brutus and Cassius, the assassins of Caesar, were to him not honored tyrannicides but traitors, like Judas, deserving of the lowest Hell.

²⁸ Cf. above, Chapter Thirty, Sec. II.

or the diocese, the metropolitan bishopric of a province, the patriarch of a district (especially in the East), and the general union of churches in the ecumenical council. In these and many other respects the developing Catholic church under the Pope was unconsciously modeled after the Roman Empire under the Caesars. In both organization and externals, even dress, the church was a direct heir of imperial Rome.²⁹ The great system of canon law of the church was directly modeled after the Roman civil law. Roman legal-mindedness and the formal character of Roman thought and language did much to determine the form as well as the content of the church creeds. As we have seen also, developing Christianity assimilated to itself much from the Hellenistic religious, ethical, and philosophical ideas and ceremonial that had become an integral part of the culture and religion of the later Empire.

A remarkable revival of some of the Roman political institutions and external forms and of the old Roman spirit and tradition has more recently appeared in Italian Fascism. It is no isolated phenomenon in the history of Rome, but in many respects its conscious imitator in externals and spirit. As is well known, its very name and symbol are taken from the Roman *fascēs*, the symbol of Roman magisterial *imperium*. Its insistence upon discipline of the individual as subordinate to the welfare of the absolute state, its spirit of energy, practical political realism, ruthless treatment of the opposition, conservative attitude to tradition, attempt to conciliate public opinion, use of force and violence, such actions as the march on Rome, Caesarism, and imperial outlook all have their counterpart in the history of imperial Rome.

In political theory also, the Roman heritage to the future is most significant. Through the medium of Cicero's *Republic* and *Laws*, the political ideas of the Greeks, Plato, Aristotle, and the Stoics were interpreted to Romans in Latin and became a part of the Roman legacy. Like the Stoics, Cicero sought the source of all law and justice in the eternal and immutable law of nature, the *jus naturale*, which began with the creation of man. Later, as human social organization developed, the *jus naturale* became the *jus gentium*, and the *jus civile* began with the beginnings of written law. This concept of *jus naturale*, at first at the basis of all Roman legal theory, was later extended to canon law in the Middle Ages.

Through Cicero, Seneca, and later Roman political and legal thinkers, medieval and modern thought inherited such political ideas as the homogeneity of the human race or natural equality, the doctrine that the power of government is derived from the people or popular sovereignty, the theory of the social compact or government by agreement, the belief that every citizen has some capacity which should have opportunity for expression, and the concept of the state as an organism. While the concept of the divine right of kings was only sporadic in Roman law, it was certainly implied and was definitely formulated by Pope Gregory the Great (590-604 A.D.) in his *Pastoral Rule* and *Moralia*, and thence entered into medieval and early modern thought.

A summary of the contribution of Roman political thought and practice

²⁹ For these and additional points on the correspondence, cf. F. F. Abbott, *Roman Politics*, Longmans, Green, 1923, Chap. xi.

must also include the conception of the state as demanding the devotion of the individual citizen, a model system of local self-government in the municipalities, the Roman concept of citizenship and the right of the state to protect its citizens even in foreign lands, and the historical method of approach to the study of political institutions instead of the imaginative projection of Utopias. It also contributed the conservative regard for law and tradition, an imperial civil service, the idea of an ordered Empire based essentially upon military rather than civil power, checks and balances, at least in theory, in the Republican constitution, the representative principle, the jury method of trial, and a wise opportunism in imperial administration and in civilizing and unifying alien peoples probably as yet unequaled.

On the whole, Western civilization owes much in its political philosophy and political systems to Rome. From Cicero and the great jurists of the second century to the theorists of the French Revolution, the history of political thought has a direct continuity.³⁰ Though the English constitution cannot be traced directly to Rome, its strong similarity to the Roman constitution in its development and general character has often been pointed out. English political writers also, from the French Revolution to today, have applied the lessons from Roman political institutions to modern political and constitutional problems. This tendency has been all the stronger because of the striking similarity of the two peoples in their practical realism and empirical rather than doctrinaire approach to political problems, their conservative respect for traditional institutions and readiness to adapt old institutions to new conditions, their imperial expansion, and possession of a flexible, unwritten constitution evolved through centuries of history. Rome also exerted an indirect influence on the introduction of the principles of separation of powers and checks and balances in the American constitution. For, though these were not recognized in practice in the Roman constitution, it was so interpreted by the Greek historian, Polybius. As a result, Cicero emphasized these ideas in his political theory. He was followed by the modern theorists, Bodin, Montesquieu, and Blackstone, and partly through the influence of the two latter thinkers, these principles were embodied in the American document.

4. THE INFLUENCE OF ROMAN LAW

Of the more original and direct contributions of Rome to future civilization, the most significant was Roman law. It was second only to the Roman Catholic church in its far-reaching influence, and without these two, as the late Lord Bryce has said, "the memory of the Empire might have perished." Its study shaped the medieval mind, and both secular and church law. It has been a primary factor in forming the legal opinion of mankind, and there is hardly a system of legislation that is not indebted to it for some guiding principles.

³⁰ Of course, these also harked back to the ideas and practices of the Hellenistic monarchies and the theories of Plato, Aristotle, and the Greek Stoics. Cf. Vol. I, Chapters Twenty-eight, Thirty, Thirty-two, Thirty-three. For a list of similar social and political problems common to Rome and modern nations, cf. F. F. Abbott, *op. cit.*, Chap. III, but the conditions are now so different as to empty such analogies of much of their meaning.

In its transmission to medieval Europe there is more evidence of continuity for Roman law than for any other directly Roman product. According to the German idea of the "personality" of law, each person should be judged by the law under which he was born, with the result that, after the German conquest of the West, the old legal status of the Roman population continued. On the basis of the Roman *Code of Theodosius II* (438 A.D.), therefore, several of the German tribes published briefer codes in Latin for the use of their Roman subjects at the close of the fifth and early in the sixth century. The three principal ones were the edicts of the Ostrogothic kings, the Roman law of the Burgundians, and Roman law of the Visigoths, usually called the *Breviary of Alaric II*, compiled in 506 A.D. Of these, the third was by far the most significant. The Ostrogothic edicts lost their importance after the destruction of their kingdom in Italy by the general of the Byzantine emperor, Justinian, in the sixth century, and the law of Rome in Burgundy remained local.

The *Breviary of Alaric*, on the other hand, became the standard source of Roman law throughout Western Europe until the eleventh century, since it was intended as a fairly complete code for the use of the Roman population in France and Spain. The Latin of the *Breviary* is still reasonably pure, the *Code* is a fairly successful attempt to produce a concise compendium of Roman law, and the texts are accompanied by an interpretation to clarify the meaning. On the whole, however, it reveals the decadence of Roman law in the West by the beginning of the sixth century. The emphasis was upon immediate utility, and the marked narrowing of the intellectual outlook appears in the omissions in the *leges* (statutes of the recent emperors) and especially in the neglect of the most valuable legacy of Roman law, the interpretations of the jurists. As in every other respect, so in law, Roman and German elements were mixed, even in the Lombard and Frankish codes.

Besides the German abridgments of Roman law, the several tribes also codified their own tribal customs in Latin. Such were the codes of the West Goths and, later, those of the Riparian and Salian Franks in Gaul and of the Lombards in northern Italy. These were also more or less influenced by Roman legal tradition, especially as they were couched in the Latin tongue.

The continuity of Roman law even in the darker centuries of the early Middle Ages is therefore unquestionable. Even in northern France, Germany, and England, where the Roman population was not extensive, some influence of Roman legal institutions appears in many ways. This was partly due to the clergy who followed Roman law. In the Eastern Roman Empire the *Code of Justinian*, published in the sixth century, dominated until the fall of the Empire to the Turks, and later exerted a distinct influence on Turkish law. Justinian's *Code* and the legislation of his successors also ruled in southern Italy until the conquest of the Saracens. The same was true of the Romagna in the region of Rome, and Ravenna, long the seat of the exarch (the representative of the Eastern emperor) after the conquest of the East Goths by Justinian's general. In southern France and Spain, the *Breviary* was especially strong with the West Goths, since they had been to some degree in contact with the Roman Empire since the third and fourth centuries and had settled on imperial lands

as quasi-allies. The East Goths in Italy followed Roman models directly in their legislation, as did the West Goths in Spain and France for their own enactments, aside from their codification of Roman law for the Roman population. This appropriation was especially wholesale in the sixth century.

In northern and central Italy, where the Roman population was especially large, Roman law was not destroyed by the Lombards in the sixth and seventh centuries. But their practice of it was limited to private transactions, until their king, Liutprand, enacted that legal documents made before Roman notaries must follow Roman legal forms. No provision was made, however, either for Roman courts or for judges trained in Roman law. Thus the Lombards retained their tribal legal tradition on the whole, though Roman law exerted a strong influence through the necessities of commerce and judicial interpretation. The Salic and Ripuarian codes of the Franks in Gaul show still less Roman influence than the Lombard. Yet Roman ideas penetrated in many ways, especially through the church, and the influence of Roman rules for private transactions appears in the capitularies (laws) of the Carolingian kings and emperors from the eighth century on. The section of Western Europe least affected by Roman legal influence in this period was England.

During the so-called dark ages from the fifth to the eleventh centuries, Roman legal learning did not entirely disappear, thanks to the work of the clergy and monks. Such learning, however, lacked any system and was included in the general compendia of ancient knowledge, such as that of Isidore of Seville in the seventh century. Any study of law also was connected with the general curriculum in the schools of grammar, rhetoric, and dialectic. The study of Roman legal books, chiefly by clergy and monks, was limited to the making of abstracts and brief comments.⁸¹

The outstanding influence of Roman law on European legal systems began, however, with the rediscovery of the *Justinian Code* in the West by Irnerius in the eleventh century. Henceforth, it became the basis of assiduous study of both civil and canon law in the schools and later at the universities, and was, indeed, in some instances actually the cause for their founding. The revival of the study of Roman law was one of the chief phases of the Renaissance of the twelfth century. On the basis of the Roman civil code, Gratian made his great codification of canon law, the *Decretum*, in the twelfth century, which became the standard text for the study of canon law in the medieval universities, as was the civil code of Justinian for the study of civil law. Degrees in "both laws" were offered in the universities of Bologna, Paris, and elsewhere. Thus, Roman civil law now directly entered into the texture of European legal systems and thinking.

The chief phases of the influence of Roman law are its legacy to Western jurisprudence, monarchical government, the church, international law, municipal law, and merchant law. The first three require further brief elaboration.

As we have seen, in Romanic lands especially, Roman jurisprudence had a direct continuity throughout the Middle Ages, and was interwoven in the

⁸¹ On the continuity of Roman law in the early medieval period, cf. P. Vinogradoff, *Roman Law in Medieval Europe*, Harper, 1909, Chap. 1, to whom I am much indebted for the material in the above section.

law and custom of Italy, France, and Spain. The modern jurisprudence of these nations is therefore essentially Roman, and this is largely true of the lands where they have colonized, such as French Canada, the Latin-American countries, and, to some extent, Louisiana and southwestern United States. Through French influence, the legal systems of Belgium and Holland are also strongly Romanic. The French Code of Napoleon is largely a republication of the laws of Justinian, adapted to French needs.

In England the legacy of Roman jurisprudence was far less extensive and direct. Unlike the rest of the barbarian codes, the Anglo-Saxon law was written in the vernacular, not in Latin, and shows practically no traces of Roman influence, except in the ecclesiastical sphere. Roman legal influence entered England, however, through the church, and especially through the Norman Conquest, and Roman law was grafted upon the Anglo-Saxon stock of common law in its formative period. Despite opposition, the Roman civil code was studied in the English schools of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The most important legal work that contributed to the influence of Roman law in England was Bracton's *Laws and Customs of England* (1259), which Maitland has called "Romanesque in form but English in substance." The greatest debt of English law to Roman is in equity, admiralty and merchant law, and probate law, which is a development of the ecclesiastical law of England. There was no wholesale reception of Roman law, however, as in Romanic lands, and it never became a constituent element of English common law. Nevertheless, Roman influence was potent in the formation of English legal documents in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries when common law was in process of development, and this influence has gone to America and wherever English civilization has penetrated.

In Germany Roman jurisprudence exerted little influence until the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, when it had a wholesale reception. In 1495 the *Reichskammergericht* of the Holy Roman Empire even adopted Roman law for its guidance as the common law of the Empire. This example was followed by the high courts of the several German principalities, and so throughout the whole German legal system. Roman jurisprudence continued to dominate in Germany until the nineteenth century, when the strongly nationalistic German historical school dealt a fatal blow to it as a living system. These writers insisted that law was essentially the product of the national legal genius of a people, not an alien system received from without. Finally, in 1900, Roman law was displaced by the German civil code. The influence of four centuries, however, could not be entirely eradicated.

With the renewal of the scholarly study of Roman law and the development of strong monarchy against feudalism, especially from the twelfth century on, Roman law also exerted a strong influence on government. The despotic principle of later Roman law that the source of law lay in the emperor was welcomed by such medieval rulers as Henry II of England, Philip Augustus and his successors in France, and the German emperors, Frederick Barbarossa and Frederick II. They retained at their courts scholars in Roman law who interpreted the legal precedents in favor of absolute monarchy. This was especially

true in France and in the kingdom of South Italy and Sicily, where Frederick II developed a thorough Roman code in the thirteenth century. In medieval France, especially, Roman law was one of the chief factors in the development of absolute monarchy.

The determining influence of the Roman codes on the canon law of the Christian church has already been sufficiently emphasized in the above reference to Gratian's *Decretum*. The clergy largely followed Roman precedent and, as we have seen, were an influence for Roman law wherever they went. The church was the direct heir of the Roman Empire in law as in so many other respects, and, reciprocally, it also exerted a salient influence, together with Stoicism, in humanizing Roman jurisprudence. As in the state, Roman law made for absolutism in the church. Its territorial rather than local character also aided realization of the universalism of the church, and Roman law had its part in shaping the form as well as the content of the Christian creed, as we have seen.

As to the influence of Roman on modern international law, one needs only to read the pioneer work of the seventeenth-century Grotius on the *Laws of War and Peace* to be impressed with the extent of the Roman heritage. Such concepts as natural law embodied in the Roman *jus gentium*, national dominion, and the law of treaties are examples. International law cannot be adequately understood without some knowledge of the Roman legal conceptions which helped to shape its development.

5. THE INFLUENCE OF ROME ON EUROPEAN ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS

Despite the decline of Roman economic life and the gradual return to an ever more primitive economy in the early Middle Ages, the essential continuity between Rome and early medieval economic and social institutions was by no means broken. As we have seen, there was a very gradual retrogression of Roman economic organization to the earlier simplicity even from the late second century, and the process had already gone far before the fall of the West to the German invaders. Also, the barbarians were by no means as numerous or their attacks as destructive as has often been popularly supposed. Though much disturbed, life went on about as usual, as is evident from the fifth-century *Letters* of Apollinaris Sidonius in Gaul. The continuity of the general Roman economic organization and institutions persisted especially in Spain, southern Gaul, and Italy, where the population and civilization remained overwhelmingly Romanic.

The agricultural organization of the later Roman Empire, as described above,³² with its large estates or villas increasingly self-sufficient, its serf tenancy, and its *patrocinium*, continued into the Middle Ages and shaded gradually into the medieval manorial system. As in medieval institutions generally, so in the manorial and feudal systems, Roman and German elements were fused. Examples of such Roman institutions are the *precarium*,

³² Cf. Chapters Twenty-eight, Twenty-nine.

beneficium, commendation, colonate, and *patrocinium*, all of which have reference to land tenure, cultivation, and the relations between the great estate-holders and the small owners or landless peasants. All these must be considered in any discussion of the medieval manorial and feudal systems. Some of the arts and methods of Roman scientific agriculture, as outlined by Varro and Columella, were doubtless also long continued on the old Roman villas in Gaul and elsewhere.

Roman land trade by road and river continued, though far less active, and the great Roman roads only gradually decayed, some of them never entirely. Sea commerce with southern Gaul from the East was not disturbed until the Mohammedan domination of the West Mediterranean in the eighth century. Greco-Roman industry also continued in a decadent form, and the memory of some of the industrial techniques doubtless persisted in the decadent *collegia*, on the villas, and in the new monasteries. Roman town life also, though sadly fallen away, never died out in southern Gaul and Italy, and the Roman heritage must be considered in any study of the origins of medieval towns, especially in these sections of Europe. Even in the North and East many Roman towns have a continuity with the medieval and modern, at least in site or remains. A few such are London, York, Trèves, Cologne, Mainz, Augsburg, Regensburg, Vienna, and Budapest. Much of Roman family and social institutions also persisted in the Romanic lands of France and Italy. The French, especially, still retain something of the old Roman attitude to woman and the family.

6. THE INFLUENCE OF ROME ON PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGION

Philosophy was not native to the Roman genius, as we have seen. In so far as Romans developed a philosophy, it was only a Romanized version of their Greek models. Yet Rome was far more than a mere transmitter of Greek thought. Such Roman thinkers as Lucretius,³³ Cicero, and Seneca the Younger gave Greek philosophy a practical turn which imbued it with new vitality and made it a distinctly Roman product. This was especially true of Stoicism, which, through Rome, became a permanent element in Christian ethics and exerted an influence on future civilization far more powerful and direct than its Hellenic prototype.

Cicero was the popularizer of Greek philosophy to the Romans, and though a professed Academic, he was the chief medium for the transmission of Stoic ethics to Roman law, political thought, and Christianity. He was the mentor of the Latin church Fathers, Jerome, Ambrose, and Augustine, and hence became an important factor in shaping the ethical outlook of medieval Christianity. The fact that Pope Gregory the Great (590-604) wished to destroy his influence shows that it was strong. In the sixteenth century Montaigne, Ascham, and Sidney were among his devoted readers, and the Socinian radical movement in the Reformation is directly traceable to his inspiration.

The rationalizing deistic and skeptical thought in England and France

³³ On Lucretius, cf. above, Sec. II, and Chapter Fourteen, Sec. I. For details on Cicero's philosophical works, cf. Chapter Fourteen, Sec. II, 2.

during the next two centuries, also, found much to uphold it in Cicero. In England all the deistic writers, as well as Hume, were strongly influenced by him. They based their opposition to divine revelation and belief in "natural religion" on Cicero's doctrine that all men have an instinctive idea of God and religion. Hume says that Cicero's *De Officiis* was before him in all his thinking, and his *Dialogue on Natural Religion* was modeled after Cicero's *De Natura Deorum*. The French rationalists were also dominated by him. Voltaire said that Cicero taught us how to think.³⁴ The French political liberals also, such as Mably and Mirabeau, worshiped him as the champion of Republican freedom against absolute monarchy.

Seneca, the Stoic essayist and epigrammatic moralizer, appealed especially to the church Fathers for his high ethical teachings. In this regard, Jerome placed him above Cicero. He approached nearer to monotheism and a definite belief in immortality, and much nearer to Christian thought, than did any of his predecessors. His readiness to receive into his Stoicism all other philosophical theories, and the belief in the genuineness of the alleged correspondence between him and St. Paul, also made a strong appeal. The considerable number of ninth- and tenth-century manuscripts of his philosophical works proves his popularity with the earlier medieval Christian thinkers. Books of his epigrammatic sayings called "Seneks" were common. From the ninth to the thirteenth century his philosophical essays and *Natural Questions* were accepted as standard, and he was known as scientist and philosopher.

As a philosopher, Seneca's popularity continued until the eighteenth century. Dante and Chaucer read and drew from him. Petrarch quotes him more than any other author except Virgil. Thomas à Kempis, author of the *Imitation of Christ*, makes a lengthy reference to him, and many printed editions of his works had appeared by the close of the fifteenth century. His tolerance and cosmopolitan spirit especially appealed to Montaigne, and he was the general favorite of English and European moralizers. Wyatt, Ben Jonson, Francis Bacon, Burton, and Milton are a few among many whose works testify to his popularity in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. With the next century began a criticism of the Stoics as rascals with feigned virtue, but such thinkers as Voltaire and Diderot in France and Boswell in England remained loyal to Seneca. Despite Macaulay's dislike of him, he came to his own again in such nineteenth-century writers as Goethe, Lamb, Coleridge, Wordsworth, De Quincey, Matthew Arnold, and Emerson. With Cicero, Seneca holds an important place in the development of English and Continental moral theory, and he helped to make the ethical ideals of Stoicism an integral part of modern thought.

In religion as in philosophy, Western civilization owes a vast debt to Rome as the great intermediary. Her splendid road system, Roman peace, imperial organization, and religious tolerance made possible the ready spread of Christianity throughout the Empire. Still more, her final adoption of Christianity as the state religion assured its final triumph as the religion of the Western

³⁴ Such a statement, however, is an example of the essential superficiality of much in Voltaire and French eighteenth-century thought, for there was nothing profound about Cicero.

world. But here again Rome was far more than a passive transmitter, for in the Roman world, as we have seen,³⁵ Christianity was markedly developed and became a thoroughly Roman product. Under the influence of the Roman genius for organization, Christianity became a highly complex institutional religion after Roman political models, emphasizing catholic unity in accord with the universalism of the Roman Empire. Thus, as we have seen, the church was saved from disintegration and was enormously strengthened to triumph over heresy and paganism, and finally to become the heir of the Empire itself.

From Rome the church learned the lesson of practical conservatism and compromise, to connect the new organically with the old, thereby keeping the historic continuity while remaining adaptable to new conditions. Thus it was able to assimilate some elements from Hellenistic and Roman paganism and attain a practical *modus vivendi* in a hostile world without compromising its fundamental religious principles. This was the characteristic cosmopolitan and tolerant attitude of the Romans toward religion throughout their history.

As a result, many elements from Hellenistic and Roman paganism have enriched the worship and religious practices of Christianity without necessarily endangering its essential religious and ethical character. Many of the festivities of Christmas, for instance, are inherited from the Roman Saturnalia. Other examples are the use of images and pictures in worship, the Catholic cult of the saints (related to the Roman worship of the local *numina* and the spirits of the dead), the ceremonies similar to Roman in many church festivals, marriage customs, All Saints' Day (a survival of the Roman Parentalia), some external relations of the cult of the Virgin Mary to Roman cults of Diana, Minerva, and Isis, the elevation of sacred objects, baptismal rites of purification, a communion meal of bread and wine, sacrificial rites, the use of candles and holy water in worship, votive offerings in churches, and clerical tonsure. But these are only a few of many such examples of survival.³⁶ Other external contributions of Roman religion to Christianity and therefore to Western civilization were the numerous material remains of pagan temples, or basilicas, taken over by the church in Rome and throughout the Empire, the many sites of pagan shrines used by the Christians, the pagan statues, reliefs, frescoes, and mosaics adapted to Christian worship, as well as numerous examples of the influence of Greco-Roman art on the representation of divinity or saints, such as the nimbus, or halo, about the head of holy persons.³⁷

More important in their influence than all such externals, however, were some religious ideas and a certain spiritual temper characteristic of the imperial Roman environment in which Christianity developed. One of these ideas was the whole conception of regeneration and redemption, which, while not stressed in the early Roman religion, was present from the first in cer-

³⁵ Chapter Thirty, Sec. II.

³⁶ Cf. G. Laing, *Survivals of Roman Religion*, Longmans, 1931, for an extensive list with data. In Chap. I he emphasizes the Roman high degree of specialization of function of their gods and their "departmental idea of deity" as a background for the Christian cult of the saints.

³⁷ Cf. *ibid.*, Chap. xxxi.

tain practices whose aim was to attain communion with deity, a basic element in all doctrines of regeneration. Unlike the Hellenistic religions of redemption, however, it failed to develop into a medium of personal regeneration, which accounts for the growing popularity of the foreign mystery cults. This emphasis in religion as an individual spiritual experience of regeneration through certain purifications and initial rites marks an epoch in the history of religion. Isis and Mithra were redeemer deities, through whose emotional and mystic rites the seeker was purified and made fit for communion with the divine. In a sense, by his voluntary choice, he experienced a religious and ethical conversion and was "born again" (*renatus*), as Apuleius says in his remarkable story of the conversion of Lucius to Isis.³⁸ The regeneration was manifested in a life of chastity and devotion through which he was assured of happiness in this life and perhaps eternal felicity in the next. Many of the preliminary rites of Mithraism symbolized the death of the old impure life and the birth of a new.

Such ideas of regeneration were increasingly prevalent in the religious consciousness of the third and fourth centuries. It is not primarily a question of the extent to which developing Christianity unconsciously assimilated such ideas and rites from the Mediterranean cults or of their debt to Christianity. This can never be settled dogmatically. The point to be emphasized rather is their striking similarity in this central idea and its corresponding practices, at least externally. Thus multitudes who heard the Christian preachers already had a general familiarity with many ideas of the new faith, which gave it an added appeal. It is important to recognize, however, that genuine conversions or cases of regeneration like that of the Lucius of Apuleius were apparently not very common in the pagan cults. Usually, it was merely a matter of unemotional change of adherence from one cult to another, or of the addition of another religion. In Christianity, on the other hand, the idea of regeneration regularly implied a more profound ethical and spiritual transformation than was usual in the mystery cults. Yet such an experience was also by no means unknown to these, as is evident from the story of Lucius.³⁹

Another basic religious idea that had increasing vogue in the Roman environment in which Christianity developed was the hope of a blessed hereafter. In this the Hellenistic religions of redemption, Judaism, and Christianity agreed. Probably the Hellenistic cults in the later Roman Empire as well as Judaism, which itself had drawn much on its doctrine of the last things from Persian and ancient Aryan and Indian sources,⁴⁰ contributed much to the development of the Christian ideas of the ultimate destiny of the soul. The immortal hope itself, however, was an impelling force in Christianity from its inception, and here again the Christian idea was far more profoundly spiritual

³⁸ One of the most significant documents in second-century religion. Cf. A. D. Nock, *Conversion*, Chap. ix, for an illuminating interpretation of this thrilling spiritual experience of Lucius.

³⁹ Cf. *ibid.*, Chaps. vii-ix.

⁴⁰ Cf. Rudolf Otto, *The Kingdom of God and the Son of Man* (translated from the revised German ed. by F. V. Filson and B. L. Woolf), London, 1938, Chaps. 2, 3, on this ancient Aryan element in Judaism.

and ethical, and far more fundamental to the religion than it was in the competing cults.

Other ideas and tendencies in imperial times, most of them essentially Roman, that were a part of the general religious environment of developing Christianity, were the sense of spiritual presence, the idea that religion must permeate daily life, the desire for direct relation of the individual with deity, the re-creation of religion in union with a more practical and revitalized philosophy emphasizing an ideal way of life, a cosmopolitan tolerance, a catholicity that united all gods in one religion, which prepared the way for the later union of all people in the worship of the same God,⁴¹ an eclectic revival of Platonism, and the tendency to institutionalism in religion. All these, with those previously discussed, were the heritage of Christianity and did much to shape its development.

The Roman contribution to the Christian vocabulary of many of its fundamental terms, such as piety, saint, and sacrament, is also of vital significance, since with the words came ideas that became an essential heritage of Christianity. The debt of the Christian church to Rome for its thorough institutional organization modeled after the state, with its new priesthood and a new *Pontifex Maximus* at its head, for its canon law, and for much in its service of worship has been sufficiently elaborated in the preceding chapter. Her lasting debt to Roman architecture will be considered in the following section.

7. THE INFLUENCE OF ROMAN ART, ARCHITECTURE, AND ENGINEERING

A more thorough knowledge of Roman civilization has necessitated a revision of the old notion that Roman art, aside from architecture, was merely an exotic Greek product. This was largely true under the Republic. But whether or not Roman art can be traced back to native Etrusco-Italic as well as Hellenic origins, there certainly developed under the Empire a distinctly Roman imperial art. Though, of course, based on Hellenistic tradition, it had a new life and creative vitality of its own which emphasized the imperial position and destiny of Rome. Probably the great majority of the actual artists were still Greek, but if so, their spirit and outlook were thoroughly Roman and imperial. We can do no more than merely enumerate here the types of imperial Roman art with their meaning for the future.⁴²

Roman monumental relief sculpture on triumphal arches and columns left a very important legacy, especially in medieval northern Italy and southern France, though the columns and arches themselves have no direct descendants. Roman portrait statues and busts hark back to Greek and especially Etruscan, but imperial portraiture, when there developed a passion of public men to be immortalized in marble, represents one of the most realistic and distinctively Roman of all Roman products. The rediscovery of these figures stimulated Renaissance sculptors, and the Roman influence in portrait sculpture has been an active influence ever since. The equestrian statue is definitely

⁴¹ Cf. A. Grenier, *The Roman Spirit* (ed. Henri Berr), Knopf, 1926, Foreword, p. xiii.

⁴² Cf., however, the sections on imperial Roman art in Chapters Seventeen, Twenty, Twenty-five.

Roman, as seen in the famous bronze of Marcus Aurelius, which has had a continuous tradition throughout the history of Renaissance and modern equestrian sculpture. The sculptured sarcophagus, though not originally Roman, reached its highest development under imperial Rome, and no form of ancient art exerted a stronger influence upon the nascent schools of Italian and French art in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Roman decorative sculpture, such as the fine scrollwork and other designs on friezes, pilasters or doorways, has also had a continuous history since it was revived by Romanesque and Renaissance artists. There is naturally less connection between Roman painting and the painting of the Renaissance, though Raphael's frescoes in the Loggia of the Vatican were strongly influenced by the frescoes of Nero's *Domus Aurea*, discovered in his time. The Italian painters were also greatly influenced by Roman sculpture. In general, the influence of Roman art on European and American art has not been so much by direct reproduction as by the continuity of tradition and unconscious assimilation. From the standpoint of artistic perfection, it is most unfortunate that the Renaissance and later artists until the nineteenth century gained their ideas of ancient art very largely from Roman instead of directly from the best Greek sources.

Roman architecture is one of the most distinctively creative and important of all phases of the Roman heritage. It was no mere reflection or degradation of the Greek, but a thoroughly Roman and highly constructive product. To appreciate the striking difference between Greek and Roman architecture one needs only to contrast the ancient ruins of Athens and Rome. The Greeks had attained supreme perfection in the post and lintel or column and architrave structure, but their simple temple architecture was wasteful of space and unsuitable for great public buildings. The problem was solved by the organizing mind of Rome through the use of the arch and the vault. For the Greek ideal spirit, artistic perfection, delicate finish, simplicity, and moderation, expressed chiefly in temples, the Romans substituted bold construction, complexity, massive solidity, splendor, and size, expressed in imposing public buildings to serve the needs of vast numbers. It was an imperial architecture of magnificent structures symbolic of the glory and power of the Empire.⁴³ Temples were still built, but the characteristic structures of the great imperial builders, Vespasian, Titus, Trajan, Hadrian, Diocletian, and Constantine, were daring aqueducts and bridges, spacious basilicas, splendid palaces, vast amphitheatres, luxurious public baths, spacious fora, assembly halls, theatres, imposing triumphal monuments such as arches and columns, and elaborate city residences and country villas.

Though the principles of the arch and the round or barrel vault were not original with the Romans, they developed their use on a gigantic scale and made them a fundamental element in their building. Crossed or groined vaulting, though not entirely unknown in the East, was practically a Roman discovery, as was also the great dome. The masterly dome of the Roman Pantheon, which has never been surpassed in circumference, definitely in-

⁴³ Hellenistic architecture already had some of these qualities, such as size, the high substructure, a tendency to overdecoration, love of splendor, and secular building, but by no means to the extent that they appear in imperial Rome.

fluenced the builders of St. Peter's at Rome and St. Paul's, London.⁴⁴ The great central hall of the Roman *Thermae*, or, more directly, the vaulted Basilica of Constantine, with its central and side aisles and cross vaulting, is the lineal ancestor of the Romanesque cathedrals by way of the early Christian basilicas. The rounded structure at the end of the Roman basilica became the apse of the church, containing the altar, and the colonnaded portico in front became its vestibule. All the characteristic features of Romanesque architecture, vaulted nave, aisles, clerestory, barrel and groined vaulting, massive walls and buttresses, and heavy pillars hark back to the Roman basilica, and the Gothic is a further development of the Romanesque. The medieval monastic cloister also, which has left its mark on English and American college architecture, may be traced back to the Roman peristyle. The fortified medieval manors are the descendants of Roman fortified farmhouses. In its general plan, Diocletian's palace at Spalato (Split) is the earliest known medieval castle.

Renaissance architecture was a conscious attempt to return to the Roman classical style. Such noble ruins as those on the Palatine doubtless exerted a strong influence on Renaissance builders. Roman sculptured figures on arches and columns, mural painting, portrait sculpture, and decorative design served as models for Renaissance artists and architects. The rediscovered work of the Roman Vitruvius, *On Architecture* (*De Architectura*), exerted a remarkable influence on Renaissance and modern building until the nineteenth century. He was recognized by architects as their chief authority, and his principles were accepted as final. The great architects of the Italian Renaissance, such as Bramante and Michelangelo, were diligent students of his work, and through them Vitruvius long dominated the architecture of most European countries. On the whole, however, his influence on Renaissance and modern architecture was unfortunate, since he was no architectural genius, and especially since, as a contemporary of Caesar and Augustus, he knew nothing of the vitality and bold creativeness of the later great imperial buildings from Vespasian to Constantine.

It is primarily to these splendid imperial structures of Roman secular architecture, which the modern world has repeatedly copied, rather than to Greece, that we must look for the forerunners of the vast, complex construction in our modern public buildings. As is well known, the plan of the great Pennsylvania Terminal Station in New York City strongly resembles that of the Baths of Caracalla and the Basilica of Constantine. Not only in its general plan, vaulting, and clerestory, but also in many of its details, such as columns, façade, and vaulted structure, it is distinctly Roman. Other conspicuous examples are the Washington Arch, also in New York City, the Colosseum, which furnished the general idea for the Yale Bowl, and many of our state capitols, great commercial structures, outdoor theatres, public libraries, and even temporary World's Fair buildings.

⁴⁴ On its structure, cf. Chapter Twenty-five, Sec. II, 1. The concrete was formed into a mold so that it set in one solid mass, thereby largely solving the problem of outward thrust. On any Roman buildings mentioned in this section, cf. the relevant sections in Chapters Fourteen, Seventeen, Twenty, Twenty-five, Twenty-eight.

To save space, the Romans modified the Greek temple design by bringing the walls out to the columns on all sides except the front, thus developing the engaged column, or pilaster. This use of engaged columns on three sides and the Roman type of decorative façade, with its long line of columns, pilasters, and arches expressive of the dignity of a great public building, is extremely common in our great modern structures. Whether we consider it to be as artistic as the Greek or not, it is one of our most direct and significant legacies from Rome through the Renaissance. A graceful example of a Roman temple with engaged columns and the high Hellenistic basement to make the temple appear more conspicuous is the *Maison Carrée* at Nîmes. It furnished the model for the *Madeleine* at Paris, Napoleon's Temple of Victory, and suggested to Thomas Jefferson a plan for the State Capitol at Richmond, Virginia.

Roman utilitarian interest and constructive genius were also splendidly expressed in the closely allied field of engineering. In conceiving and carrying through great public works, such as roads, bridges, aqueducts, drainage systems, canals, and harbors, the Romans were the forerunners of modern engineers. We must distinguish, as the Romans did, between art and technical methods of building if we are to appreciate properly their great work in this field. For it is an interesting fact that the period of the third and fourth centuries, when Roman art and culture were distinctly decadent, was a time of remarkable achievement in building and engineering.

The chief problem of the Romans, how to span vast spaces by arch and vault, was solved with masterly skill, considering their materials, whether in great public buildings or in their bridges and viaducts. The refinements and efficiency of modern bridge building by the aid of iron and steel have obviously no parallel in Roman times. Yet the Romans, with their excellent hydraulic cement, built structures that defied time. The ruins of the great aqueducts of Rome and the large number of others in Italy, Gaul, Spain, and other provinces, as well as the numerous remains of splendid bridges, are still witnesses to their engineering genius. The arched viaduct over the Nar at Narnia in Italy, the beautiful Pont du Gard near Nîmes, nearly 900 feet long and 160 feet high, with its triple tier of arches, the aqueduct at Spalato, Italy, still in use, the splendid arched bridge at Segovia, Spain, still in fine preservation, and others in Spain at Alcántara, Tarragona, and Merida, are only a few of the many striking examples. Perhaps the most remarkable bridge was the wooden arched structure built by Trajan over the Danube, whose stone piers now alone survive. The method of construction, however, may still be seen on Trajan's Column.

The Roman roads were built with such solidity that many of them continued in fair condition for centuries during all the earlier Middle Ages. Roman drainage facilities were quite as good as those of any European city until recent times, and some Roman sewers are still in active use. The three and one-half mile drainage canal of Claudius to draw the waters from the Fucine Lake and the great harbor works at Ostia are further evidences of Roman engineering skill, as are also the massive Roman fortifications and military architecture. In

hydraulics, they were acquainted with the principle of the siphon and used it on an extensive scale. The lofty arches of their aqueducts were therefore not merely for display, but were built on sound engineering principles.

In engineering, as in other phases of Roman civilization, there was direct continuity with the Middle Ages. The transition period was long, and the decadence only gradual. In the Renaissance, Roman principles of engineering were applied with a new emphasis through the influence of Vitruvius and the work of Frontinus, *On the Aqueducts of Rome*. Modern engineering, however, is so highly specialized in so many diverse fields, and has at its command such resources in concrete, iron, and steel, that it would seem to hold little relation to the Roman. Yet there is some continuity. Modern technique must look back to Rome as the pioneer in bridge, harbor, road, and drainage construction. Still more, the Roman boldness of conception to undertake great projects and the vastness and complexity of Roman construction have their greater counterpart in the vast public works and masterly engineering skill of our modern world.

8. THE INFLUENCE OF ROMAN SCIENCE

It is, perhaps, illogical to include a discussion of Roman science here, for science was hardly one of Rome's distinctive contributions. In this field the Romans were chiefly intermediaries. Yet their attitude in science was so utterly different from that of the Greeks, and they so thoroughly determined the character of medieval science, that it requires brief mention.

Neither pure science nor pure mathematics was ever native to the practical-minded Roman, who was seldom interested in knowledge for which he saw no direct practical value. Cicero felicitates his fellow Romans that they, unlike the Greeks, are able to limit their study of mathematics to its strictly practical applications.⁴⁵ Extremely few among even highly cultivated Romans ever really grasped the general scientific and mathematical principles of the Greeks. Latin works in general science were produced, but they were factual summaries rather than creative and lacked expert knowledge of natural phenomena. Lucretius, the most original and thoughtful Roman writer on science, sought only to elucidate and effectively apply the ideas of his Greek master, Epicurus. His Atomism also is only in a very superficial sense the forerunner of the modern theory of the atomistic composition of matter. But even he was unique among Romans. The characteristic attitude of Roman scientists best appears in the factual encyclopedist, Varro, the huge collection of undigested facts in Pliny's *Natural History*, and the *Natural Questions* of Seneca. Varro and Pliny were erudite and industrious collectors of isolated facts and of what others had said, quite innocent of a truly scientific attitude or critical faculty, and distinctly inferior to their sources. Seneca's *Natural Questions* is somewhat more critical and thoughtful, but he also is a wholesale borrower and had only the moralist's interest in science, an attitude later characteristic of the Middle Ages.

Of course, the Romans of Pliny's day may have known more facts and practical applications of science than their Greek predecessors, but they had far less

⁴⁵ *Tusculan Disputations*, I, 5.

scientific insight.⁴⁶ Yet Pliny and Seneca, despite their shortcomings, or rather, perhaps, because of them, hold a significant place as the outstanding authorities in medieval science, at least until the thirteenth century. Pliny's *Natural History* furnished the model for dry summaries of alleged factual knowledge that were produced by medieval epitomizers and encyclopedists for centuries after.

The Romans produced no famous physicians as did the Greeks and apparently added little to medical knowledge. Galen of Pergamum, the second-century summarizer of the medical work of the Greek Hippocratic school and the Alexandrians, and a famous anatomist in his own right, was a Greek. Furthermore, religious and other prejudices had caused public opinion to frown on human dissection in his day, so that his knowledge of human anatomy was less accurate than the earlier Alexandrian. But in the later Middle Ages his work was long the standard medical text in the universities. The first-known medical work written in Latin by Celsus, *De Re Medica* (30 B.C.), though of high quality, is generally believed to be largely a translation and compilation from the Greek. It was unknown to the Middle Ages, but was printed at Florence in 1478. Pliny's endless list of remedies is based on neither scientific medical theory nor experience, yet it was generally accepted until the sixteenth century.

In practical applications of science and invention, the Romans advanced beyond the Greeks. Their scientific knowledge of farm animals and veterinary medicine was probably more extensive. Distinct progress beyond the Greeks was made in organized medical service and public health, drainage, sanitation, and the provision of a plentiful and pure water supply. Rome is to be credited also as the pioneer in public hospital service, at least for soldiers and Roman officials and their families in the provinces. A Roman Christian woman also founded the first-known benevolent hospital in the fourth century. The Romans had a practical interest in maps and descriptive geography, but they avoided scientific geography, and no Latin writer approached the comprehensive geographical synthesis of the second-century Greek, Ptolemy. The same is true of his great mathematical work on astronomy, both of which treatises were the standard authorities until the rise of modern science.⁴⁷ Roman interest in astronomy was late in developing and was never mathematical, centering chiefly in its astrological application. The Romans developed applied mathematics in surveying and made some advance over the Greeks in music. But their truly creative work in applied science was in architecture and engineering, as we have seen.

⁴⁶ On the above-named Roman writers, cf. Chapter Fourteen, Sec. II, 2; Chapter Twenty, Sec. I, 2; Chapter Twenty-six, Sec. II, 1. Cf. also L. Thorndike, *History of Medieval Magic and Experimental Science*, Macmillan, 1923-34, 4 vols., Vol. I, who seeks to trace a continuous progress in science from the Greek through Roman times. Charles Singer in *The Legacy of Rome* (ed. C. Bailey), Oxford Press, 1923.

⁴⁷ Vol. I, pp. 511-514 and notes. For more detail on the works of Ptolemy and Galen, cf. also above, Chapter Twenty-six, Sec. III.

9. THE INFLUENCE OF THE ROMAN SPIRIT

A profound interpreter of Roman civilization has rightly emphasized that the Roman spirit "never was" but "gradually grew."⁴⁸ This is, of course, true of every great people. Certain qualities of the Roman mind and character, however, are generally recognized by historians of Rome as retaining some constancy throughout all the vast external changes and corresponding spiritual transformations of their history. Some of the most persistently characteristic were a strong practical sense, a materialist and utilitarian spirit, an emphasis upon the active rather than the contemplative life, a native conservatism, a determined persistence, a political realism, an emphasis upon the state above the individual, a penchant for political organization and for the development of political and legal institutions. They retained a remarkable ability in the imperial assimilation of alien peoples, a tendency toward the technical and formal, a certain seriousness of temper, which made Stoicism practically a Roman philosophy, a lack of Greek restraint, and a native vein of coarseness in pleasures and entertainments. Characteristically they lacked imagination, speculative insight, finer esthetic appreciations, and creative genius in most cultural fields, as compared with the Greeks, but, on the other hand, they possessed a remarkable adaptability and power of assimilation of other cultures, which was perhaps their most striking quality. The imperial Roman especially was notable for his instinctive knowledge of man, which informed and influenced his whole attitude to himself and others. It appears in all his works and gives to his writing, especially historical, a human reality. It was the secret of his exceptional adaptability and remarkable success in empire building.

Of course, imperial expansion and contact with Hellenism worked a marked transformation in the Romans, individually and socially. The old sturdy morality, solidarity of the family, simple life, and patriotic self-giving for the state ceased to be marked characteristics, at least of the wealthier classes. Considerable taste, imagination, literary and artistic appreciation and talent developed for a time, but these were never native to Romans, as they were to their Greek teachers. A hard practicality and utilitarianism continued to dominate their vision. Beauty served a "public function." Art and religion were in the service of the state. To M. Scaevola of Cicero's day only the "statesman's" religion is acceptable. That of the poet or philosopher is either "futile or superficial or positively harmful."⁴⁹ Roman religion never rose entirely above the primitive bargain idea. The civic and political emphasis dominated largely in even the greatest literature of the Augustan age, as we have seen. The Greek ideal spirit of artistic perfection in architecture was sacrificed to the interests of great public utility. The emphasis in Roman education remained primarily practical and vocational. Of all Greek subjects of study, rhetoric and oratory were most emphasized in Rome, and in this art they gained the most complete mastery. Science and philosophy were of interest only from the standpoint of

⁴⁸ A. Grenier, *The Roman Spirit* (translated by M. R. Dobie), Knopf, 1926, pp. 114, 387. Through contact with Greek culture the Romans acquired some "sensibility, imagination, and taste," and attained an "equilibrium of faculties" in the Augustan age, but the balance was soon broken in favor of "sensibility."

⁴⁹ A. Grenier, *op. cit.*, p. 365.

practical utility, and in both they remained little more than compilers. After the Greeks taught the Romans to play, even their play life was subordinate to utilitarian aims.

In view of the above extended analysis of the Roman heritage, a detailed discussion of the influence of the Roman spirit would be largely a repetition, for, despite his adaptability in assimilation of other cultures, the Roman remained distinctively himself. He placed the stamp of his Roman spirit on the cultural products of the ages and made them his own. Whether assimilated cultures or his more distinctively Roman products, they all passed through the alembic of the Roman spirit. In his hands, Greek literature, art, architecture, philosophy, science, and education lost their uniquely Hellenic qualities and took on the Roman character and outlook. Christianity, adopted by Rome, became the Roman Catholic church, so thoroughly Roman in spirit as to become the natural heir of the Empire. In such distinctively Roman products as the Latin language, Roman literature, law, political and social institutions, architecture, and engineering, also, the Roman spirit was especially incarnate as an integral part of the Roman heritage.

Since the classical heritage to the West came chiefly through Roman mediation, it was the Roman rather than the Greek spirit that dominated in the culture of the Middle Ages, and this is largely true of Renaissance and later European culture. The overwhelmingly pragmatic emphasis in our American culture, our attitude toward art, public education, philosophy, and applied science, our activism, and our genius for organization, practical adaptation, and conceiving and carrying through vast projects are all strongly suggestive of the Roman spirit. The same is true of the essential tendencies in the Fascist movement, the formally logical character of the French mind, and the empiricism, pragmatic spirit of compromise and imperial vision of the British people. Despite the undying subtle influence of the finer qualities of the Greek spirit⁵⁰ that still persist in our contemporary life, the spirit of modern civilization is overwhelmingly Roman.

⁵⁰ Cf. Vol. I, Chapter Thirty-three, Sec. IX.

Select Bibliography

This select bibliography is intended primarily as a guide to the undergraduate student and the general reader. A full list of books consulted, to say nothing of special monographs and articles, would of course be impossible here and would only confuse the student. For full bibliographical data, the reader is referred to the volumes of the *Cambridge Ancient History*, supplemented by the *Annual Bulletin of Historical Literature* of the English Historical Association, *The Year's Work in Classical Studies*, published by the Classical Association, the more recent numbers of such archaeological journals as the *Journal of Roman Studies* and the *American Journal of Archaeology*, and the relevant articles in the *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*. See also sections on Rome in *A Guide to Historical Literature*.

In view of the purpose of the bibliography, the number of foreign-language works named is limited, and the preference is given to the English translation wherever possible.

The chief archaeological and written sources for each chapter are discussed in their proper setting in the preceding narrative. As an aid to the student, a select list of the best English translations of all the more important Latin authors is included in the bibliography.

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BRIEF CHRONOLOGICAL CHART OF ROMAN HISTORY

<i>Periods</i>	<i>Political and Constitutional</i>	<i>Economic and Social</i>	<i>Art and Literature</i>	<i>Philosophy, Science, and Religion</i>
Primitive, ?—c. 509 B.C.	Kingdom Etruscan rule	Agricultural society, but some trade Solidarity of family Stern morality	First Latin alphabet Etruscan building	Etruscan influence Religion formal and impersonal
Early Republic, c. 509-265 B.C.	Conquest of Italy Development of magistracies and assemblies Codification of law Plebs win rights	Same as above, but loss of trade at first Later growth of trade Social equality of plebs Agrarian problem Colonies and roads	Beginnings of native literature. Growing influence of Greek culture	Increasing influence of Greek religion
Expansion, 265-133 B.C.	Punic Wars. Eastern wars (Provinces: Sicily, Sardinia and Corsica, Spain, Macedonia (Achaia), Asia, Africa. Also Cisalpine Gaul gained and part Illyricum) Supremacy of senate	Rapid growth in wealth and luxury. <i>Latifundia</i> and decline of yeoman farmer. Rise of new capitalist class Beginning of proletariat Rapid growth of slavery Growth of trade and industry Hellenic influence and new wealth change life and morals	First Hellenized Latin Literature: L. Andronicus Accius Naevius Terence Plautus Lucilius Ennius Cato Pacuvius New era in Roman building	Hellenization of Roman religion. Cult of Cybele to Rome (205 B.C.) Influence of Bacchus cult Hellenistic philosophy to Rome
Last century of Republic, 133-27 B.C.	Gracchan reforms Optimates vs. Populares Civil war Foreign crises Growing control of government by generals and demagogues New professional army Expansion in Asia Minor, Syria, and Gaul Dictatorship of Julius Caesar Civil war. Final victory of Octavian at Actium. End of Republic Rapid growth of Roman law	Further growth of great slave estates and decline of peasantry Growing proletariat problem Rapid increase in wealth, luxury, trade, industry Changing racial character of Rome and Italy Revolution in life, manners, and morals of upper classes	Hellenization of Roman Education: Catullus Varro Lucretius Sallust Cicero Nepos Caesar Influence of Greek architecture Splendid building in Rome Growth of sculpture and painting; Roman portraiture Legal theory (Cicero, Q. M. Scaevola, Sulpicius Rufus)	Rise of rationalism and skepticism. Growing influence of Greek philosophy, Oriental cults, and astrology Lucretius and Epicureanism Cicero popularizes Greek philosophy Growing influence of Stoicism Greek science to Rome
Augustan age, 27 B.C.-14 A.D.	Principate founded Annexation of Egypt Roman advance to Danube Rise of imperial cult Reorganization of army and finance New era of provincial government <i>Pax Romana</i> Great activity in road building	Much as above, but new prosperity Augustan attempt to revive Italian agriculture, religion, and morals But actual social, moral conditions little changed	Augustan age of literature: Virgil Propertius Horace Ovid Tibullus Livy Greek literature Rome a "city of marble" Fine portrait and relief sculpture <i>Ara Pacis</i>	Rationalism begins to yield to mysticism Augustan revival of Italian cults Cult of <i>Roma</i> and Augustus Continued advance of Oriental cults, especially Isis cult Philosophy less rational and more pragmatic Birth of Jesus
Julio-Claudian age, 14-69 A.D.	Personal despotism: Tiberius Claudius Caligula Nero Year of 4 emperors (69): Galba Vitellius Otho Vespasian Growth of imperial civil service New provinces (Upper and Lower Germany, Cappadocia, South Britain). Revolts and plots	Rise of tenancy Growth of imperial domains Industry and trade prosper in Italy and provinces. Old senatorial nobility dying out. Luxury and prodigal spending at height. Social and moral ideals of upper classes at low ebb. Ostia an important port for import trade	Decline of literature Growing dominance of rhetoric: Seneca the Elder Petronius Valerius Maximus Persius Q. Curtius Lucan Phaedrus Calpurnius Columella Velleius Paterculus Seneca the Younger Luxurious building in Rome Lavish decorative art Realistic portraiture	Philosophy yields to rhetoric Stoicism anti-imperial Decline of religion in upper classes Advance of Oriental cults Judaism active Crucifixion of Jesus Organization of Christian churches Missionary work of Paul Persecution by Nero Beginning of Hellenization of Christianity

BRIEF CHRONOLOGICAL CHART OF ROMAN HISTORY—Continued

<i>Periods</i>	<i>Political and Constitutional</i>	<i>Economic and Social</i>	<i>Art and Literature</i>	<i>Philosophy, Science, and Religion</i>
Age of Flavians and Antonines, 69-180 A.D. Vespasian Titus Domitian Nerva Trajan Hadrian Antoninus M. Aurelius	Trend to autocracy, bureaucracy, and paternalism Benevolent monarchy Rapid expansion of citizenship Frontiers fortified Roman Empire's greatest extent (117 A.D.). (Conquest of Dacia, Assyria, Mesopotamia) Excellent provincial government Marcomannic Wars (165-180) Army becomes immobile and increasingly from newer provinces Growing burden of tax Beginning of compulsory service Decline of municipal autonomy	Prosperity of Empire at height Decline of slavery and rapid growth of tenancy Beginnings of colonate Rapid urbanization Wide trade within Empire and with Far East Expansion of agriculture and industry, but diffusion means decline of industrial technique and of Italian industry and trade Rapid growth of <i>collegia</i> Their use in imperial service Humanitarianism and emphasis on social welfare	Splendid imperial building Realistic portraiture and relief sculpture Growth of public education Silver Age of Latin literature: Statius Martial Pliny the Elder Pliny the Younger Quintilian Tacitus Juvenal Suetonius New rhetoric: Aulus Gellius Fronto Apuleius Great jurists (S. Pomponius, Gaius, Q. Cerv. Scaevola, Salvius Julianus)	Rapid decline of rationalism and growth of mysticism Rapid growth of Oriental cults Expansion of Christianity and growth of complex organization (ritual, creed, sacred canon, and church hierarchy) Eclecticism in religion and philosophy Philosophy merges to religion Rise of heresies in church Growth of Christian literature Persecution of Christians only sporadic except Lyons (M. Aurelius) Roman science (Pliny and Seneca) Greek science (Galen and Ptolemy)
Decline of Empire, 180-285 A.D.	Military anarchy Military despotism Civil war. Imperial succession by violence Military domination of civil Foreignization and democratization of army Insubordination of army German invasions Threat of New Persia Temporary independence of large sections Final restoration of order Universal citizenship Permanent loss of Dacia Financial chaos and debasement of coinage	Rapid impoverishment of Empire and decline of industry and cities Crushing taxation Rapid subordination of <i>coloni</i> , <i>collegia</i> , and <i>curiales</i> Growing loss of municipal autonomy Devastating plague Walling of Rome and other cities New landed proprietors and the <i>patrocinium</i>	Decline of taste in art and industrial technique, but still splendid building Rapid decline of Latin literature Municipal building declines Growth of Christian literature Growing Oriental influence Great jurists (Ulpian, Papinian, Paulus) Humanization of law Law becomes autocratic Latin and Greek lose old monopoly Greek historians (Dio Cassius, Herodian)	Rise of Neo-Platonism (Plotinus, Porphyry, Iamblichus) Becomes essence of pagan religion and philosophy Mithraism and sun worship Eclectic influence of Oriental cults, Neo-Platonism, Stoicism, and Christianity on each other Rapid growth of church Harsh persecutions Conflicts with heresies Further growth of complexity in church Greek mathematics (Diophantus—algebraic notation)
Reorganization of Empire under Diocletian and Constantine, 285-337 A.D.	Oriental absolutism Increase and reorganization of army Barbarization of army End of civil war Invasions checked and frontiers restored Reform of coinage and taxation Removal of capital to Constantinople Division of administration (two Augusti, two Caesars) Civil war and final triumph of Constantine	Decree of Constantine Completes development of colonate Members of <i>collegia</i> reduced to serfs of state Ruin of middle class Continued return to primitive economy in West and decline of cities, industry, and trade	Continued decline of art and pagan literature But still grandiose imperial building Christian literature gradually taking the place of pagan	Christianity wins full toleration and is given preference by Constantine First ecumenical council (325) Continued Hellenization and Romanization of Christianity Christian culture gradually takes place of decadent pagan

TABLE I

THE JULIO-CLAUDIAN LINE

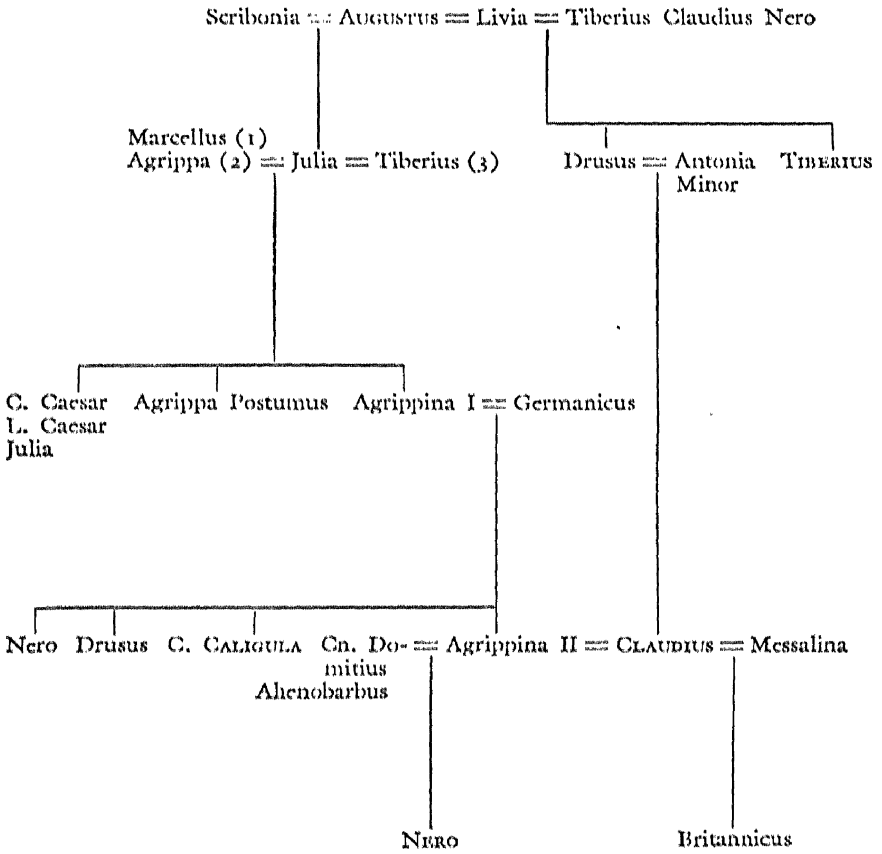
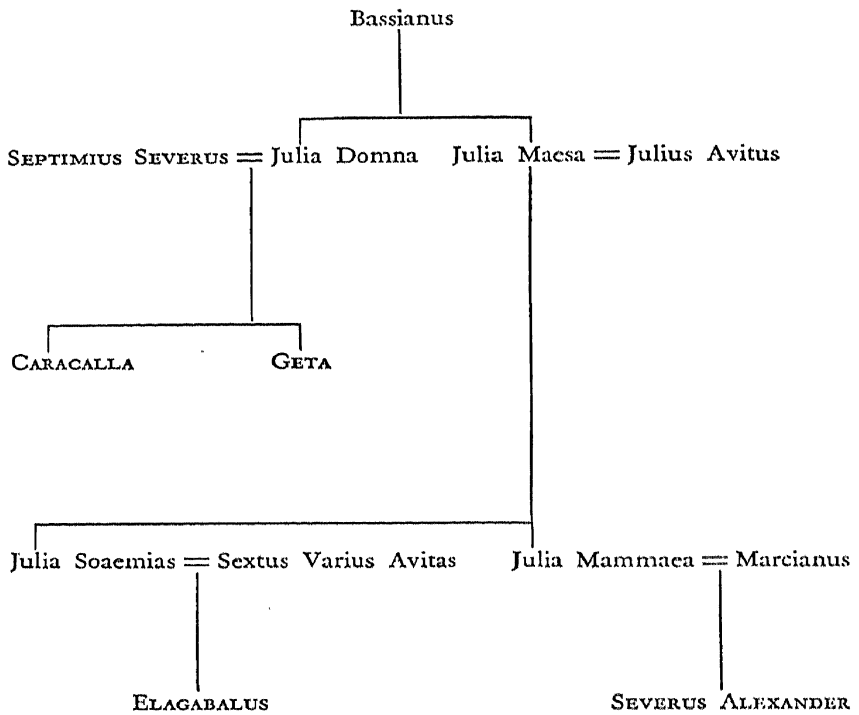


TABLE II

THE SEVERI



CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

NOTE:—The exact historical accuracy of most of the traditional dates prior to the third century is quite uncertain. For names of Roman writers and other nonpolitical matters, cf. Brief Chart of Roman History.

B.C.	I. PREHISTORIC AND PRIMITIVE ITALY AND ROME	CORRESPONDING DATES OF NEAR EAST AND GREECE
?	Palaeolithic Age	
12,000?	Neolithic Age	
2500-2000	Early Bronze Age (Palafitte)	
2000-1000	Italic tribes settling in northern and central Italy	Hammurabi (2000-) XIIth dynasty in Egypt. Middle Mino- an 1 and 2. Greek migrations
1800	Terremare villages	Hyksos in Egypt. Kass- ites in Babylon. Mid- dle Minoan 3
1000	Villanovan iron civilization	Hebrew kingdom at height
Xth- VIIIth C. 814?	Etruscans settling in Etruria	Homeric Age
VIIIth- VIIth C. 753	Founding of Carthage	
	Greek colonization of Sicily and Italy	Assyrian Empire
	Traditional date of the founding of Rome	Greek expansion in the Mediterranean
538	Battle of Alalia; Etruscans defeat Greeks	Cyrus takes Babylon
II. THE EARLY REPUBLIC		
509-508	Overthrow of monarchy and Etruscan rule. The first con- suls. First treaty with Carthage	
486	Alliance of Rome and the Latin League	Persian invasions of Greece (490-479)
c. 480	War against the Volscians	
?	Centuriate assembly	
474	Naval battle of Cumae; Greeks defeat Etruscans	
471 (466)	Four tribunes of plebs appointed	
?	<i>Comitia Tributa</i> established	
c. 460	War against the Aequi	
449-448	Valerio-Horatian laws	
c. 444	Codification of the law. The Decemvirate	Periclean Age of Athens
437	<i>Lex Canuleia</i>	
436	Military tribunate with consular powers established	
435	Censorship established	
392	Fall of Veii to Rome	Peloponnesian War in Greece (431-404)
390 (387)	Battle of Allia and sack of Rome by Gauls	Spartan supremacy (404- 371)
367-362	Tradition of Licinian laws	Theban supremacy (371- 362)
362	Prætorship established	
338-336	The Latin War	Philip of Macedon con- quers Greece
334	Alliance of Rome and Capua	Alexander's conquest of the Orient (333-321)
325-304	War with the Samnites	
318	Defeat of Rome at Caudine Forks	(321-c. 275) Establish- ment of Hellenistic monarchies
309-307	War with Etruscans	

B.C.	II. THE EARLY REPUBLIC (CONT.)	B.C.	III. EXPANSION ON THREE CONTINENTS (CONT.)
300	<i>Lex Ogulnia</i>	211	Capua subdued. Roman defeats in Spain
298-290	War with allied Samnites, Etruscans, and Gauls	210	P. Cornelius Scipio to Spain
297?	Capture of Bovianum by Rome	207	Defeat of Hasdrubal at Metaurus
295	Victory of Rome at Sentinum	205	Peace with Philip V of Macedon
290	Rome subdues Samnium	204	Scipio invades Africa
287	<i>Lex Hortensia</i> . Secession of plebs	202	Battle of Zama
285	Occupation of <i>Ager Gallicus</i>	201	Treaty of peace. Carthaginian Spain ceded to Rome
285	Defeat of Gauls and Etruscans at Lake Vadimo	200-196	Second Macedonian War
281-272	War with Tarentum and Pyrrhus	197	Battle of Cynocephalae. Provinces of Illyria and Farther Spain organized
280	Battle of Heraclea	196	Flaminius proclaims "freedom for the Greeks"
279	Battle of Ausculum	192-189	War with Antiochus III and the Aetolians
275	Battle of Beneventum	191	Defeat of Antiochus at Thermopylae
272	Tarentum surrenders. All Italy to Cisalpine Gaul now organized under Rome	190	Defeat at Magnesia
	III. EXPANSION ON THREE CONTINENTS	186	Bacchanalian societies in Italy dissolved
264-241	First Punic War	184	Censorship of Cato the Elder
263	Alliance of Rome and Syracuse	181-180	<i>Lex Villia Annalis</i> establishing a regular order of offices
260	Naval victory of Rome at Mylae	171-167	Third Macedonian War
256-255	Failure of Regulus against Africa	168	Battle of Pydna
250	Naval defeat of Rome at Drepana	166	Delos made a free port. Polybius and other Achaean hostages to Italy
242	Office of <i>praetor peregrinus</i> established	149	<i>Lex Calpurnia</i> establishing a permanent court for trial of extortion
242-241	Victory at Aegadian Isles	149-148	Fourth Macedonian War
241	Treaty of Peace. Sicily ceded to Rome	149-146	Third Punic War
241?	Reorganization of the centuriate assembly by tribes	148	Macedonia made a Roman province
238	Sardinia and Corsica ceded to Rome	147-139	War with Viriathus in Spain
237	Hamilcar of Carthage in Spain	146	Revolt of Achaeans and dissolution of the Confederacy.
232	Settlement of <i>Ager Gallicus</i>	143-133	Destruction of Corinth and Carthage. Africa made a Roman province
229-228	First Illyrian War	136-132	Numantine War in Spain
229	Hasdrubal succeeds Hamilcar in Spain	133	Revolt of slaves in Sicily
227	Organization of Sardinia and Corsica as provinces	Kingdom of Pergamum willed to Rome	
226	Treaty of Rome with Hasdrubal		
225	Defeat of Gauls at Telamon		
224-222	Conquest of Boii and Insubres		
221	Hannibal succeeds Hasdrubal in Spain		
220-219	Second Illyrian War		
219	Hannibal besieges Saguntum		
218-201	Second Punic War		
218	Hannibal passes Pyrenees and Alps. Rome invades Spain	133	Tribunate of Tiberius Gracchus
217	Defeats of Rome at Ticinus, Trebia, Trasimene. Fabius "Cunctator" made dictator	129	Province of Asia organized
216	Disaster at Cannae. Revolt of Capua	123-122	Tribunate of C. Gracchus
215	First Macedonian War	122	Conquest of Balearic Isles
214	Revolt of Syracuse	121	Narbonese Gaul a province
212	Siege and recovery of Syracuse. Roman alliance with Aetolians	111-105	Jugurthine War
		107-100	Consulships of Marius
		105	Defeat of Romans by Cimbri and Teutons at Arausio
		104	<i>Lex Domitia</i>
		104-100	Slave war in Sicily

IV. THE LAST CENTURY OF THE ROMAN REPUBLIC (CONT.)		IV. THE LAST CENTURY OF THE ROMAN REPUBLIC (CONT.)	
B.C.		B.C.	
102	Marius defeats Teutons at Aquae Sextiae	53	Defeat and death of Crassus at Carrhae
101	Marius defeats Cimbri at Vercellae	52-51	Revolts of Gauls under Vercingetorix
100	Saturninus and Glaucia	52	Pompey sole consul
91	Tribunate of Livius Drusus	49-46	Civil war between Caesar and the senate
90-88	The Italic or Social War		Caesar's victory at Pharsalus.
90	<i>Lex Julia</i>	48	Death of Pompey
89	<i>Lex Plautia Papiria, Lex Pompeia</i>		Caesar in Egypt
89	Marius versus Sulla	48-47	Caesar's defeat of Pharnaces at Zela
89-85	Sulla and the First Mithradatic War	47	Victory at Thapsus in Africa.
88	Sulla consul. Massacre of Italians in Asia. Mithradates invades Greece	46	Death of Cato
87	Sulla assumes command against Mithradates	46-44	Dictatorship of Caesar
88-86	Sulla takes Athens and Peiraeus	45	Caesar's defeat of rebels at Munda. <i>Lex Julia Municipalis</i>
87-83	Marian revolt and violence in Rome	44	Assassination of Caesar (Mar. 15th)
86	Seventh consulship of Marius	43	Defeat of Antony at Mutina
85	Sulla makes peace with Mithradates	43	Octavian consul. The second triumvirate (Octavian, Antony, and Lepidus)
83	Sulla returns to Italy	42	Proscriptions. Death of Cicero
82-79	Sulla's dictatorship. Proscriptions. Cornelian laws	42	Defeat of Brutus and Cassius at Philippi
77-71	Pompey's command in Spain against Sertorius	41-31	Antony in the East
75	Bithynia a Roman province	40	Treaty of Brundisium
74-63	Third (Second) Mithradatic War	39	Treaty of Misenum
74-66	Lucullus' command against Mithradates	37	Treaty of Tarentum. Triumvirate renewed
73-71	Crassus and the Slave War in Italy	36	Defeat of Sextus Pompey. Lepidus deposed. Expedition of Antony against Parthia
70	First Consulship of Pompey and Crassus. Cicero's trial of Verres	31	Battle of Actium
67	<i>Lex Gabinia</i> gives Pompey command against the pirates	30	Death of Antony and Cleopatra.
66	<i>Lex Manilia</i> transfers command in East to Pompey	29	Octavian annexes Egypt
63	Consulate of Cicero. Conspiracy of Catiline. Pompey annexes Syria. Takes Jerusalem. Death of Mithradates	27	Octavian returns to Rome
60	"First Triumvirate" of Pompey, Caesar, and Crassus		Formal end of Republic. Octavian princeps and Augustus
59	First Consulship of Caesar. <i>Lex Vatinia</i> confers on him Cisalpine Gaul and Illyricum with three legions for five years from Mar. 1st	V. THE PRINCIPATE TO 180 A.D.	
58	Exile of Cicero	27 B.C.-	AUGUSTUS
58-56	Caesar's conquest of Gaul	14 A.D.	Dalmatia (formerly Illyricum) a province
57	Recall of Cicero. Pompey <i>curator annonae</i>	27	Galatia a province. Numidia included in province of Africa
56	Triumvirate renewed at Luca	25	Second form of principate. Augustus assumes <i>tribunicia potestas</i>
55	Second consulate of Pompey and Crassus	23	Treaty with Parthia
55-54	Caesar invades Britain	20	<i>Leges Juliae</i> (marriage laws)
54-52	Violence and anarchy in Rome (Clodius versus Milo)	19-18	Secular Games celebrated
		17	Conquest of Noricum
		16	Conquest of Raeti and Vindelici.
		15	Raetia a province
		14	Alpine peoples conquered. Alpes
		14-10	Maritima a province
			Conquest of Pannonia (a province 10 B.C.)

V. THE PRINCIPATE TO 180 A.D. (CONT.)		V. THE PRINCIPATE TO 180 A.D. (CONT.)	
B.C.		A.D.	
13	<i>Ara Pacis</i> voted by senate	69	OTHO
12	Augustus <i>Pontifex Maximus</i> . In- vasion of Germany. Death of Agrippina	69 69 (Dec.)-	VITELLIUS
9	Death of Drusus	79	VESPASIAN
4	Death of Herod. Judaea a prov- ince	69	Revolt of Civilis and the Batavi. The <i>Imperium Galliarum</i>
c. 4	Birth of Jesus	70	Destruction of Jerusalem by Titus
A.D.		73	Annexation of Agri Decumani
4	Tiberius adopted by Augustus	77-84	Agricola in Britain
6-9	Revolt of Pannonia	79-81	TITUS
9	Revolt of Arminius in Germany, and disaster of Varus. <i>Lex Papia Poppaea</i>	79	Eruption of Vesuvius. Destruc- tion of Pompeii and Herculaneum
14	Death and deification of Augus- tus	81-96	DOMITIAN
14-37	TIBERIUS	83	Campaigns in Germany
14-17	Campaigns of Germanicus in Germany	84	Domitian assumes continuous censorship. Recall of Agricola from Britain
17	Upper and Lower Germany or- ganized as provinces under a military legate. Cappadocia and Commagene made prov- inces	85-89	Wars in Dacia
19	Death of Germanicus in the East	88-89	Revolt of Saturninus
26	Tiberius retires to Capri	96-98	NERVA
29	Death of Livia	97	Establishment of the <i>Alimenta</i>
31	Fall of Sejanus	98-117	TRAJAN
33	Agrippina, wife of Germanicus, executed. Financial crisis in Rome	101-102	First campaigns in Dacia
?	Crucifixion of Jesus	105-106	Conquest and annexation of Dacia
37-41	GAIUS CALIGULA	106	Annexation of Arabia Petraea
40 (42?)	Annexation of two Mauretanias as provinces	111	Pliny the Younger sent to Bi- thynia
41-54	CLAUDIUS	114-117	Parthian War
41	Agrippa king of Judaea	114	Armenia made a province
43	South Britain conquered and made a province	115	Jewish revolt in Cyrene
44	Judaea again a province	116	Annexation of Assyria and Low- er Mesopotamia. Rebellion in Mesopotamia
c. 46	Moesia a province	117-138	HADRIAN
48	<i>Ius honorum</i> granted to Aelui	117	Assyria and Mesopotamia aban- doned. Armenia restored to a client kingdom
49	Marriage of Agrippina, mother of Nero, to Claudius. Seneca recalled from exile	121-126	Hadrian's first tour of prov- inces
50	Adoption of Nero	c. 122	Hadrian's Wall built in North Britain
54-68	NERO	129-134	Second tour of provinces
58-63	Parthian War	129	Codification of the Edict by Sal- vius Julianus completed
59-60	Revolt of Britons under Boudicca	131	Founding of Aelia Capitolina on site of Jerusalem
64	Great fire in Rome. Persecution of Christians	132-134	Jewish rebellion in Palestine
65	Conspiracy of Piso. Death of Seneca	138-161	ANTONINUS PIUS
66-67	Nero in Greece	161-180	MARCUS AURELIUS
66	Revolt of the Jews	161-169	LUCIUS VERUS colleague
68	Revolt of Vindex in Gaul	161-166	Parthian War
69	Year of four emperors	166-	Great Plague
68 (June)- 69 (Jan.)	GALBA	167-175	Marcomannic War
		175	Revolt of Avidius Cassius in East
		177-180	Campaigns in Germany re- sumed
		177	Persecution of Christians at Lug- dunum

A.D.	VI. DECLINE OF THE EMPIRE	A.D.	VI. DECLINE OF THE EMPIRE (CONT.)
180-192	COMMODUS (coregent of M. Aurelius from 172)	282-283	CARUS
180	Peace with Germans on Danube	283	Capture of Ctesiphon
193	PERTINAX	283-285	CARINUS
193	DIDITUS JULIANUS	284-305	DIOCLETIAN
193	Civil War: Septimius Severus, Pescennius, Niger, Clodius Albinus	285	End of fifty years of military anarchy by defeat of Carinus
193-211	SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS	286-305	MAXIMIAN coregent with Diocletian
194	Pescennius defeated	286	Revolt of Carausius in Britain
195-196	Invasion of Parthia	293	Galerius and Constantius Caesars
197	Albinus defeated at Lugdunum	296	Recovery of Britain
197-199	Renewal of Parthian campaigns. Conquest of Upper Mesopotamia	297	Galerius ends Persian invasion and establishes Roman authority in Armenia
208-211	Campaign against Caledonians in Britain and death. Hadrian's Wall rebuilt	301	Edict of Prices
211-217	CARACALLA (GETA cocomperor until 212)	302-304	Persecution of the Christians
212	<i>Constitutio Antoniniana</i>	305	Abdication of Diocletian and Maximian
214	Parthian War	305	GALERIUS and CONSTANTIUS Augusti. Severus and Daia Caesars
217-218	MACRINUS	306-310	Civil War. Revolt of Maxentius
218-222	ELAGABALUS	310	GALERIUS, LICINIUS, CONSTANTINE, DAIA, and MAXENTIUS
222-235	ALEXANDER SEVERUS	311	Edict of Toleration. Death of Galerius
227	End of Parthia and rise of Sassanid kingdom in Persia	312	Alliance of Constantine and Licinius against Maxentius and Daia
230-233	War with Persia	312	Constantine defeats Maxentius near Milvian Bridge. First official victory of Christianity
234	War on the Rhine	313	Edict of Milan. Fall of Daia
235-238	MAXIMINUS	312-324	CONSTANTINE and LICINIUS
238	GORDIANUS I and II. BALBINUS and PUPILIENUS	324	Defeat of Licinius at Chrysopolis
238-244	GORDIANUS III	324-337	CONSTANTINE sole emperor
243-249	PHILIP THE ARAB	325	First Ecumenical Council at Nicaea
249-251	DECIUS	328	Decisive victory over Alamanni on Rhine
249	Persecution of the Christians	330	Dedication of new capital, Constantinople
251-253	GALLIUS and VOLUSIANUS	332-334	Decisive victory over Goths and Sarmatians
251	Invasions of the Goths	* 337-340	CONSTANTINE II
253	ÆMULIANUS	337-350	CONSTANS
253-258	VALERIAN	337-361	CONSTANTIUS
253-268	GALLIENUS	360-363	JULIAN
256-257	Repels Alamanni	363-364	JOVIAN
257	Persecution of Christians renewed	364-378	VALENTINIAN I
258	Valerian captured by Persians. Postumus establishes an <i>Imperium Galliarum</i>	364-378	VALENS
259	Gallienus sole emperor	367-383	GRATIAN
266-	Zenobia of Palmyra defies Rome	375-392	VALENTINIAN II
267	Cloths sack Athens	378	Goths defeat Romans at Adrianople
268-270	CLAUDIUS GOTHICUS	378-	Barbarian invasions
269	Claudius destroys German hordes	378-395	THEODOSIUS I
270-275	AURELIAN	383-408	ARCADIUS
271	Revolt of Palmyra	394-423	IIONORIUS (West)
272	Recovery of Palmyra and East	408-450	THEODOSIUS II (East)
274	Recovery of Gaul and Britain		
275-276	TACITUS		
276-282	PROBUS		
276	Repels Alamanni and Franks in Gaul. Restoration of Rhine and Danube frontier		

* Though our narrative ends with the death of Constantine, for convenience of reference the Roman rulers in the West are listed to 476, and in the East to Justinian.

A.D.	VI. DECLINE OF THE EMPIRE (CONT.)	A.D.	VI. DECLINE OF THE EMPIRE (CONT.)
423-455	VALENTINIAN III (West)	473-474	GLYGERUS (West). LEO II (East)
438	Theodosian Code	474-475	NEPOS (West)
450	MARCIANUS (East)	474-491	ZENO (East)
455	MAXIMUS (West)	475-476	ROMULUS AUGUSTULUS (West)
455-456	AVITUS (West)	476	ODOACER king in Italy. End of Roman rule in West
457-474	LEO I (East)	491-518	ANASTASIUS (East)
457-461	MARJORIAN (West)	518-527	JUSTIN I (East)
461-465	SEVERUS (West)	527-565	JUSTINIAN (East)
465-467	No emperor in West	529-534	Publication of <i>Corpus Juris Ci-</i> <i>vilis</i>
467-472	ANTHEMIUS (West)		
472	OLYBRIUS (West)		

Index

Emperors and literary men are listed under the name most commonly used in English. All other Romans are indexed under their gens name, e.g., for Caesar, see Julius. For emperors after Constantine, see Chronology. All special laws are indexed under Lex, e.g., Lex Julia. For titles of ancient literary works, see individual authors. For modern scholars, see Bibliography.

- A.* = Aulus
A cognitionibus, 411
A libellis, 411
A rationibus, 411
A studiis, 411
Ab epistulis, 411
Abyssinia, commerce of Rome with, 545
L. Accius, dramatist, 146
Achaia: under Macedonian governor, 118, 121;
a Roman province, 341; restored to senate,
414; decline of, in the second century A.D.,
571-72
Achaean League: welcomes Rome, 86; ally of
Macedon against Rome, 95, 102-03; ally of
Rome against Macedon, 104; ally against
Antiochus, 106; forced to send hostages to
Rome, 109; dissolved by Rome and under
Macedon, 118-19
Achilleus, pretender, 658
M. Acilius Aureolus, general, 647
Actium, victory of Octavian over Antony, 261
Adanklissi: monument to Mars Ultor at, 520;
battle at, 643
Adherbal, joint ruler of Numidia, 173
Adlectio, 507
Adrianople, battle at, 669, 694
Aduataci, conquered by Caesar, 217
Advocate of the fiscus (*Advocatus fisci*), 516
Aedileship, the: (1) plebeian, 61-62; (2) curule,
62-63; opened to plebeians, 73; ended, 678
Aedui, the: granted senatorial privileges, 409-
10; allies of Rome, 216
Aegatian Isles, naval defeat of Carthage, 83
Aelia Capitolina, Roman colony at Jerusalem,
524, 576
Aelian of Praeneste, 593
Aelius Aristides: on the Empire, 541, 544, 550,
555, 558; superstitions of, 593; writings of,
621
S. Aelius Pactus, juristic writer, 149, 300
L. Aelius Sejanus, 396, 400-02
L. Aelius Verus, coemperor with his adoptive
brother, M. Aurelius, 505
M. Aemilius Aemilianus, principate of, 664
M. Aemilius Lepidus: consul, 191; revolt of,
191
M. Aemilius Lepidus: Caesar's master of the
horse, 240, 243; Pontifex Maximus, 245;
joins Antony, 247; in Triumvirate, 43 B.C.,
248 ff.; retired by Octavian, 257
Aemilius Papinianus. *See* Papinian.
L. Aemilius Paullus: consul, defeats Perseus,
108; triumph of, in Rome, 110; *tributum* re-
mitted for citizens, 136
M. Aemilius Scaurus, the younger, 303
Aeneolithic Age, 14
Aeneas, 26; the legend of, 359-60
Aequi: 16; subdued by Rome, 36; revolt of,
38 f.
Aerarium militare, 328-29, 332, 535
Aerarium Saturni: 317; under Augustus, 328;
in second century A.D., 534; mint of, closed,
679
Aetolian League: welcomes Rome, 86; allied
with Rome against Macedon, 95, 102, 104,
105; with Antiochus III against Rome, 106;
subdued by Rome, 107
Africa: a Roman province, 116, 121, 343; pros-
perity in Augustan age, 380; in the second
century, 432, 540, 563-65; cities of, 564-65;
growth of colonate in, 685-86; in the later
Empire, 682. *See* map, p. 334.
Agathocles of Syracuse, 44, 46, 81
Ager Gallicus, 87, 131
Ager Publicus, 49, 52, 56, 66, 72, 84
Agrarian law: of Ti. Gracchus, 158-62; re-
enacted by C. Gracchus, 166; land commis-
sion abolished, 169; of Julius Caesar, 209
Agrarian problem: in Italy in the second cen-
tury B.C., 56, 60, 72-73, 130-33, 156, 158;
changed form of, after Gracchi, 169
Agriculture: in early Republic, 5-6; effect of
war on, 99, 130-33; in later Republic, 236,
268-70, 279; in the Augustan age, 329; in
the first century A.D., 430-32; in the second
century A.D., 540-44, 556, 577-78; in the
later Empire, 683-88
Agri Decumates, the, annexed by Flavians, 493
Agrigentum, siege of, 82
Agrippa. *See* M. Vipsanius Agrippa.
Agrippa, Herod I, 255, 257, 340, 405, 407, 413
Agrippa, Herod II, 484, 520
Agrippina, the elder, granddaughter of Augus-
tus, wife of Germanicus, 394, 395, 400-02
Agrippina: daughter of Germanicus and mother
of Nero, recalled from exile, 408; wife of
Claudius, 415; poisons Claudius and secures
the succession for her son, Nero, 416; and
Nero, 417 ff.
Ahura Mazda, Persian god, 596

- Alalia, battle of, 18
 Alamanni, the, 637, 640, 644, 646, 648, 658, 671
 Alans, 643, 650
 Alba Fucens, 49
 Alba Longa, 26-27
 Alban Mount, 25-26
 Alexander of Abonouteichos, 573, 594
 Alexander Helios, son of Cleopatra and Antony, 258
 Alexander Jannaeus, 198
 Alexander of Molossi, 40, 44
 Alexander Severus. *See* Severus Alexander.
 Alexandria: capital of Egypt, Caesar besieged in, 228; in the early Principate, 342-43, 439; in the second century A.D., 578, 621. *See* map, *back end paper*.
 Alexandrianism, in literature of the late Republic, 290, 291
Alimenta, the (Alimentary system): 511-13; depleted by wars of Marcomanni, 513; abolished by Commodus, 513; revived by Septimius Severus and extended to provinces, 513; lost in chaos of third century, 513, 600, 626, 633, 639, 661
 Alimentary system, the. *See* *Alimenta*.
 Allectus, general in Britain, 658
 Allia, battle of, 38
 Allies, the. *See* Italian allies.
 Allobroges, the: 91; conquered by Rome, 173; betray Catiline's conspiracy, 205
Almagest, the, of Ptolemy, 621
 Alpine passes, 91
Ambarvalia, 31
 Ambrones, the, 175
 Ambrose, Bishop of Milan, 711
 Ammianus Marcellinus, historian, 694
 Ancus Martius, 27
 Ancyra, monument of, 307, 574. *See also* *Res Gestae*.
 Andiscus, pretender in Macedon, 118
Angareia, compulsory labor, 556
 Animal-baiting, in Rome, 453
 Annaeus Cornutus, Stoic, 461, 464
 L. Annaeus Seneca. *See* Seneca.
 M. Annius Florianus, principate of, 650
 T. Annius Milo: tribune, 212; gangs of, 222-23
Annona, the imperial, 547, 548, 549, 554, 560, 634, 663
Anticato, by Caesar, 231
 Antigonus Doson, king of Macedon, unites Greece, 86, 102
 Antinópolis, Egypt, 577
 Antioch: on Orontes, 101; capital of Roman Syria, 340, 439; sacked by Septimius Severus, 628; taken by the Persians, 645
 Antiochus III: king of Syria, 107; attacks Egypt, 105; war with Rome, 105-07
 Antiochus IV, Epiphanes, king of Syria, forced to evacuate Egypt, 110, 152, 406, 407
 Antipater, 198; procurator of Judaea, 199
 Antium, Roman colony, 39
 Antonia, daughter of M. Antony and Octavia, 263, 395
 Antoninian constitution of Caracalla, 636-37
Antoninianus: of Aurelian, 649; of Caracalla, 636
 Antoninus Pius (Titus Aelius Aurelius): adopted by Hadrian, 502; personality of, 504; principate of, 507, 509-11, 517, 526-27. *See* Pl. XVII.
 C. Antonius, consul, 202
 L. Antonius, brother of Mark Antony, 255
 L. Antonius Saturninus, revolt of, 499
 M. Antonius, praetor, command against pirates in 102 B.C., 177
 M. Antonius, praetor, extraordinary command against pirates, 74 B.C., 195
 M. Antonius Primus, general, 429
 M. Antonius (Mark Antony): tribune, 224-26; master of the horse, 228; seizes control after Caesar's death, 243-45; defeated at Mutina, 247; in Second Triumvirate, 248 ff.; proscriptions of, 248-49; in East and Egypt, 252 ff.; and Cleopatra, 253-54, 258; relations with Octavian, 256-57, 260; defeat by Parthians, 259; defeated at Actium, 262; suicide, 262; estimate of, 244, 262-63
 Apamea, Syria, 340, 575
 Apocalyptic literature, Jewish, 467
Apocolocyntosis, 416
 Apocryphal writings, Jewish, 467
 Apollinaris Sidonius, 695, 755
 Apollonius of Tyana, 500, 574, 593, 594
 Apologists, the, 710
 Apostolic Fathers, the, 710
 Apostolic succession, doctrine of, 723
 Appian, Greek historian of Rome, 9, 620
 Appius Claudius, censor. *See* Claudius Appius.
 L. Appuleius Saturninus: tribune, proposed legislation of, 177; overthrow, 177
 Apulia, won by Rome, 41
 L. Apuleius: writer, 593, 617; influence of, 746
Aqua Appia, 73
Aqua Claudia, 409
Aqua Traiana, 513
 Aquae Sextiae: a Roman fort, established, 173; Marius annihilates Teutons at, 176
 Aqueducts, Roman, 586, 763
 Aquileia: established as Latin colony, 111; trade center, 547
 Aquilius Gallus, jurist, 300
 Aquincum (Budapest), founded, 497
 Aquitania: administrative district of Gaul, 220; Roman province, 344
 Aquitanians, the, conquered by Caesar, 217
 Arabia, Roman attempt to conquer, 343
 Arabia, Felix, 578
 Arabia Petraea: client kingdom, 341; made a province, 521, 576-77. *See* map, p. 334.
 Arabs: the Nabataeans, 576; trade of, 682. *See also* Arabia Petraea, Petra.
Ara Pacis (Altar of Peace), 313, 376. *See* Pls. X, XI.
 Arausio (Orange), defeat of Roman armies at, 175
 Arch: of Titus, 485, 585, 587, 589; of Septimius

- Severus, 633; of Constantine, 691; of Trajan at Beneventum, 587. *See* Pl. XIV.
- Archimedes, Hellenistic scientist, at Syracuse, 94
- Architecture: Roman, 151-52; in the first century B.C., 300-02; in the Augustan age, 375, 377-78; in the Julio-Claudian age, 462-64; in the second century, 585-86; in the later Empire, 690-91; influence of, 761-63
- Arelate (Arles): center of wine industry of Gaul, 547; amphitheatre at, 566, 586; council at, 709
- Argentarius*, 139
- Argentius*, 671
- Arianism, a heresy, 709, 713
- Aricia: center of Latin league, 26; battle at, 35
- Ariminum, Gauls defeat Romans at, 87
- Ariovistus: king of Suevi, 211; defeated by Caesar, 216-17
- Aristides, opponent of Christianity, 714
- Aristobulus: 198; made king in Judaea, 255
- Aristotle: treatises of, brought to Rome by Sulla and published, 184; praises constitution of Carthage, 117
- Arius, 711, 719-20
- Armenia: Lucullus' invasion of, 197; protectorate under Augustus, 339-40; strife with Parthia over, 422; made a Roman province, 521, 637; Roman authority is restored, 522-23; under Parthia, 638; won from Persians by Diocletian, 658. *See* map, p. 334.
- Armenia, Lesser, 574
- Arminius, German chieftain, 347, 392, 398
- Army, Roman: early phalanx formation, 38, 54; the manipular legion, 38, 41, 54; size of, through Italian federation, 51; centuriate organization, 54; evolution of, 3, 54; discipline of, 54-55; commanded by consuls, 55; reformed by Marius, 174, 175; by Augustus, 331-32; power of, in naming princes, 426 ff.; under Flavians and Antonines, 482, 535-39; pay of, increased, 535-36; foreignization of, 536-37, 555; under Septimius Severus, 630-32; insubordination of, in the third century, 651-53; cultural influence of, 539; reformed by Gallienus, 654; by Aurelian, 656, 659; by Diocletian, 661-62; by Constantine, 670-72; in late Empire, 677. *See also* Auxiliaries, Legion.
- Arretine pottery, 271, 435. *See* Pl. VIII.
- Arretium: defeat of Rome at, 42; center of Italian pottery industry, 271
- Arrian (Flavius Arrianus), historian, 620
- Arringatore* (Orator), statue, 21, 303. *See* Pl. II.
- Art: Celtic, 589; Roman, 151, 152; of the Republic, 300-04; of the Augustan age, 376-78; of the Principate, 584-90; degeneration of, after the second century, 690-92
- Artaxata, Armenian capital, burned, 522
- Artaxerxes (Ardashir), king of New Persia, 640
- Artemidorus of Ephesus, 594
- Arverni, the: conquered by Rome, 176; revolt from Caesar, 219. *See* map, p. 238.
- As*: 56; reduced to adjust to silver, 139
- Ascanius, 26
- Asceticism, in the church, 724
- Asclepius, cult of, 149, 593, 594
- Asculum: 179; captured by Romans, 180
- Asia: Roman province of, organized, 120-21; revenue of, auctioned off at Rome, 165; massacre of Romans and Italians in, 182; Sulla's ruin of, 184; Lucullus' measures of relief in, 196-97; in Augustan age, 338; prosperity in the second century, 573; serfdom in, 684. *See* map, p. 110
- Asia Minor, growth of colonate in, 684
- Asianic style, 286, 299
- C. Asinius Pollio: joins Antony, 247, 254; orator and poet, 355, 356, 357, 456
- Assemblies, the: Roman: become antiquated, 124-25, 189; and the urban proletariat, 160, 171-72, 177-78 *passim*; abrogated under Principate, 318. *See also* Assembly.
- Assembly of the Centuries, the: organization and method of voting, 60-61; powers of, 61; decline of, 74; reorganization of, on a tribal basis, 74, 122; approves alliance with the Mamertines, 81; confers proconsular *imperium* on Scipio, 95-96; opposes war against Philip V of Macedonia, 103; Tiberius deprives, of right of election of magistrates, 395
- Assembly of the Curiae, the: under the kings, 28; in the early Republic, 59; superseded by the Assembly of the Centuries, 59-60
- Assembly of the Tribes, the: origin of, 66; organization and voting by tribes, 67; powers enlarged, 68; Hortensian law makes all acts of, fully valid, 68, 73; becomes chief assembly, 73-74; used by Tiberius Gracchus, 158-59; by C. Gracchus, 165 ff.; confers command of army upon Marius, 174; enrollment of Italians in, 181; establishes extraordinary commands, 195-96; loses power of elections, 396
- Assyria: made a Roman province by Trajan, 522; abandoned by Hadrian, 522
- Astrology, in Rome, 150, 284, 356, 385, 466, 594
- Atellan farces, 446, 453, 460
- Athanasius, bishop of Alexandria, 710, 711, 719-20, 724
- Athenaeum of Hadrian, 599
- Athens: 102; ally of Rome, 104, 109, 118; joins Mithradates, 182; siege of, by Sulla, 183; center of philosophical study, 288-89; under Hadrian and the Antonines, 514, 517, 544, 572, 586
- Athletic contests, in Rome, 454
- Atia, mother of Octavian, 245
- M. Atilius Regulus, consul, invades Africa, 82-83
- Atmeidan*, the, in Constantinople, 674
- Atomism of Democritus, explained by Lucretius, 292, 742, 743, 745
- Atrium*, the, in Roman houses, 57, 142
- Attalus I of Pergamum: ally of Rome against Macedonia, 102-04; territory enlarged by Rome, 707

- Attalus II of Pergamum, aided by Rome against Prusias, 120
 Attalus III of Pergamum, wills kingdom to Rome, 160
 Atticus. *See* T. Pomponius Atticus.
 Augurs: college of, 30; number increased in, 73
 Augusta Vindelicorum (Augsburg), 345
Augustales, 312, 315
 Augustan History (*Historia Augusta*), 502, 641, 693
 Augusteum: in Rome, 350; in Constantinople, 674
 Augustine, St., Bishop of Hippo, 692, 711, 724, 745
 Augustus (C. Julius Caesar Octavianus, *q.v.*):
 founds Principate 27 B.C., 307; special powers granted, 308-09; policy of, 309-10; cult of, 310 ff.; attitude of Augustus to, 314-15; restores senate, 316-17; reorganizes equestrians as order, 317; attempts revival of Italian agriculture, 319-20; attempts revival of religion and morals, 320-26; cult of Rome and, 310 ff.; temple building of, 321; aided by Augustan poets in reforms, 321-23; personal character of, 324; judicial reforms of, 326; administration of Rome and Italy under, 327-28; public finance under, 328-30; coinage of, 330; commercial policy of, 330; military reorganization of, 331-32; provincial administration, 333-44; taxation under, 337-38; roads and travel, 338; foreign policy of, 345-46; conquests of Danubian lands, 345; campaigns of generals in Germany, 345-47; extent of Empire at death, 348; and the succession, 348-50; death and estimate of, 350-53; deification of, 350. *See* Pls. IX, X.
 Augustus: title of, 308; shared by two *principes*, 505; under Diocletian, 657
 Aulus Gellius, writer, 617
 Aurelian (Lucius Domitius Aurelianus): principate and campaigns of, 648-50; autocracy of, 649-50; reform of coinage, 649
 Aurelian Wall, around Rome, 648
 Aurelius (princeps). *See* Marcus Aurelius.
 M. Aurelius Cotta, consul, 196
 Aurelius Victor, epitomist, 502, 641, 694
Aureus, 640, 671
Auri lustralis collatio, 672
Aurum coronarium, 511, 636, 672
 Ausculum, battle of, 45
 Ausonius, poet, 693
Aspicium, 30, 58
 Autocracy: growth of, under Julio-Claudians, 395-98, 404-06, 408-11, 419 ff.; under the Flavians, 488-89; in the second century A.D., 505-09, 529-32; in the third century, 625-56; under Diocletian and Constantine, 656-76, 678-81
 Auxiliaries (*Auxilia*): of Augustan army, 332; Vespasian denationalizes, 482; territorial recruitment of, 536-37; strength of, 535; immobility of, on frontiers, 538; in the later Empire, 652-53, 659, 671
 Avidius Cassius: general, Parthian victories of, 514, 522-23; revolt of, 505, 525
 Baalbek (Heliopolis), temples at, 575, 576, 586-87. *See* Pl. XXI.
 Bacchanalian Association dissolved, 149
 Baetica, a senatorial province, 334, 343, 565
 Bagaudae, revolt of, 658
 Balbinus (D. Coelius —), joint emperor, 642
 Balearic Isles, conquered by Rome, 172
 Banking, Roman, 139, 275-76, 554-55
 Banquets, Roman, 278, 443, 450
 Barca Soranus, Stoic, executed by Nero, 423
 Bar-Kochba, pseudo-messiah of Jews, 524
 "Barrack emperors," 641
 Basil, founder of Greek monasticism, 711
 Basilicas: Roman, 151, 238, 302, 377, 584, 599, 690, 762; Christian, 690. *See* Pl. XVIII.
 Bassianus. *See* Elagabalus.
 Batavi, the revolt of, 481-82
 Baths, Roman. *See* *Thermae*.
 Belgae, the: 214; conquered by Rome, 217, 219
 Belgica (*Gallia*): administrative district of Gaul, 217; Roman province, 344. *See* map, p. 238.
Beneficium, 756
 Beneventum: Rome defeats Pyrrhus at, 46; colony established at, 46-47
 Berytus, 576
Bestiarii, 453
 Billon, 649
 Bishops: in early Christian church, 723; metropolitan, 723-24; supremacy of Roman, 724
 Bithynia: taken by Mithradates VI of Pontus, 196; surrendered, 197; made a Roman province (Bithynia Pontus), 199. *See* map, p. 334.
 Bocchus, king of Mauretania, 174
 Bononia (Bologna) established as Latin colony, 111
 Boscoreale treasure, 383, 444
 Bostra, 577
 Boudicca (Boadicea), queen of Britons, 422, 423
 Bovianum: battle at, 41; taken by Rome, 42
Breviarum totius imperii, 337, 348, 350
Breviary of Alaric II, 752
 Bribery, laws against, 124
 Bridges, Roman, 550, 586, 763
 Britain: conquest of, by Claudius, 412-13; revolt under Nero, 422-23; under Flavians, 494-95; under Hadrian and the Antonines, 526-27; 567-68; under Sept. Severus, 527, 629. *See* map, p. 334.
 Britannicus, Ti. Claudius Britannicus, son of Claudius, 412, 415, 417
 Bronze Age, 14-15
 Brundisium, treaty of, 255-56
 Brutians, League of, 17, 46
 Brutus. *See* M. Junius Brutus and D. Junius Brutus.
 Bureaucracy: Roman, growth of, under the Principate, 316-17, 410-11, 533-34, 556, 639, 673; Egyptian, 533
 Burrus, Afranius, praetorian prefect, 415, 417 ff.
 Byzantine Empire, 675

- "Byzantinism," 669, 680
 Byzantium, punished by Septimius Severus, 680
- C. = Gaius
 Q. Caecilius Metellus Macedonicus, praetor, defeats Andrisus, 118, 325
 Q. Caecilius Metellus Numidicus, consul, commands against Jugurtha, 174
 A. Caecina Alienus, general, 427, 429, 499
 C. Caecilius, 224
 Caesar: an imperial title of the princeps, 408; heir apparent under Augustus, 657, 658
 Caesar. *See* C. Julius Caesar.
 Caesarea, made a Roman colony, 484
 Caesarion: son of Julius Caesar and Cleopatra, 234, 260; executed by Octavian, 263
 Caledonia (Scotland): partly conquered by Agricola, 495; campaigns of Septimius Severus in, 629
 Calendar, Roman: 113; reformed by Caesar, 236
 Caligula. *See* Gaius Caesar.
 Calpurnia, wife of Caesar, 222, 240
 Calpurnius, pastoral poet, 740, 741
 M. Calpurnius Bibulus, consul, 208, 209-11
 C. Calpurnius Piso, conspiracy of, against Nero, 423
 Cn. Calpurnius Piso, governor of Hither Spain, 201
 Cn. Calpurnius Piso, senator, 393-94
 Camillus, 38
 Campania: fertility of, 8; won by Rome, 39
 Camps: Roman military, 55; on frontiers, 538-39
 Campus Martius, 584
 Camulodunum (Colchester), 412
Cunabae, 538, 539, 542
 "Candidate's" Handbook, the, 124
 Cannae, disastrous defeat of Romans, 93
 Canon law, 750, 753
 Canon of New Testament, 710
 Capitalism, in later Empire, 682
 Capito, jurist, 728
 Cappadocia, Mithradates, king of northern, 181; coveted greater, 181-82; surrendered to Sulla, 183-84; conquered by Tigranes, 196; won by Rome, 196 ff.; made a Roman province, 393; in the second century A.D., 574; united with Pontus, 596. *See* map, p. 334.
Captatio, 382, 449, 458, 583, 612
 Capua: founded by Etruscans, 18; becomes Roman, 39; allies with Hannibal, 93 f.; subdued by Rome, 94; center of Italian bronze industry, 271
Caput, unit of taxation, 663, 689
 Caracalla (Marcus Aurelius Antoninus = Basianus): coemperor, 629; principate of, 635-37; edict of universal citizenship, 636-37
 Caratacus, 412, 413
 Carausius, rebel in Britain, 658
 Caravan cities, 545, 575
 Carbo. *See* Cn. Papirius Carbo.
 Carinus (Marcus Aurelius), coruler in West, 650, 651
 Carneades, Academic philosopher, 141, 145, 150
 Carnuntum, legionary camp, 570
 Carrhae, battle of, 222
 Carthage: alliance with Rome, 45-47; treaties with Rome, 45-46, in Sicily and Sardinia, 79; attacks Sicilian Greeks, 23-24; founding of, 79; commerce of, 79; resources of, 80, 90; wars with Rome (*see* Punic Wars); cedes Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica to Rome, 83-84; cedes Spain and African possessions to Rome, 98; final siege and destruction of, 115-16; government, economy, and culture, 79-80, 117; recolonized by Caesar, 237; under the Principate, 343, 564. *See* map, p. 110.
 Carus (Marcus Aurelius), principate of, 650
 C. Cassius: ex-praetor, 225; tribune of Caesar, 226; assassin of Caesar, 239-40; seizes control in East, 245-47; senate votes *maius imperium* in East, 247; exactions in East, 252; defeat and death at Philippi, 252
 Cassius Longinus, jurist, 728
 Sp. Cassius, 65, 72
 Cassivellaunus, British chief, 218
 Castel Sant' Angelo (Mausoleum of Hadrian), 514, 584
 Catholic church, 713, 749-50
 Catiline. *See* L. Sergius Catilina.
 Cato. *See* M. Porcius Cato.
 Catullus (C. Valerius Catullus): lyric poet, 290-91; influence on English poetry, 742-43
 Caudine Pass, defeat of Rome at, 40
 Celsus, writer against Christianity, 714, 765
 Celsus (A. Cornelius), physician and writer, 456
 Celtiberians, the, revolts of, 112-13
 Celts. *See* Gauls.
 Censorship, the: established, 62; functions, 62; opened to plebeians, 73; of Appius Claudius, 41, 45, 57; Sulla deprives, of power, 188; assumed by Claudius, 410; by Vespasian, 488; by Domitian, 488
 Census: instituted in Rome, 60-61; taken by censors, 62; basis of military organization, 54, 60; in Italy, 225 B.C., 87; after the Social war, 181; under Augustus, 337; under Claudius, 410; under Vespasian, 488
 Census classes: reform of, 41; in army, 54; in assembly, 60
Centenarii, 533
 Centurionate: 54; under Augustus, 333; in the second century, 536; in the third century and later, 630, 631
 Q. Cervidius Scaevola, jurist, 616, 693
 Chaeronea, victory of Sulla at, 183
 Chalcolithic Age, 14
 Chatti, the, a German tribe, 493, 525
 Chauci, the, a German tribe, 525
 China, Roman commerce with, 546
 Chosroes, Parthian king, conquered by Trajan, 521-22
 Christianity: rise and early development of, 353, 467-78; Jewish persecution, 471; pagan hostility to, 713-14; and the Roman state, 714-20; heresies in, 712-13; growth of, 708-

- 12; accepted by Constantine, 667-68, 718-20; early literature of, 617, 710-11; evolution of, in Roman paganism, 477-78, 597, 708, 721-24, 757-60, 767; a cause of Roman decline, 699; influence on Roman law, 731; rise of monasticism in, 724; art of, 692. *See also* Jesus, Paul, Church, Christians. *See* Pl. XXII.
- Christians: the first persecution of, 421-22; so called first at Antioch, 471; distinguished from Jews, 492; accusations against, 421; imperial policy toward, 420-21, 643, 645, 647, 661, 667, 668-69, 714-20; pagan hostility to, 713-14
- Christus (Christ), a title of Jesus, 421
- Chronology, Christian, 353
- Chrysopolis, victory of Constantine at, 669
- Church: the early Christian, beginnings of, 471, 474, 476, 476-78; expansion of, 708-12; organization of, 709, 720-24; doctrinal strife in, 712-13; relation of, to the emperors (*see under* Christians and Christianity); councils of, 709, 719-20; growth of the primacy of Rome in, 713, 724; courts of, 731; literature of, 617, 710-11; influence of Greco-Roman paganism on, 297, 476-78, 708, 721-24, 767; influence of Roman architecture on, 762; influence of Roman law on, 755. *See also* Christianity, Christians.
- Cicero. *See* M. Tullius Cicero.
- "Ciceronianism," 297, 746
- Cilicia: pirate stronghold, 177, 182, 196; made a province, 174; made imperial province, 348; two Cilicias united in one province, 497; description of, 574. *See* map, p. 334.
- C. Cilnius Maecenas, patron of letters, 255, 355, 357, 358, 361
- Cimbri and Teutons, the: invade Gaul, 175-76; invade Italy, 176
- Cincinnatus, 36
- L. Cincius Alimentus, historian, 148
- Circus Flaminius, 157
- Cirta, siege of, 173
- Cisalpine Gaul: settled by Gauls, 37; becomes Roman (below Po), 87; lost in second Punic War, 92; reconquered, 111; organized as a province by Sulla, 188; made a part of Italy, 253
- Cities: of the Empire in the second century A.D., 541-44, 563 ff.; decay of, in later Empire, 682
- Citizenship: Roman, 4, 53; increase in numbers of, to 164 B.C., 125; granted to Italians, 180-81; to Transpadane Gauls, 237; Caesar's liberal attitude on, 237-38; obtained by service in the army, 342; promoted by Trajan and Hadrian, 542; extended to all freemen by Caracalla, 636-37
- City planning, 587
- City prefect. *See* Prefect.
- Cives sine suffragio*, 50
- Civilis, Julius, Batavian chief, 481
- Civil service: the imperial, under Claudius, 410-11; under Trajan and Hadrian, 507-08, 533-34; in the third century, 632-34; in later Empire, 651, 664, 669-70, 679-80
- Civil war, 155 ff., 182-86, 226-31, 258-64, 426-29, 627-28, 652, 666-68
- Civitates*, in provinces, 336, 560
- Clarissimus*, title of senators, 532, 678, 686
- Classes, in Roman army, 54
- Classicus*, Julius, a chief of the Treveri, 481
- Classis*. *See* Levy.
- Claudian (Claudius Claudianus), poet, 693, 748
- Claudius, Appius, censor and orator, 41, 45, 57, 73, 148, 161
- Claudius Appius, land commissioner, 156, 160
- Claudius Gothicus (M. Aurelius —), principate of, 647-48
- Claudius (Drusus Claudius Nero), son of Ti. Claudius Nero, 257
- M. Claudius Marcellus, enemy of Caesar, 224, 232, 294
- M. Claudius Marcellus, nephew of Augustus, 349
- Ti. Claudius Nero: exiled by Augustus, 255; restored to favor, 257
- Claudius (Ti. Claudius Germanicus): made colleague of Caligula in consulship, 403; principate of, 407-16; personality, 407-08; administration of Rome, 408-11; provincial administration and conquests, 411-14; public works, 409; later tyranny, 414-16; death and deification, 416. *See* Pl. XII.
- Cleanthes, Stoic, *Hymn* of, 285
- Clement of Alexandria, Christian theologian, 692, 710, 722
- Cleopatra: queen of Egypt, and Caesar, 227-28, 234; and Antony, 253-55, 258, 260, 261; at Actium, 262; suicides, 263
- Cleopatra Selene, daughter of Antony and Cleopatra, 258
- Clients: 29; in early Empire, 448-49
- Client kingdoms, 339-40, 348
- Clodia, sister of Clodius, 224, 281, 291
- D. Clodius Albinus, pretender, 628
- M. Clodius Pupienus, joint emperor, 642
- P. Clodius, tribune, 207, 210, 211, 212, 213, 222, 223
- P. Clodius Thrasea Pactus, Stoic, 423, 434, 465
- Clusium, 20, 35
- Cluvius Rufus, historian, 605
- Cn. = Gnaeus
- Codes: of Justinian, 730, 752-53; Theodosian, 752; of barbarian Germans, 752-53
- Codification of Roman law: by decemvirs, 69-70; under Hadrian, 509, 727; under Justinian, 730
- Coelesyria, 575, 628
- Cognitiones*, 530
- Cognomen*, 29
- Cohorts (*Cohortes*): (1) of Auxiliaries, 332; (2) urban, 332
- Coinage: Roman, 56-57; introduction of, 138-39; in late Republic, 276; in Augustan age, 330; under Nero, 418; centralization of, 554; debasement of, 640, 644, 654, 681; reformed

- by Aurelian, 649; by Diocletian, 661; by Constantine, 671-72, 691
- Collatio glebalis*, 663-64, 672
- Collegia*: dissolved by Caesar, 235; in the Republic, 273; in Augustan age, 379-80; freedmen in, 436; in second century, 548-49, 552-54 (*tenuiorum*), 582; regimentation of, by state, 556, 634, 670, 688
- Cologne (Colonia Claudia Agrippinensis), founded, 413
- Colonnade, the Roman, 655, 683-87
- Coloni*: 270; original meaning, 683-84; free tenants, 431, 540, 555; obligations of, in Africa, 516, 685-86; in Egypt, 578, 684-85; in Asia Minor, 684; in Italy, 686; status legalized by Constantine, 672-73, 683, 687; Germans settled on lands as, 648
- Colonies: Latin, 49-50, 87, 111; Roman, 50, 111; status of, 50-52; loyal to Rome in second Punic War, 94; burdens, 58; loyal in Social War, 180; Roman established by C. Gracchus, 166-67; by Caesar, 236-37; under Augustus, 334; in the second century, 518. See map, p. 46.
- Colosseum (Flavian Amphitheatre), 487, 491, 585, 762. See Pl. XIV.
- Columbaria*, 379, 463, 553-54
- Columella (L. Junius Columella), writer on agriculture, 430-32, 458
- Column: of M. Aurelius, 524, 525, 589; of Trajan, 514, 519, 584, 589
- Comitatenses*, 659
- Comitia*. See Assemblies.
- Comitia Centuriata*. See Assembly of the Centuries.
- Comitia Curiata*. See Assembly of the Curiae.
- Comitia Tributa*. See Assembly of the Tribes.
- Cominagene: made a Roman province, 393; placed under Syria, 497, 574
- Commerce, Roman: in the second century B.C., 137-38; in the first century B.C., 273-75; in Augustan age, 380 ff.; in earlier Principate, 432-36, 544-48; in later Empire, 681-82. See map, back end paper.
- Commercium*, 29, 39, 726
- Commodianus, poet, 694
- Commodus (Lucius Aelius Aurelius —): principate of, 625-27; deified by Sept. Severus, 632
- Concilia*, provincial, 337, 339, 344
- Concilium plebis*, the, 66
- Conductores*, 432, 516, 540, 557, 560, 626, 634, 683, 685, 703
- Coniugia*, 511, 639
- Conscripti*, 75
- Consilium*, 189, 489, 509, 633, 639, 670, 726, 727, 728
- Consistory, the imperial, 670
- Constantine I, the Great (Flavius Valerius Aurelius Constantius): sources for, 656; Caesar, 667; coemperor, 667-69; sole emperor, 669-76; founds Constantinople, 673-75; and Christianity, 667-68, 718-20; and arts, 691; and education, 692
- Constantinople, founded, 673-75
- Constantius I (Gaius Flavius Valerius): Caesar, 657; campaigns, 658; emperor, 666
- Constantius, son of Constantine I, made Caesar, 668
- Constitutio Antoniniana*, of Caracalla, 636-37
- Constitution, Roman: development of, under kingdom, 58-59; under early Republic, 59-76; 287-133 B.C., 123-26; admired by Polybius, 75-76, 126; Sulla's reform of, 187-89; restored, 192; in last century of Republic, 232-35, 266-68; under early Principate, 307-10; in second century, 505-10, 529-34; in third century and after, 651, 657, 669-70, 678-80
- Constitutiones principis*, 284, 727
- Consulares iuridici*, 509, 531
- Consulate (Consulship), the: established, 58; powers, 58-59; limited to patricians, 58 ff.; opened to plebeians, 72; held continuously by Marius, 177-83; under Principate, 307 ff., 488-89, 505 ff.; in later Empire, 678-79, 687, 689
- Contiones*, 134, 280
- Contractors. See *Conductores*.
- Controversiae*, 456
- Conubium*, 29, 39
- Conventus*, 273-74
- Conversion, religious, 708, 759
- Coptic language, 692
- Corycra, ally of Rome, 46
- Corfinium, 179
- Corinth: destroyed, 118-19; recolonized by Caesar, 237; commercial center in second century A.D., 572
- Coriolanus, 36
- Corn. See Grain.
- Cornelia, mother of the Gracchi, 157
- Cornelian laws, of Sulla, 187-89
- Cornelii, freedmen of Sulla, 187
- Cornelius Gallus, poet, 343, 367
- L. Cornelius Cinna, consul, opposes Sulla, 185
- P. Cornelius Dolabella: consul, 245; slain in East, 247
- Cn. Cornelius Scipio, in Spain, 95
- L. Cornelius Scipio, brother of P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus, 82, 106
- P. Cornelius Scipio: consul, set out for Spain, 91; defeated at Ticinus, 92; at Trebia, 92; killed in Spain, 95
- P. Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus: consul, takes Numantia, 113; destroys Carthage, 116; character and culture, 116, 144; opposes Gracchi, 161-62; death, 162
- P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus: character, 96; proconsular *imperium* in Spain, 95; takes New Carthage, 96; conquers Spain, 96; elected consul, 96; invades Africa, 97; defeats Hannibal at Zama, 97; command against Antiochus, 107
- P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica, 161, 162
- L. Cornelius Sulla: quaestor under Marius in Africa, 174; ends Italian revolt, 180; ravages Etruria and Samnium, 180; character and

- appearance, 182; versus Marius, 182-83; consul, 182-83; wages war against Mithradates, 183-84; ruins Greece and Asia, 184; dictatorship, 184-90; proscriptions, 186-87; ravages Samnium and Etruria, 186; frees his slaves, 187; reforms and legislation, 187-89; retires, 190; estimate of, 190; buildings of, 301
- Corporations, 548. *See also Collegia.*
- Corpus juris civilis*, 553, 730
- Corruption of officials in late Empire, 680
- Correctores*, 508, 517
- Corsica: 79; won from Carthage, 84; made a province, 85, 121; in second century, 563
- Corvus*, 82
- Court, the imperial, under Diocletian and Constantine, 660-61, 669
- Court for the recovery of damages: established, 129; knights substituted for senators in, 165-66; senate restored to one-half voting strength in, 235; under Augustus, 326
- Crassus. *See* M. Licinius Crassus.
- Crates of Mallos, teacher in Rome, 144
- Cremona: colony of, established, 87; battle at, 427, 428
- Cremutius Cordus, historian, 457
- Crete: made a Roman province, 34; in second century A.D., 579
- Crispus (Flavius Julius —), son of Constantine, Caesar, 668, 720
- Critolaus, Greek philosopher, 145
- Ctesiphon: captured by Trajan, 521; by Avidius Cassius, 522-23; by Sept. Severus, 628-29; by Carus, 650
- Cult: of family, 30; of farm, 30; of state, 31; of Bacchus, 149; of the Great Mother, 149; of god-king, 234; decline of state, 311, 320; of the Lares and *Genius Augusti*, 310-12, 315; of Rome and Augustus (imperial), 310 ff., 337; of emperor in Julio-Claudian age, 465; of emperor in later Empire, 707. *See also* Oriental cults.
- Culture, Greek: influence of, on Etruscan, 18-19, 21, 24, on Italian, 24, on Roman, 53-57, 139-52, 282-304, 354-88, 599-622, 736-38; decline of, 690-96, 702-05
- Cumae: 23; Greek colony, 24; defeat of Etruscans, 46
- Curatores*. *See* Curatorship.
- Curatorship, the: in senatorial career, 317; in equestrian career, 317; for reorganization of finances, 509, 519
- Curia*: municipal council, 561; obligations of, 561-62
- Curiae*, the: (1) in Rome, 28, 53, 59; (2) in the municipalities, 561-62
- Curiales, of late Empire, 664, 681, 689-90, 703
- Cursus honorum*: senatorial, 61, 64, 188, 316; equestrian, 317
- Cursus publicus*, 337
- Q. Curtius, historian, 457
- Curule chair, 58
- Cybele, Great Mother, cult brought to Rome, 149, 283. *See* Pl. IV.
- Cynics, 591-92
- Cynocephalae, battle of, 104
- Cyprian (Thascius Caccilius Cyprianus), Christian bishop and writer, 645, 710
- Cyprus: Roman province, 341; devastated by Jewish rebellion, 523
- Cyrene: Roman province, 341; revolt of Jews in, 523; in second century, 579. *See* map, p. 334.
- D. = Decimus
- Dacia: 496; war with Domitian, 496-97; conquered by Trajan, 519-20; divided into two provinces, 526; Roman, 570; evacuated by Aurelian, 648; mines of, 514, 520. *See* map, p. 334.
- Dalmatia: a Roman province, 345; in the second century A.D., 569. *See* map, p. 334.
- Damascus, 341, 575
- Deacons, of the early church, 723
- Decabalus, king of the Dacians, 496, 497, 519-20, 589
- Decemprimi*, 516, 557
- Decemvirate, the, for codifying laws, 69-70
- Decius (C. Messius Trajanus —): principate of, 643; persecution of Christians, 717
- Decline of Roman civilization: political, 677-81; economic and social, 681-89; art, 690-92; education, 692; Latin literature, 693-95; Greek literature, 695-96; causes of, 697-705
- Decuma*: *See* Taxes.
- Decreta*, judicial verdicts, 530
- Decretum*, of Gratian, 753
- Decuria*, 326
- Decuriones*: 336, 508, 557, 561, 664; compulsory service of, 672, 680
- Dediticii*, 84, 537, 636
- Deification: of ruler, Hellenistic, 234; of Julius Caesar, 233-34; of Augustus, 310-15; in Principate, 465; in later Empire, 707. *See also* Cults.
- Delatores*, 326, 397
- Delos: made a free port by Rome, 109, 137; commercial center, 138; sacked by Mithradates VI, 182
- Delphi, Oracle of, revived, 593
- Demeter, 31
- Demetrius Poliorcetes, 44
- Demonax of Athens, 592
- Denarius*: 56, 57; debasement of, 681
- Dexippus, Athenian historian, 646
- Diaspora*, 471, 472, 485, 707
- Dictatorship: the powers of, 59; opened to plebeians, 73; of Sulla, 187-90; Caesar permanent dictator, 231-40
- Didius Julianus, principate of, 627
- Dies Fasti*, 326
- Digest*, 728, 730
- Dioceses, 660
- Dio Chrysostom, Greek orator, exiled by Domitian, 500, 506-07, 591
- Diocletian (C. Valerius Aurelius —): assumes imperial title, 650; principate of, 656 ff.; sources for, 656; division of admin-

- istration by, 657-58; reforms army, 659; restores frontiers, 658; reorganization of provinces, 660; absolutism of, 660-61; building of, 661; financial policies of, 661-66; abdication, 666; persecution of Christians, 717
- Dio Cassius: Greek historian, 390, 693, 695; official under Alexander Severus, 639
- Dio of Prusa (Chrysostom), Greek sophist and orator, 619-20
- Diodorus, Greek historian of Rome, 9, 374
- Diogenes, Stoic, 141
- Dionysius I, tyrant of Syracuse, 24
- Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Greek historian of Rome, 7, 43, 374
- Dionysus: 31; cult of, in Rome, 149
- Diophantus, Greek mathematician, 695
- Dioscorides, Greek scientist, 458
- Divi filius* (Augustus), 312
- Divus Julius*, 312
- Docetism, 712
- Dominus, title of emperor in later Empire, 679
- Dominus et deus*, title, 487
- Dominus et deus natus*, 649
- Domitian (Titus Flavius Domitianus): personality, 487; principate, 487-88; administration of, 490-91; on frontiers, 493-97; embargo on wine production, 541; persecution of Christians, 715; opposition to his autocracy, 500; death and estimate of, 501. *See* Pl. XIII.
- Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, opponent of Octavian, 256
- L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, enemy of Caesar, 213
- Cn. Domitius Corbulo: 413; general, 422, 424, 425
- Domus Aurea*. *See* Golden House.
- Donatists: 713; opposed by Constantine, 719
- Donatus, grammarian, 695
- Doura-Europos*, 575, 590
- Drama, the Roman: of third and second centuries B.C., 146-47; of the last century B.C., 290
- Drepana, defeat of Romans at, 83
- Druidism, 216, 409, 422
- Drusus. *See* M. Livius Drusus.
- Drusus, Nero Claudius: stepson of Augustus, 345-46; campaigns of, 346; and the succession, 349
- Drusus, son of Germanicus, 400, 401
- Ducenarii*, 533
- Duenos vase, 11
- C. Duilius, consul, 82
- Duoviri*, municipal consuls, 561
- Duoviri navales*, 55
- Dyrachium, Caesar defeated at, 227
- Eburones, 219
- Economic conditions: in early Republic, 55-57, 130-39; in first century B.C., 268-76; in Augustan age, 379-81; in Julio-Claudian age, 430-36; in the second century A.D., 540-55; in the later Empire, 654, 681-89
- Edicts: (1) of the praetor in Roman law, 63, 85, 299, 509-10, 530, 725-26; (2) of princeps, 530, 727-28
- Edict, the: of Caracalla, 637; of Galerius, 667, 718; of Milan, 668; of prices, 662
- Education: in early Rome, 57; in the second century B.C., 143-45; in the first century B.C., 286-89; in the first century A.D., 456; in the second century A.D., 513, 543-44, 599-601; in the later Empire, 640, 692; Quintilian on, 600, 606; emphasis on rhetoric in, 456, 601; endowment of, by the state, 513, 543-44; influence of Roman education, 746-47; Greco-Roman schools of rhetoric and philosophy, 144, 287-90, 599-601; schools of law, 730
- Egypt: the Ptolemaic monarchy in, 101-03; allies with Rome, 104; conquered by Julius Caesar, 228; annexed by Octavian, 264; under Augustus, 342-43, 381; in second century A.D., 577-78; colonate in, 556, 684; late municipalization of, 633; bureaucratic system in, 533, 556, 577-78. *See* map, p. 334.
- Elagabalus (M. Aurelius Antoninus Bassianus), principate of, 638
- Elba, source of iron, 18
- Eleatics, 23
- Elections, Roman, 124-25
- Elegy, Roman: 367-69; influence of, 743-44
- Elocutio novella*, 616-18
- Emesa, 575
- Empedocles, 23
- Emperor: (1) early Roman (*see* Princeps); (2) later Roman, 660, 669-70, 678-80
- Empire, the Roman, division of, under Diocletian for administration, 657-58
- Emporium, Spain, 95
- Engineering, Roman, 763-64. *See also* Architecture, Aqueducts, Bridges, Roads.
- Q. Ennius, poet, 9, 145, 146
- Ephesus, 573, 586
- Epictetus, Greek Stoic philosopher, 500, 590-91
- Epicureanism in Rome, 150-51, 284-85, 292-93, 385, 465, 499
- Epidamnus, ally of Rome, 86
- Epigram, Latin: 603-04; influence of, 745
- Epirus: sacked by Rome, 109; Roman province in the second century A.D., 571
- Episcopoi*. *See* Bishops.
- Equestrian order: rise and growth of, 135-36; state contractors, 135-36; on juries, 165-66; decimated by Sulla, 186; excluded from juries by Sulla, 188; restored to juries, 193; character of, 278-80; under Augustus, 317; strengthened by Hadrian, 507-08, 533, 581; in later Empire, 651, 653
- Equites*: (1) cavalry in the Roman army, 54-55; (2) in Assembly of the Centuries, 60; a proprietary class (*see* Equestrian order).
- Equity, in later Roman law, 725-26; 729, 730
- Ergastula*, 132
- Etruria: location of, 17; resources of, 18; Terramara migration into, 14-15
- Etrusca disciplina*, 22
- Etruscans, the: origin of, 17-18; into Italy, 17; language, 18-19; dominate Umbrians, 18; in

- Latium and Campania, 18; sea power and piracy of, 18; ally with Carthage, 18; against Greeks, 18; decline of, and expulsion from Rome, 18; defeated by Greeks, 18; forced from Po Valley, 18; society and culture of, 18-23; influence on Italy and Rome, 19-23; archaeology of tombs, 19-20; wars with Rome, 35-37, 41-42; allies of Rome, 43. *See* map, p. 14; *see* Pls. I, II.
- Euhemerus, philosopher, 150, 310
- Eumenes II of Pergamum: 120; aids Rome against Antiochus, 103, 106; enemy of Perseus, 108; suspected by Rome, 109
- Eusebius, church historian, 711, 745
- Eutropius, epitomist, 502, 625, 641, 745
- Extraordinary commands, 171-72, 174-77, 195, 197
- Fabian, Roman bishop, executed, 643
- Q. Fabius Maximus "Cunctator": dictator, 93; honored by Rome, 97; consul five times, 98
- Fabius Pictor, historian, 9, 81, 148
- Fabula Atellana*, 290
- Fabula praetexta*, 146
- Fabulae salticae*, 454
- Faenius Rufus, praetorian prefect, 423
- Falisci, 16
- Familia* (family): the Roman, early, 28-29; in second century B.C., 140; in the late Republic, 280-81; in Augustan age, 382
- Fas*, 30
- Fasces*, 22, 28
- Fascism, Italian, 242, 750
- Fasti*, Roman, 10, 302
- Festivals: public, 200; secular games, 322-23, 491; increase of, in first two centuries A.D., 451-54, 511, 582
- Fetiales*, 30
- Finances: administration of, in the late Republic, 267-68; under Augustus, 328-30, 338; under Flavians and Antonines, 510-16, 534-39; in later Empire, 661-66, 672
- Fire, great: of 64 A.D., 420-21; of 80 A.D., 491
- Fiscus*, 328, 534
- Fiscus Judaicus*, 484
- Flamines*, 30
- T. Flamininus, consul: defeats Philip V, 104; proclaims freedom of Hellenes, 105
- C. Flaminius, tribune, censor: reforms, 24, 76; defeated and defies senate, 126; killed at Trasimene, 126
- C. Flavius Fimbria, in Mithradatic war, 184
- Florus, epitomist, 745
- Fleet. *See* Navy.
- Foedus Aequum*, 51
- Follis*, coin of Diocletian, 671
- Fora*: Roman, 302; Julian, 302; Augustan, 377; Trajan's, 514, 584. *See* Frontispiece.
- Foreign policy, Roman. *See* Imperialism.
- Fortunes, great: in the Republic, 245, 277-78; in the Empire, 441
- Franks, the, invade Gaul and northern Spain, 645-46, 650, 713
- Freedmen: in *plebs urbana*, 133; of Sulla, 187; in industry and professions, 272, 279; under Augustus, 312, 315, 318; restricted by, 325; in early Empire, 410-11, 436; in navy, 549; in imperial civil service, 410-11, 533-34
- Fregellae: colony of Rome, 40; destroyed by Rome, 162
- Frontier defense, system of, under Flavians and Antonines, 493-94, 526-27, 535-39
- Frontinus (S. Julius —), writer and official, 494, 605, 764
- Fronto (M. Cornelius —), writer, 616-17, 710, 714
- Fucine Tunnel, 408, 409
- Fulvia, wife of Mark Antony, 248, 254, 255
- Fundi limitrophii*, 687
- C. Furius Timesitheus, general, 642
- Furniture, Roman, 277-78, 444, 463
- A. Gabinius: tribune, 195; consul, 210
- Gades (Cadiz), 343
- Gaius, jurist, Institutes of, 510, 616, 728-29, 730
- Gaius Caesar (Caligula): named successor to Tiberius, 401; principate of, 403-07; character and tyranny, 404-05. *See* Pl. XII.
- Gaius and Lucius Caesar, grandsons of Augustus, 349
- Galatia: defeated by Romans, 107; a Roman province, 339; in the second century A.D., 573-74. *See* map, p. 334.
- Galba (Servius Sulpicius —), principate of, 426-27
- Galen (Claudius Galenus), physician, 620, 737, 768
- Galerius (C. Galerius Valerius Maximianus): Caesar, 657; emperor, 666-67; persecution of Christians, 718, 719
- Gallia Cisalpina*. *See* Cisalpine Gaul.
- Gallia Comata*: 214, 220; made three imperial provinces by Augustus, 344; in the second century A.D., 566-67
- Gallia Narbonensis*. *See* Narbonese Gaul.
- Gallienus (P. Licinius Egnatius —): made Augustus and coemperor with Valerian, 644; principate of, 645-47; estimate of, 647
- Gallus (C. Trebonianus —), principate of, 644
- Gamaliel, Jewish rabbi, 473
- Gaul: people of, 214; civilization, 215-16; Caesar's campaigns in, 214-20; significance of conquest by Caesar, 220; an imperial province, 334; administration of, under Augustus, 344; in the second century, 566-67; empire of Postumus in, 646; regained by Aurelian, 649; late municipalization of, 567
- Gauls, the: in Po Valley, 37; invade Italy and sack Rome, 38; ally against Rome, 41-42; invade Macedonia and Asia Minor, 43; renew invasion of Italy, 86-87; defeated by Romans, 87; ally with Hannibal, 92; civilization of, 214-16; conquered by Caesar, 214-20; Empire of the, 646, 649
- Genius*, 30, 310-11
- Gens, Gentes*, 29

- Gerasa, 577
Germanicus. *See* Drusus, Nero Claudius.
Germanicus, Caesar: son of Drusus, 392; campaigns of, in Germany, 392-93; in East, 393-94; death of, 394
Germany: Roman invasion of, in 12 B.C., 345-48; revolt of, 347-48; campaigns of Germanicus in, 392-93; Upper and Lower made separate administrative districts, 393; made separate provinces, 526; in the second century A.D., 568; Tacitus on, 393, 608-09. *See* map, p. 334.
Gesta Romanorum, 741
Geta (Publius Septimius —): brother of Caracalla, 629; coruler, 634
Gladiatorial combats: Etruscan, 22; Roman, 446, 452
Gladiators, revolt of the, 192-93
Glass manufacture: in Italy, 433-34; in Gaul, 551
Glaucia. *See* Saturninus and Glaucia.
Gnosticism, heresy of, 513, 712
Golden House (*Domus Aurea*), of Nero, 420-21, 442, 443, 462, 761
Gordianus I (M. Antonius —): principate of, 642; II, coemperor, 642; III, emperor, 642
Goths, the, 525, 642, 643, 644 ff.
Gracchi, the: estimate of reforms and results, 168-70. *See also* Ti. Sempronius Gracchus and C. Sempronius Gracchus.
Grain doles: in the Republic, 164, 177, 211, 235, 280; under the Principate, 318, 511 (also wine and oil), 582, 633, 649 (daily, and free pork and salt added)
Grain law: of C. Gracchus, 164; proposed by Saturninus, 177; of Drusus, 178
Grain problem, 541, 546. *See also* *Annona*.
Grammaticus, 144, 287
Graphé paranomôn, 159
Gravitas, 32, 57
Great Mother, cult of. *See* Cults, Cybele.
Greece: contrast to Italy, 7; decline after Roman conquest, 119; devastated by Sulla, 183-84; in the second century, 571-72; southern, becomes province of Achaia, 341
Greeks, the, in West: colonize Italy, Sicily, and Massilia, 23; opposed by Carthage and Etruscans, 23; attacked by Italic peoples, 24; decline of, 24, 43; conquered by Rome, 43-48; southern, join Mithradates, 182. *See also* Greece and the individual states.
Gregory of Nazianzus, Christian writer, 711
Guilds. *See* *Collegia*.
Hadrian (P. Aelius Hadrianus): personality, 503-04; attitude to senate, 506-07; and the *Alimenta*, 511-12; building, 513-14; provincial government, 508-10, 517-18; travels, 517; foreign policy, 520-21; crushes Jewish insurrection, 524; builds wall in Britain, 527; autocracy of, 530-31; military policies, 537-38; agricultural policies in Africa, 540; promotes urban life, 542; attitude to Christians, 716. *See* Pl. XVII.
Hadrianople. *See* Adrianople.
Hadrian's wall, 527, 629
Hamilcar Barca, Carthaginian general: conquers mercenaries, 84; in Sicily, 83; in Spain, 88
Hannibal, son of Hamilcar Barca: succeeds him in Spain, 88-89; takes Saguntum, 89; character of, 88; marches on Italy, 90-92; victories at Ticinus, Trebia, and Trasimene, 92; victory at Cannae, 93; southern Italians ally with, 94; recalled to Africa, 97; defeated at Zama, 97; escapes to Antiochus, 114; escapes to Hadrumetum, 97; allied with Antiochus III, 102-04; Suffete in Carthage, 114
"Harmony of the orders," 202-03
Harpisces, 30
Hasmonaeans, 198
Hasdrubal, son-in-law of Hamilcar Barca: in Spain, 88; signs treaty with Rome, 88
Hasdrubal, brother of Hannibal: commander in Spain, 95-96; marches on Italy, 96; defeat and death at Metaurus, 96
Hellenistic religions. *See* Cults, Oriental; *see also* individual cults.
Helvetii, defeated by Caesar, 216-17
Helvidius Priscus, senator, 500
T. Helvius Basila, philanthropist, 512
Heraclaeus, battle of, 45
Heraclides of Pontus, 43
Herculaneum: destruction of, 497; remains of, 499, 588
Heresies in the church. *See* Christianity, Church, and individual heresies.
Hernici, the: 16; in Latin alliance, 36
Herod. *See* Agrippa.
Herodes Atticus, 517, 544, 586
Herodian, Greek historian of Rome, 625, 693, 695
Hibernia (Ireland), 495
Hierarchy, church, growth of, 723-24
Hiero, tyrant of Syracuse: attacks Mamertines, 81; defeated by Rome and becomes ally, 81-82, 84
Hillel, Jewish rabbi, 468, 473
Hippodrome, of Constantinople, 674
A. Hirtius, historian, 221, 298
Historiography, Roman, 9-10, 148, 297-98, 371-73, 457, 608-11, 615, 693
Homoioismon, 719
Homoioismon, 720
Honestiores, 632
Horace (Q. Horatius Flaccus), poet: 320, 322, 361-66; influence of, 365, 743-45
Q. Hortensius, dictator, 73
Q. Hortensius Hortalus: consul and defender of Verres, 194; orator, 299
House, the Roman, 142, 271, 462, 463, 543.
See Pls. VI, XV, XIX.
Humanitas, 144, 288
Humiliores, 633
Hyginus (C. Julius —), 373
Hypatia, 706
Hypocaust, 462, 587
Hypogeum, 409

- Iapygians, the, 16
 Ides, 236
Idia, of Egyptian peasants, 663, 683, 684, 685
Idiologus, 342
 Ignatius, bishop of Antioch, 710, 716
 Ilerda, Spain, Caesar defeats Pompeians at, 226
 Illyrians, the: allies of Macedonia, 86; pirates, 85-86; first war with Rome, 86; second war with Rome, 86
 Illyricum, made imperial province of Dalmatia, 345
Imperator: Julius Caesar assumes title of, 233; title of Augustus, 308; revived by Vespasian, 486
 Imperial cult: in Augustan literature, 314; attitude of Augustus to, 314-15. *See also* Cult of Rome and Augustus.
 Imperialism, Roman, 104-05, 107, 108, 109-10, 111-13, 114-21, 172-73, 183-84, 196-97, 199, 216-22, 259, 263-64, 344-48, 392-93, 412-14, 492-95, 510-23, 525-27, 629-30
Imperium: Etruscan idea of, 22; consular, 54, 58; defined, 58; praetorian, 64; proconsular, 85; first grant to a private citizen, 96; effect of war in prolonging, 98; prolonged by senate, 123; extraordinary, 188, 191, 193, 197, 213, 223; of Octavian, 308; renewed successively, 309; how conferred, 529; of later Empire, 679
Imperium Britanniarum, 658
Imperium Galliarum, 481, 646, 649
 India, Roman commerce with, 545-46, 682
 Indo-European language group, 15
Inquilini, 686
 Industry: in Republic, 136-37, 270-73; in Augustan age, 379-80; in first century A.D., 432-36; in second century A.D., 550-55; free labor and wages in, 137, 272-73; decentralization of, 551-52; decline of factory industry, 552, 555. *See* Pls. VIII, XVI.
Institutes, of Justinian, 730
 Interest, rate of, in late Republic, 276
Interpretatio, 725
Interrex, 28, 59, 187
 Irenaeus, Christian writer, 710, 722
 Iron Age, the early, 15-16
 Isis, cult of, 447, 466, 492, 595, 707
Italia. *See* Italy.
Italia, name of Italian federation, 179
 Italian allies: status of, 51-52; loyal to Rome after Cannae, 94; grievances of, 126-27; supported by C. Gracchus, 163, 167, 169; by Livius Drusus, 178; war for enfranchisement, 179-81; citizenship granted, but enrolled in only eight tribes, 181
 Italian or Social War: 179-81; evil effects on Italy, 180. *See* map, p. 46.
 Italic peoples, the, 16-17
 Italy: geography and resources of, 6-9; name, 6, 35, 51; climate, 7; peoples of, 16-26; effects of Punic War on, 99; reduced to level of a province, 508-09, 630, 636, 657. *See* map, p. 46.
 Jahweh (Yahweh), God of Jews, 283, 466
 Jamblichus, a Neoplatonist, 706
 Janiculum, secession of plebs to, 73
 Janus, a Roman god, 30
 Jerome (Hieronymus), a Christian writer, 632, 710, 711, 725
 Jerusalem: Council at, 476; destroyed by Titus, 484-85; Roman colony on site of, 524, 576
 Jesus: birth of, 353, 467; personality, 468; career and teachings, 468-70; crucifixion of, 470
 Jews: revolt from Antiochus IV, 110, 117; subdued by Pompey, 198; under Tiberius, 396; conflict of Caligula with, 405; tolerated by Claudius, 413; revolt of, in 66-70 A.D., 482-85; in 85 A.D., 492; in 115 A.D., 523; in 132 A.D., 524; later status in Empire, 524; in Roman Egypt, 578; in Cyrenaica, 579. *See also* Diaspora, Judaea, Judaism.
 John Hyrcanus, 198, 255, 467
 John Chrysostom, Christian bishop, 711
 Josephus (Titus Flavius —), Jewish historian, 484, 619
 Juba I, king of Numidia, 229
 Juba II of Mauretania, husband of Cleopatra Selene, 263, 343
 Jucundus (L. Caecilius —), Pompeian banker, 275
 Judaea: annexed to Syria, 198; looted by Crassus, 198; Caesar made Hyrcanus tetrarch of, 199; Antony makes Herod king of, 199; client kingdom, 340; imperial province, 340; under procurator, 413; rebellion under Nero, 422; a Roman province, 484; name of, changed to Syria-Palaestina, 524
 Judaism: in the early Roman Empire, 466-68; in the later Empire, 707, 714
 Judiciary law: of C. Gracchus, 165-66; of Livius Drusus, 178; of Sulla, 188; of Pompey and Crassus, 193; after trial of Verres, 194; of Caesar, 235
Judicia publica, 726
Jugera, 51, 158
Jugum, tax unit, 663, 689
 Jugurtha, prince, later king, of Numidia, plots and wars with Rome, 173-75
 Jugurthine War, the, 173-75
 Julia: daughter of Julius Caesar, 208; wife of Pompey, 222, 282
 Julia, daughter of Augustus, 349-50
 Julia, granddaughter of Augustus, 408
 Julia Donna, wife of Sept. Severus, 638, 692
 Julia Maesa, grandmother of Elagabalus, 638
 Julia Mamaea, mother of Alexander Severus, 638
 Julian, the "Apostate" (Flavius Claudius Julianus), 706, 714, 720
 Julian (Salvius Julianus), jurist, 509-10, 616, 627, 728
 Julian laws, of 19 and 18 B.C., 335
 Julian municipal law, of Caesar. *See* *Lex Julia Municipalis*.
 Cn. Julius Agricola, general in Britain, 494-96, 608

- C. Julius Caesar: gives *laudatio*, 195; quaestor in Spain, 197; advocates Gabinian and Manilian laws, 197; taken by pirates, 200; acedile, 200; plots with Crassus to win power in Rome, 200-01; debt to Crassus, 200; relation to Catiline's conspiracy, 201-02, 205, 207; backs land bill of Rullus, 203; elected Pontifex Maximus, 203; opposes execution of conspirators, 206; governor of Spain, 208; forms Triumvirate, 208; consul, 208-10; agrarian law of, 209; Julian law, 210; secures Cisalpine Gaul, Illyricum, and Transalpine Gaul, 211; renews Triumvirate, 213-14; conquest of Gaul, 214-18; crosses Rhine into Germany, 218; expeditions to Britain, 218; Gallic revolt, crushed, 219-20; military genius of, 220; significance of his conquest of Gaul, 220; versus Pompey and the senate, 223-26; crosses Rubicon and marches on Rome, 226; in Spain, 226; in Egypt, 227-28; in Africa, 229; triumph in Rome, 230; victory at Munda, 230; writes *Anticato*, 231; powers, honors, and titles, 232-34; dictatorship of, 234-38; legislation and reforms, 235-38; provincial government, 237-38; building, 238, 302; assassination of, 238-40; personal appearance, 240; an evaluation of, 240-42; deification of, 234; writings of, 221, 298, 745. *See* Pl. VII.
- L. Julius Caesar, commands against Italian rebels, 180
- C. Julius Caesar Octavianus: adopted son of Caesar, 234, 244; comes to Rome, 245; appearance and character, 245-46, 262; versus Antony, 246; victor at Mutina, 247; reconciled to Antony, 247; in Triumvirate of 43 B.C., 248 ff.; proscriptions of, 248-49; victor at Philippi, 252-53; in Italy, 254 ff.; opposition to Antony, 256 ff.; treaty of Brundisium, 256; treaty of Misenum, 256-57; marries Livia, 257; final conflict with Antony and Cleopatra, and victor at Actium, 260-62; visits Egypt, 263; triumph in Rome, 264; restores the commonwealth, 307-08; granted titles of Augustus and *Imperator*, 308. For later career, *see* Augustus.
- C. Julius Vindex, revolt of, 425
- D. Junius Brutus: conspirator against Caesar, 239-40; leaves for province of Cisalpine Gaul, 244; killed, 247
- M. Junius Brutus: 225; conspirator against Caesar, 239-40; seizes control in East, 245-47; senate votes *maius imperium* in East, 247; exactions in East, 252; defeat and death at Philippi, 252
- Junio, 31
- Junonia, Roman colony on site of Carthage, 116
- Jupiter, 31
- Juridici*. *See* *Consulares juridici*.
- Jurisconsults, 149, 299-300, 509-10, 616, 725, 727-28
- Jurisprudence, Roman: in the third and second centuries B.C., 148-49; in the last century of the Republic, 299-300; under the Principate, 509-10, 616, 725, 727-28
- Jury courts for trial of bribery, etc.: established by Sulla, 189; composition of, reorganized by Pompey, 193; by Caesar, 235. *See also* Court for the recovery of damages.
- Jus civile*, 750
- Jus fetiale*, 103
- Jus gentium*, 63, 299, 726, 729, 730, 750
- Jus honorum*, extended to Gauls, 411
- Jus naturale*, 299-300, 750
- Justice, administration of, under Principate, 326
- Justin, epitomist, 373, 745
- Justin Martyr, 710, 714
- Justinian, Eastern emperor, code of, 730, 752-53
- Juvenal (D. Junius Juvenalis), satirist, 611-13, 744-45
- Kalends, 236
- L. = Lucius
- Labarum*, 667
- Labco, jurist, 728
- T. Labienus: legate of Caesar, 212, 226; against Caesar at Munda, 229-30; mission to Parthia, 252
- Q. Labienus, son of T. Labienus, 255
- Lacinian inscription of Hannibal, 97
- Lactantius, Christian writer, 692, 711
- Laeti*, 686
- Lake Regillus, battle of, 36
- Lambaesis, Africa, site of Roman camp, 524
- Lampridius, biographer, 639
- Land commission, the Gracchan, 160, 161, 169
- Land laws. *See* Agrarian laws.
- Langobardi, 525
- Lares and Genius Augusti*, cult of, 310-12, 315
- Lar Familiaris*, 30
- Lars Porsena, king of Clusium, 35
- La Tène culture, 214
- Latifundia*: in Sicily, 84; in Italy, 99; in second century B.C., 130-32; in the first century B.C., 269-70; under the Principate, 430-32, 540, 680, 686
- Latin allies, status of, 50-52
- Latin: alphabet, origin of, 22; language, early, 10; in second century A.D., 600, 617; in later Empire, 692-93; Christianization of, 711; influence of, 737-38
- Latinian, dialect group, 16
- Latin League: against Etruscans, 26; treaty with Rome, 36; dissolved by Rome, 39
- Latins, the: 16, 25-26; wars and treaty with Rome, 35-36
- Latium: fertility of, 8; geography of, 25; earliest settlers, 25; early development, 25-26; attacked by Volscians and Aequians, 25; in sixth century, 25-26; independent of Rome, 35; conquered by Rome, 39
- Laus Julii*, new colony at Corinth by Julius Caesar, 119
- Law of Citations*, 730
- Law, Roman: codification of, 69-70; extension

- through praetor's edict, 148-49; study of, 149; influence of Cicero on, 297; codification planned by Julius Caesar, 238; in the second century A.D., 616; development of, under Republic, 725-27; under Principate, 727-29; under Dominate, 729-31; influenced by Christianity, 731; influenced by Stoicism, 300, 731, 736; later influence of, on Christianity, 731, on jurisprudence, 751-54, on government, 754-55, on canon law, 755, on international law, 755; criminal law, 189, 726. *See also* Equity, Jurisprudence, Juris-consults.
- Laws. *See* *Lex*.
- Lectisternium*, 149
- Legacy-hunting. *See* *Captatio*.
- Legati*: provincial officials, 332; *Augusti*, 508, 559
- Legion, legions, manipular: 54; propertyless citizens admitted to, 175-76; probable increase in size of, by Marius, 176; of Augustus, 330-31; number of, 330; quartered on frontiers, 493, 537-38 (*see* Wars of the Legions); numbers, 535-36, 659; pay of, 331, 535-36, 631, 636; change in, under later Empire, 630-32, 651-54, 659-60, 669-70
- Legionaries, under Augustus, 332
- Lepidus. *See* M. Aemilius Lepidus.
- Leucopetra, battle of, 118
- Levy, the: for the Roman army, 54; difficulty to raise, for service in Spain, 151 B.C., 112
- Lex Aelia de repetundis*, 165
- Lex Aurelia*, judiciary reform, 194
- Lex Calpurnia*, 129
- Lex Canuleia*, 70-71
- Lex Claudia*, 124
- Lex Cornelia*, 195
- Lex Domitia*, restored by Caesar, 203
- Lex Gabinia*, granting extraordinary command to Pompey against pirates, 195
- Lex Hadriana*, 540
- Lex Hortensia*, 68, 73, 188, 193
- Lex Julia*, granting citizenship to all loyal communities in Italy, 180
- Lex Julia Municipalis*, 237
- Juliae (leges)*, of 19 and 18 B.C., 325
- Laciniae Sextiae (leges)*, 68, 72-73, 131, 158
- Lex Manciana*, 540, 634, 685
- Lex Manilia*, 197, 294
- Lex Ogulnia*, 73
- Lex Oppia*, 140
- Lex Ovinia*, 75
- Lex Papia Poppaea*, 325
- Lex Plautia Papiria*, granting Roman citizenship to Italians, 180
- Lex Pompeia*, granting citizenship, 181
- Lex Titia*, 248
- Lex Trebonia*, 214
- Valerio-Horatiae (leges)*, 68
- Lex Vatinia*, 210
- Lex Villia Annalis*, 123
- Libraries, public, in Augustan Rome, 356
- Libyans, the, 79
- Licinianus, son of Licinius, named Caesar, 668
- Licinius (Valerius Licinianus): Caesar, 667; Augustus, 667; coemperor with Constantine, 668-69; war with Constantine, 669; hostility to Christians, 693, 718; defeated and slain by Constantine, 669
- M. Licinius Crassus: praetor, command against Spartacus, 192-93; wealth of, 193, 279; consul, 193; joins with Pompey to repeal Sulla's laws, 193; plots for power in Rome, 200-01; relation to Catiline's plots, 201-02, 205; joins Triumvirate, 207; campaign in Parthia, defeat and death, 222
- P. Licinius Crassus, son of M. Licinius Crassus, legate of Caesar, slain at Carrhae, 222
- L. Licinius Lucullus: quaestor of Sulla, 184; consul, commands against Mithradates, 196-97
- C. Licinius Mucianus, general, 428, 429
- Lictors, 58
- Life and manners, Roman, 57, 139-42, 276-82, 381-83, 447-51, 581-83
- Ligurians: race, 16; conquered by Rome, 111
- Lilybaeum, 83
- Limae, limites*, 494, 538-39
- Limiteanei*, 659
- Literature: Roman, beginnings, 57, 145-48; in the first century B.C., 290-99; in Augustan age, 354-74; in Julio-Claudian age, 455-62; in second century, 601-18; in later Empire, 693-95; influence of, 738-47; Greek, in Augustan age, 374-75, in second century A.D., 619-22, in later Empire, 695-96
- Litterator*, 287
- Liturgies, imposed by Sept. Severus, 634
- Livia Augusta, 352, 400, 411
- Livius Andronicus, poet, 47, 143, 145
- M. Livius Drusus, tribune, opposes C. Gracchus, 167.
- Livius Drusus, tribune, legislative program of, 178-79
- Livy (T. Livius): historian, 9, 320, 371-73; influence of, 373, 745
- Longinus, *On the Sublime*, 374
- Luca, conference at, 213, 223
- Lucan (M. Annaeus Lucanus): poet, 423, 461-62; influence of, 742
- Lucanians: 17, yield to Rome, 42
- Lucian, Greek satirist, 621-22, 714
- C. Lucilius, satirist, 147-48
- T. Lucretius Carus: philosophical poet, 291-93; influence of, 742, 756, 764
- "Lucullan banquets," 197
- Lucullus. *See* L. Licinius Lucullus.
- Ludi Saeculares*, 323-24, 408
- Ludus*, 287
- Lugdunensis (Gallia —), Roman province, 344
- Lugdunum: capital of Gaul, 344, 567; defeat of Albinus at, 628; persecution of the Christians at, 716
- Lupercalia, feast of the, 234
- Lusitanians, the, war with, 112-13
- Lusius Quietus, Moorish general of Trajan, 523
- Q. Lutatius Catulus, consul, 176, 191

- Luxury, in Rome, 139-42, 277-79, 441 ff.
 Lycaonia, made a province, 574
 Lycia: united with Pamphylia in one province, 413, 497; in second century, 573
 Lycophron, dramatist, 47
 Lycortas, general of Achaean League, hostage to Rome, 109
- M. = Marcus
- Maccabees, 466
- Macedonia (Macedon): Antigonid kingdom, 101-02, 103; Rome intervenes against, 104; divided into four republics, 108; constitution of, 108-09; a Roman province, 118; under Augustus, 341; returned to the senate, 414; in second century, 571. *See also* Macedonian wars.
- Macedonian wars: first, 95; second, 104-05; third, 109; fourth, 118-19. *See also* Philip V, Perseus, Andriscus. *See map*, p. 110.
- M. Maecius: praetorian prefect, 637; principate of, 637-38
- Macrobius, commentator on Virgil, 695
- Maecenas. *See* C. Cilnius Maecenas.
- Sp. Maclius, 65, 72
- Magistracy: the nature of, 58, 64; expansion of, 61 ff.; opened to plebeians, 71, 73; controlled by senate, 123; order of, and age limit regulated, 61, 63-64, 188, 316; increased by Julius Caesar, 235; under Augustus, 316-17; in the second century A.D., 529-31; in the later Empire, 678-79; in municipalities of Empire, 556-57, 561, 689
- Magistrates: of early Republic, 58-59, 61 ff.; veto of, 59, 67; order of rank, 63; tribunes gain practical status of, 68; committees of senators, 68, 159
- Magna Graecia, war with Rome, 43-48
- Magnesia, battle of, 106
- Mago, of Carthage, writer on agriculture, 96, 97, 117, 131
- Maison Carrée, 378, 462, 763. *See* Pl. XX.
- Maius imperium*, 247, 335
- Malaria: 7; an alleged cause of decline of Rome, 698
- Maleventum, 46
- Manertini, the: defeated by Syracuse, 81; appeal to Rome, 81
- Mancinus, consul, surrender to Numantines, 112
- Mandata*, 530
- Manichaeism, 661
- C. Manlius, tribune, 197
- Maniple, unit of Roman army, 38, 41, 54
- M. Manlius, 65, 72
- Mantuan, pastoral poet, 741
- Manufactures. *See* Industry.
- M. Marcellus, consul, takes Syracuse, 94, 98. *See also* M. Claudius Marcellus.
- Marcon, 573, 712, 721
- Marcomanni, the, 346, 496, 515, 524-26
- Marcus Aurelius (M. Aurelius Antoninus = M. Annius Verus): adopted by Antoninus, 505; personality, 504-05; provincial govern-
- ment, 517-18; Marcomannic wars of, 515, 524-26; death at Vindobona (Vienna), 525; estimate of, 526; *Meditations of*, 526, 591; Stoic philosopher, 590-91; attitude to Christians, 716. *See* Pl. XVII.
- Margus, battle at, 650
- Maritime Alps, conquered by Rome, 345
- C. Marius, consul: birth and earlier career, 174; praetor, 174; on staff of Metellus in Africa, 174; consul, commands against Jugurtha, 174; reforms army, 175-76; annihilates Cimbri and Teutons, 176; sixth consulship of, 177; defeats Marsi in Italian war, 180; versus Sulla over Eastern command, 182-83; escapes to Africa, 183; returns, and seventh consulship, 184; proscriptions, 184; death and estimate of, 184
- Marius Maximus, historian, 693
- Maroboduus, chief of Marcomanni, 346, 393, 398
- Marriage, forms of: *usus*, 29, 71; *coemptio*, 71; *confarreatio*, 71
- Mars: Etruscan statue of, 21; god of war, 30
- Marsi: 17; in Italian war, 179-80
- Marsic war. *See* Italian war.
- Martial (M. Valerius Martialis): poet, 603-04; influence of, 745
- Martin of Tours, 724
- Massilia: Greek colony, 23; ally of Rome, 88; calls in Rome against Gauls, 177; loses independence, 226
- Masinissa: king of Numidia, 97; ally of Rome, 98, 114; character and aims, 114; attacks of, on Carthage, 114
- Mathematici*. *See* Astrology.
- C. Matius, friend of Caesar, 241
- Mauretania: client kingdom, 343; made two Roman provinces, 406, 414, 524. *See map*, p. 334.
- Mausoleum of Hadrian, 584. *See* Pl. XVIII.
- Maxentius (M. Aurelius —): Caesar, Augustus, 667; defeated and slain at Milvian Bridge, 667
- Maximian (M. Aurelius Valerius Maximianus): coemperor, 657 ff.; campaigns of, 658; abdication of, 666; returns to support son, Maxentius, 667; death, 667
- Maximinus (C. Julius —), principate of, 640-42, 643
- Maximinus Daia (Galerius Valerius —): Caesar, 666; *filius Augusti*, 667; emperor, 667-68; persecutor of Christians, 718
- Maximus of Tyre, Cynic preacher, 591-92
- Mediterranean basin, 5
- Mediterranean race, 13, 16
- Menander: Greek dramatist, 146; influence on Roman drama, 147
- Mesopotamia: conquered and made a Roman province by Trajan, 522, 629; given up by Hadrian, 522; taken by Persians, 645; regained by Rome, 645, 658. *See map*, p. 334.
- Messiah, 469, 470
- Messalina, wife of Claudius, 415
- Messana, Strait of, 5

- Metaurus, battle of, 96
 Metellus. *See* Q. Caecilius Metellus.
 Metellus Scipio, defeated by Caesar at Thapsus, 229
Metropoleis, in Egypt, 542
 Micipsa, king of Numidia, 173
 Milan, becomes seat of government for West, 657
 Military service: universal, 54; lower limit of, 54-55; under Augustus, 331-32; under Sept. Severus, 630-32; under Diocletian and Constantine, 661-62, 670-72
 Military system. *See* Army, Roman.
 Military anarchy, 641 ff.
 Militia, Roman. *See* Levy.
 Milo, general of Pyrrhus, 47
 Milvian Bridge, battle of, 667
 Minerva: Etruscan statue, 21; goddess, 31
 M. Minucius, master of the horse, 93
 Minucius, Felix, Christian writer, 618, 710, 714
 Minoan influence in Italy, 14
 Misenum, treaty of, 256-57
 Mithradates VI, Eupator: king of Pontus, 120; expands in Asia Minor and Greece, 180-82; first war with Rome, 183-84; terms with Sulla, 184; third war with Rome, 196-97
 Mithraeum, at Rome, 596
 Mithraism: 466, 595-96, 708, 709, 711; likeness to Christianity, 596-97; art of, 692. *See* Pl. XXII.
 Modestinus, jurist, 729, 730
Modius, 164
 Moesia: subdued and made client kingdom, 345; provinces of, 570; Greek cities on coast of Lower Moesia, 570
 Moguntiacum, Mainz, 542, 567
 Mona (Anglesea), 422
 Monarchy, the early, 26-28
 Monasticism, early development of, 724
 Money, Roman. *See* Coinage.
 Montanism, 712
 Montanus, founder of Montanism, 712, 713
 Monte Testaccio, 541
 Moors, of Mauretania, 524, 653
 Mosaics, 691
Mos maiorum, 31, 57
 Q. Mucius Scaevola: proconsul in Asia, 178; jurist, 285, 288, 300, 725; executed, 186
 L. Mummius, consul, defeats Achaean League, 118
 Munda, battle of, 230-31
Munera, 534, 557
 Municipalities (*Municipia*): Roman, 50-51; Italian towns organized into, after Italian war, 180-81; Julian law regulating, 237; under early Principate, 335-37; in second century A.D., 518-19, 532, 541-44, 581-82; types of, 336; government of, 336; imperial interference in, 544, 556, 561, 581-82; decline of, 680-81, 689
 Muratorian fragment, 475, 710
 Music, Roman, 590
 Musonius Rufus, Stoic, 464
 Mutina, victory of Octavian over Antony, 247
 Mycenae culture, 14
 Mylae, naval battle of, 82
 Mysticism: in the late Republic, 283-84; in the Augustan age, 384; in the second century, 593 ff.; in later Empire, 706-08
Mysterion, 723
 Nabataeans. *See* Arabs.
 Cn. Naevius, poet, 9, 145-46
 Naples, 7, 40
 Narbo, established, 173
 Narbonese Gaul: made a province, 173; transferred to the senate, 334; in first century A.D., 344, 380, 398; in second century A.D., 566. *See* map, p. 238.
 Narcissus, freedman of Claudius, 415-16
 Naulochus, naval victory over S. Pompey, 257
Navicularii, 547
 Navy, Roman: 47, 55, 56; in first Punic War, 82; of Augustus, 333; imperial, 549
Nefas, 30
Negotiatores, 135, 274 *passim*.
 Nemesianus, poet, 693
 Nemi, lake, 7
 Neolithic Age. *See* Stone ages.
 "Neolithic Empire," the, 16
 Neoplatonism, 695-96, 704, 706-07, 708, 712, 722
 Neopythagoreanism, 283, 320, 356, 384, 594, 712
 Nepos (Cornelius), biographer, 298
 Nero, son of Germanicus, 400, 401
 Nero (Nero Claudius, Caesar): parentage of, 415; adopted by Claudius, 415; principate of, 417-26; and the great fire, 420-21; persecution of Christians, 421-22; rebuilds Rome, 420-21; death and estimate of, 426. *See* Pl. XII.
 Nerva (M. Cocceius —): principate of, 502, 503, 506; establishes *Alimenta*, 512
 Nestorian Christianity, 546
 New Academy, in Rome, 295
 New Carthage (Carthage), founded, 88
 New nobility, the, 74-75
 New Testament, canon of, 710
 Nicaea, council of, 709
 Nicolaus, of Damascus, Greek writer, 374
 Nicomedes III, of Bithynia, wills kingdom to Rome, 196
 Nicomedia, capital of Diocletian, 657, 661
 Nicopolis, Epirus, 341, 571
 Niger (C. Pescennius —), saluted *Imperator*, 628
 P. Nigidius Figulus, astrologer, 284, 320
 Nîmes, France, 586
 Nisibis, made a Roman colony, 628
 Nola, 182, 183
 Nones, 236
 Nomes (*Nomoi*), in Egypt, 577
 Noricum: made Roman province, 345; in second century, 569
Novels, of Justinian, 730
Novus homo, 75, 124
 Nunia Pompilius, 27

- Numantia, siege of, 112
Numeri, 537
 Numinianus, coemperor, 650
 Numidia: added to province of Africa, 343; in the second century, 564
Numina, 30
- Oath of allegiance exacted by Octavius, 261
 Octavia, sister of Octavian, wife of Antony, 256, 282
 Octavia, daughter of Claudius and wife of Nero, 415, 420
 Octavianus. *See* C. Julius Caesar Octavianus.
 C. Octavius. *See* C. Julius Caesar Octavianus.
 M. Octavius, tribune, deposed by Assembly of the Tribes, 159
 Odaenathus, chief of Palmyra, defeats Persia and regains East for Romans, 645
 Odeum, of Herodes Atticus, 586
 Officials: equestrian, 317, 508, 533; provincial, 508-09, 517; of imperial household, 318, 410, 533; in third century, 631, 680
 A. Opilius, juristic writer, 300
 L. Opimius, consul, led attack on C. Gracchus, 168
 Optimates: struggle of, with Populares, 155; under Gracchi, 156 ff.; under Marius, 171 ff.; under Sulla, 184-86; strengthened by failing of Catiline, 206-07; led by Cato, 209, 224; side with Pompey against Caesar, 222-25
 Oratory, in Rome, 148, 293-94, 298, 608, 611
 Orchomenus, victory of Sulla at, 184
 Oriental cults: in Republic, 149, 283-84; in early Empire, 356, 384, 466, 473; in second century, 594-95; in later Empire, 638, 704, 707, 708. *See also* Cults.
 Origen, Christian writer, 643, 710, 722
Origo, 663, 664, 683, 685
 Ostia: 7; harbor developed by Claudius, 409; warehouses at, 546; center for *collegia*, 547, 553; in second century A.D., 547, 587
 Otho (M. Salvius —), principate of, 427
 Ovid (P. Ovidius Naso): poet, 368-70; banished by Augustus, 325, 326, 368, 370; influence of, 370-71, 743-44
- P. = Publius
 Pachomius, first monastic rule of, 724
 Pacuvius, dramatist, 146
 Pagan, term defined, 707
 Pagan cults. *See* Oriental cults.
 Paganism: in the later Empire, 706-08; persistence of, 720
Pugus, 26
Puidagogos, 287
 Painting, 152, 304, 376-77, 463, 589-90, 691, 761
 Palaeolithic Age. *See* Stone ages.
 Palafitte, culture, 14.
 Pallas, freedman of Claudius, 414-15, 420
 Palmyra: 575; city kingdom of, 645-46; destroyed by Aurelian, 648-49. *See* map, *back end paper*.
- Pamphylia: Roman province, 339; in second century A.D., 573
 Panactius, Greek Stoic, 116, 144, 145, 150, 284-85
 Pancration, 454
 Pannonia: made a province, 345; divided into superior and inferior provinces in second century A.D., 526. *See* map, p. 334.
 Pannonians, the, 345
 Panormus, Sicily, captured by Romans, 83
 Pantheon, the Roman, 302, 585, 761-62. *See* Pl. XX.
 Papacy, Roman, growth of the, 724
 Papias, Christian writer, 710
 Papinian (Aemilius Papinianus), jurist and praetorian prefect, 632, 635, 693, 728-29, 730
 Cn. Papirius Carbo, consul: bill of, to legalize re-election to tribunate, 162; opposes Sulla, 185-86; executed, 186
 Parma, Roman colony, 111
 Parthians: the support of Pompey, 197; defeat Crassus, 221-22; win most of Syria, 252; defeat Antony, 259; Augustus and, 339-40, 393; and Nero, 422; conquered by Trajan, 521-22; campaigns against, 161-165 A.D., 522-23; defeated by Sept. Severus, 628-29; Caracalla invades, 637; defeat Macrinus, 638; overthrown by the Persians, 640. *See* map, p. 334.
Pater Patriae: title of Julius Caesar, 233; of Augustus, 309
 Paternalism, growth of, in second century A.D., 532
Patres. *See* Patricians.
Patres conscripti, 75
Patria potestas, 29
 Patricians: the definition of, 29; in regal period, 29; decline in numbers, 65; new families created, 233 n. 66, 316; title under later Empire, 532, 632, 678, 686
Putrimonium Caesaris: 329; evolution of, 534-35
Putrocinium, the, 687-88, 755
 Patrons: in early Rome, 29; under the Principate, 448-49
 Paulus (Julius —), jurist, 639, 693, 728, 729
 Pausanias, Greek writer of travels, 620
 Peasantry: decline of, in Italy and causes, 133-34; increase of, through the Gracchan laws, 161; decline in the late Republic, 280; in the second century A.D., 540-41; reduced to serfdom, 654-55, 683-86
Peculium, 447
Pecunia, 29
 Peiraeus, Athens and, besieged by Sulla, 183
Penates, 30
 Pergamum: under Attalids, 102; appeals to Rome against Macedon and Syria, 103; enlarged by Rome, 107, 120; ally of Rome against Perseus, 108; decreased by Rome, 109; willed to Rome, 120; center of art, 120; a Roman province, 120, 121; Roman mis-

- government of, 120; library of, 262; in second century A.D., 573
- Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, 435, 546
- Me. Perperna, leader of Marian faction, 191-92
- Persecutions of the Christians. *See* Christians, Church, Christianity.
- Perseus: successor to Philip V of Macedon, 108; war against Rome, 108
- Persia (Sassanid Monarchy): founded, 640; defeated by Alexander Severus, 640; gains Mesopotamia and Syria from Rome, 643; regains Armenia and captures emperor Valerian, 645; takes all Syria and raids Asia Minor, 645; checked by Palmyra, 645; defeat of, by Carus, 650; army of, annihilated by Galerius, 659. *See* map, p. 334.
- Persius (A. Persius Flaccus), satirist, 461, 744
- Pertinax (P. Helvius —), princeps, 627
- Perusia, sacked, 255
- Pervigilium Veneris*, 618
- Petilius Cerialis, general, 494
- Petra, 341, 521, 576-77, 586. *See* map, *back end paper*.
- C. Petronius: writer, 420; death, 424, 458
- Peutinger map, 375
- Phaedrus, Greek Epicurean, teacher of Cicero, 288
- Phaedrus, writer of fables, 457
- Pharisees, the, 467, 472, 483
- Pharnaces, son of Mithradates: makes peace with Pompey, 199; defeated by Caesar, 288
- Pharsalus, battle of, 227
- Philinus, historian, 81
- Philip V, of Macedon: ally of Antiochus III, 103; at war with Aetolians, 103; ally of Carthage, 103; at war with Rome, 104-05; peace with, 105; cedes Greek possessions to Rome, 105; later hostility, 108
- Philip, the Arab (Julius Verus Philippus), principate of, 642-43
- Philippi: defeat of Brutus and Cassius at, 251-52; colony established at, 253
- Philo, Jewish philosopher in Alexandria, 403, 405, 419
- Philopator, king of Egypt, 102
- Philosophy, Roman: influence of Hellenistic philosophy on, 150-51; in Republic, 284-85, 288, 292-93, 295-96; under Principate, 384-85, 464-65, 590-92; failure of, in later Empire, 706-07; influence of, 756
- Phoenicians, the. *See* Carthaginians.
- Phraates IV, king of Parthia, 259
- Picentines, the, 17
- Pietas*, 32, 57
- Pirates: 137; depredations of, 177; attempts of Rome to suppress, 177; command of M. Antonius against, 195; command of Pompey against, 195-96
- Pisidia, made a province, 574
- Piso. *See* C. Calpurnius Piso.
- Placentia, 87
- Plague, the: of 166 A.D., 515, 562; of 252 A.D., 643, 647, 654
- Plantation system, the. *See* Latifundia.
- A. Plautius, conqueror of Britain, 412
- Plautus (T. Maccius —): dramatist, 146; influence of, on later literature, 740
- Plebeians, the: definition of, and status in early Rome, 29; struggle for equality with patricians, 65-74; disabilities of, 66; admitted to magistracies, 71-72; in senate, 75
- Plebscites (*plebi-scita*): 68; binding without action of senate, 68, 73
- Plebs, the: (1) (*see* Plebeians); (2) of Republic, 134-35, 279-80; under Augustus, 318, 327; colleges of, 273, 552-53. *See also* Proletariat.
- Pliny: (1) the elder (C. Plinius Secundus), writer and scientist, 497-98, 604-05, 737, 764-65; (2) the younger (C. Plinius Caecilius Secundus), letters of, 497-99, 613, 715; to Trajan, 714-15; influence of, 745; governor of Bithynia, 508, 517, 518; philanthropics, 513
- Plotinus, founder of Neoplatonism, 647, 695-96, 706
- Plutarch, Greek biographer and essayist, 619
- Poetae Novelli*, 618
- Poetry: Roman, of third and second centuries B.C., 145-48; of the last century B.C., 290-93; of the Augustan age, 354-71; of Julio-Claudian age, 457, 460-62; under Flavians and Antonines, 602-04, 611-13; in later Empire, 693-94; Greek, of late Empire, 695; Christian, 694
- Pola, 690
- Police, of Rome, the, under Augustus, 327
- Political thought, Roman, 295, 297, 750-51
- Polybius, Greek historian, of Rome: on Roman constitution, 75-76; authority for Punic and Eastern Wars, 81, 102 ff.; hostage to Rome, 109; military adviser to Scipio Aemilianus, 113; aide in organizing Greece, 119; in Scipionic circle, 144
- Polycarp, Christian martyr, 710, 716
- Pomerium*, the, of Rome, 27
- Q. Pompeidius Silo, leader of Italian revolt, 180
- Pompeii: rapid growth of, after 150 B.C., 138; industry of, 271, 272, 301, 433; art of, 462, 587-88, 589-90; destruction and remains, 497-99. *See* Pls. VI, XV, XVI.
- Cn. Pompeius Magnus (Pompey the Great): welcomes Sulla from East, 186; puts down Marians, 186; assumes title, *Magnus*, 186; puts down revolt of Lepidus, 191; command against Sertorius, 192; consul, joins with Crassus to repeal Sulla's laws, 193; command against pirates, 195-96; command against Mithradates, 197; conquers Jerusalem, 198; imperialist, 199; returns to Rome, 199; disbands army, 207; joins Triumvirate, 207; procurator of the grain supply, 213, 222; sole consul, 223; proconsul of three provinces and procurator of grain supply, 225; versus Caesar, 223-26; civil war against Caesar, 226-27; defeated at Pharsalus, 227; assassinated, 227; estimate of, 227; buildings of, 301-02. *See* Pl. VII.

- Cn. Pompeius: son of Pompey the Great, 229; defeated at Munda, 230-31
- S. Pompeius: son of Pompey the Great, 229; defeated at Munda, 230-31; anti-Caesarian, 245; courted by senate, 247; stops grain transport to Italy, 251, 254, 255, 256, 257; defeated by Octavian at Naulochus, 256; executed in Asia, 257
- Pompeius Strabo, takes Asculum, 180
- Pompeius Trogus, historian, 373
- S. Pomponius, juristic writer, 616, 728
- T. Pomponius Atticus, wealthy friend and correspondent of Cicero, 224, 248 *passim*.
- Pomponius Mela, geographer, 457
- Pont du Gard, 378, 550, 566. *See* Pl. XIX.
- Pontifex Maximus, 60
- Pontiffs, the: 30; admission of plebeians to, 73; numbers increased, 73; new members chosen by tribes, 203
- Pontius Pilate, 421, 470
- Pontus: kingdom of Mithradates VI, 181; subjugated by Rome and made a Roman province, 199; in the second century A.D., 572-73
- Poppaea Sabina, wife of Nero, 418, 419, 420, 424
- Populares, the: struggle with Optimates, 155 ff.; under Gracchi, 156-68; under Marius, 177 ff.; under Sulla, 184-86; led by Saturninus and Glaucia, 177, by Sulpicius Rufus, 183, by Cinna and Carbo, 185; support Pompey and Crassus, 193
- Population: in the first century B.C., 276-77; racial transformation of, in Rome and Italy in the late Republic, 279-80
- Populus Romanus*, 125
- M. Porcius Cato: censor, 9; hostility to Carthage, 115; censor, 123; work on agriculture, 131; character, censorship, and opposition to new culture, 140-42; historical writer, 148
- M. Porcius Cato, the Younger: advocates execution of conspirators, 206; sent to Crete, 212; opposes Caesar, 224; suicides after Thapsus, 229; estimate of, 229
- Porphyry, a Neoplatonist, 706, 714
- Porta Nigra, at Trèves, 690
- Portoria*, customs duties, 52, 128, 329
- Portraiture, Roman, 376, 464, 588, 690, 760-61
- Posidonia (Paestum), Roman colony at, 46
- Posidonius, Stoic, 284-85
- Postumus (M. Cassius Latinus —), general, forms empire in Gaul, 646, 649
- Potestas*: (1) *maior*, 64; (2) *tribunicia* (*see* *Tribunicia potestas*)
- Pottery: geometric, 24; Italian, in Republic, 137, 271; in Gaul, 551
- Praefectus Annona*. *See* Prefect of the grain supply.
- Praefectus urbi*. *See* City prefect.
- Praefectus vehiculorum*, 509
- Praefectus vigilum*. *See* Prefect of the watch.
- Praeneste: inscription on fibula, 19; autonomy under Rome, 39
- Praenomen*, 29
- Practorian guard: under Augustus, 327, 332; under Tiberius, 396; increased by three cohorts, 412; interferes in succession, 407, 416, 502 *passim*; raised to fourteen cohorts by Vitellius, 418; restored to nine by Vespasian, 482; opened to provincials by Hadrian and successors, 537, 630, 631; reduced to garrison force at Rome, 661
- Practorian prefect: 332, 531; growth of power under Sept. Severus, 632; under Constantine, 670; influence in development of Roman law, 728
- Practor peregrinus*. *See* Praetorship.
- Praetorship, the: established, 63; character and functions of, 63; *practor peregrinus*, 63, 122, 299; increase for provincial governors, 63; effect of praetorian edict on Roman law, 63, 85, 726; opened to plebeians, 73; number raised to four and six, 122; extension of term as propractors, 122; increase of, to eight by Sulla, 188; decline of, 509-10, 727
- Precarium*, 755
- Prefect of Egypt, the, 342
- Prefect of the grain supply, 327, 531
- Prefect of the watch, 531
- Prefect: urban, 531; in later Empire, 679, 682
- Prefectures, four established by Diocletian, 688. *See also* Praetorian prefect.
- Presbuteroi*, 723
- Prima Porta, statue of Augustus, 375-76
- Priesthoods, the: characteristics of, 30-31; opened to plebeians, 73; and Julius Caesar, 232; decline of, 282-83; revival of, 320 ff.
- Principes: Pompey considered as, 223; defined, 307, 309; powers of, 308-10; increase at expense of senate, 487-89, 505-10, 529-32, 651, 653, 678-80; hostility of senate to, 390 ff., 404 ff., 410-11, 423 ff., 487, 500-01
- Principate, the: foreshadowed by Pompey's position, 186; establishment of, 307-09; theory of, 309-10; under Flavians, 487-89; in second century, 505-10, 529-32; in later Empire, 651, 653, 678-88; double, 503
- Private fortunes: in the first century B.C., 275; in the early Empire, 441-44
- Probus (M. Aurelius —), principate of, 650
- Proclus, a Neoplatonist, 706
- Proconsulship, the: instituted, 64; frequent in second Punic War, 64; in second century, 559
- Proculus, jurist, 728
- Procuratorships: equestrians eligible to, 317-18, 533; freedmen admitted to, 410-11; greatly increased, 533; graded by Hadrian, 533
- Proletariat: the urban, influence on assemblies, 125, 134-35, 155 ff.; in late Republic, 235, 279-80; in the second century A.D., 582. *See also* Plebeians, Plebs.
- Promagistracy, the: instituted, 64; reorganized by Sulla, 188; law of Pompey regulating, 223; in senatorial career, 316-17
- Propertius (Sextus —), elegist, 367-68
- Propraetorship, the: used in second Punic War, 98-99; given to Pompey, 195, 197. *See also* Promagistracy.

- Proscriptions, the: of Sulla, 186-87; of Antony and Octavian, 248-49
- Prose: (1) Roman or Latin, 148, 293-99, 371-74, 456-57, 458-60, 604-11, 613-18, 694; (2) Greek, 374-75, 619-22, 695-96; (3) Christian, 617-18, 710-11
- Provincia*, 85
- Provinces, the: organization and government of, 85; list of, to 133 B.C., 121; administration of, 227-129 B.C., 127-30, 193-95; provincial taxes in, 128-29; reforms in administration of, by Julius Caesar, 237-38; imperial and senatorial, under Augustus, 334-35, 339-44, 348; taxation of, 337-38; under Flavians, 492; in the second century A.D., 516-19, 558-74; subdivided by Diocletian, 660. *See* map, p. 334.
- Provincial governors: under the Republic, 127-29; misgovernment of, 129; under the Principate, 334 ff., 516-17
- Prudentius, Christian poet, 694
- Prusias, king of Bithynia, 120
- Ptolemäis Syria, established, 413
- Ptolemy Auletes, of Egypt, 201, 210, 212
- Ptolemy (Claudius Ptolemaeus), of Alexandria, astronomer and geographer, 620-21, 737
- Ptolemy XIV, Dionysus, 228
- Ptolemy Evergetes, 157
- Ptolemy, son of Cleopatra Selene and Juba of Mauretania, 263, 343
- Ptolemy Philadelphus, embassy of, to Rome, 47
- Ptolemy Philadelphus, son of Antony and Cleopatra, 258
- Publicani*, tax farmers, 85, 128, 135, 207, 237, 250, 274, 308, 419, 516, 560
- Publilia, wife of Cicero, 250
- Punic Wars, the: first, 79-83; cost of, to Rome, 83; second, 85-98; effects of, on Italy and Rome, 98-100; treaty, 97-98; third, 114-15
- Puteoli, 138, 271, 273, 380, 547
- Pydna, battle of, 108
- Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, 44-48
- Q. = Quintus
- Quadi, the, 496, 525
- Quadrivium*, 747
- Quaestio rerum repetundarum*. *See* Court for the recovery of damages.
- Quaestorship, the: (1) Roman magistracy, 61; opened to plebeians, 71; number increased by Sulla, 188; in senatorial career, 316; (2) in the provinces, 128
- Quattuorviri*, 561
- P. Quinctilius Varus, defeated in Germany, 347
- Quintilian (M. Fabius Quintilianus): writer on oratory and rhetoric, 605, on education, 606, on literary criticism, 607; influence of, 745, 746, 747
- Quintus of Smyrna, Greek poet, 695
- Quirinus, 31, 311
- Racialism, theory of, 279 n. 29, 698-99
- Raetia: imperial province, 345; in the second century A.D., 569
- Rationalism, 383
- Ravenna, naval station, 333
- Recitatio*, 456, 614
- Recruitment: of territorial legions of Augustus, 331-32; in second century, 535; in later Empire, 630-31, 659, 671
- Religio*, 30
- Religion: of early Rome, 4, 30-31, 57, 60; early influence of Etruscan and Greek on, 21-22, 31, 57; offices open to plebeians, 73; prominence of ritual in, 60; Hellenization of, 149-51; Oriental influence on, 149-50, 283-84, 466, 594-97; decay of old civic faith and growing skepticism of, 150, 282-83, 465; revival of civic and family religion under Augustus, 320-23, 383-84; in second century, 591-93; influence of, on Christianity, 757-60, on Christian art, 758. *See also* Judaism, Christianity, Oriental cults.
- Res Gestae*, 307, 327, 328, 329, 331, 337, 351, 352
- Res privata*: 534-35, 633; under Constantine, 670
- Responsa*, 530
- Rex*: 27; not assumed by Caesar, 234
- Rex sacrorum*, 27, 60
- Rhegium, 24
- Rhetores Latini*, banished, 144
- Rhetoric: Roman, in the second century B.C., 144; of Cicero, 293-94, 297; in the first century A.D., 456-57, 459, 461, 606-07; the "new," 616-18; Greek, 144, 619, 736. *See also* Education, Prose, Cicero, Seneca, Quintilian, *Elocutio novella*.
- Rhodes: island republic, 102; appeals to Rome against Philip V, 103; joins Antiochus III, 106; territory enlarged by Rome, 107; ruined by Rome, 109
- Roads, Roman: construction of, 49; built by C. Gracchus, 166; imperial system of, 549-50, 763. *See also* *Via Appia*, etc.
- Roma, worship of, 311 f.
- Roman Catholic Church as heir of the Roman Empire, 749-50. *See also* Catholic.
- Roman Confederacy in Italy, the: 50-53; military strength of, 54, 80
- Roman economic and social institutions, influence of, 755-56
- Roman Empire, influence of, on later European politics and the church, 747-51
- Roman foreign policy: in Punic Wars, 95, 98; in East, 101, 103-04; after defeat of Philip V, 105; after Magnesia, 107; more aggressive after Pydna, 108-09; evil results of, in East, 110; from regulation to annexation, 167-133 B.C., 111-12; after destruction of Carthage, 116; after destruction of Corinth, 119; in 133 B.C., 121
- Romanic languages, development of, from Latin, 738
- Romans, the: a Latin people, 26; name of, 27; early character of, 31-32; spirit of, 766-67
- Rome, city of: site of, 6, 8-9, 26; traditional founding of, 26; the four regions of, 26; Etruscan influences on, 20-23, 27-28; under

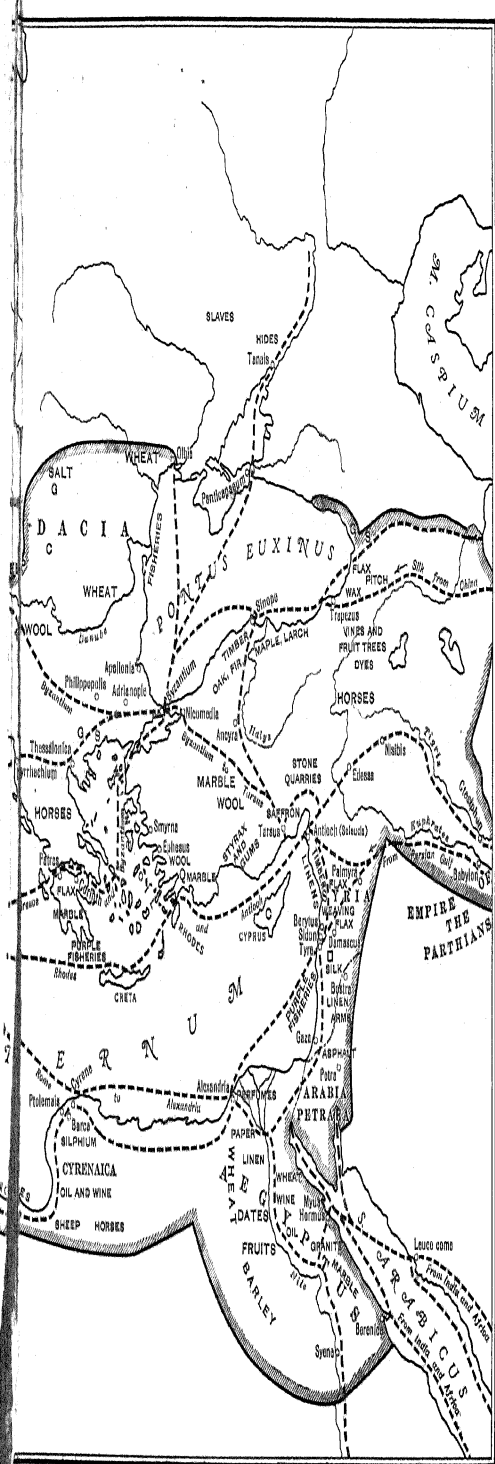
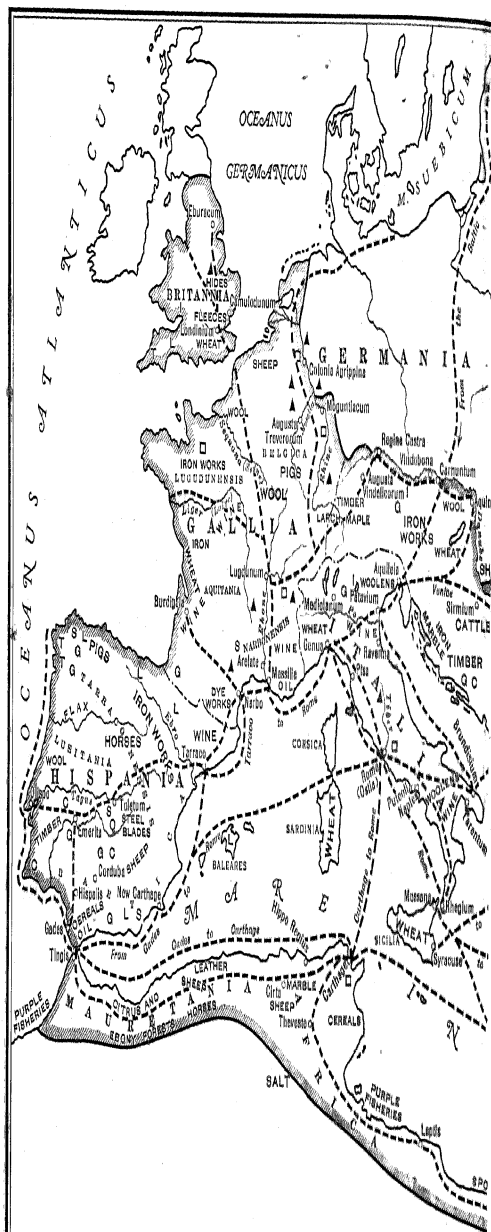
- kings, 27 ff.; temporary decline after Etruscans expelled, 30, 35; sacked by Gauls, 37-38; Servian Wall of, 27, 38; change in appearance of, in second century B.C., 151; in the first century B.C., 300-02; in Augustan age, 377-78; administration of, under Augustus, 327; devastated by great fire, 420-21; in the Age of Nero, 439-40; in the second century A.D., 542, 562, 584-86; walled by Aurelian, 648; in the later Empire, 682; ceases to be capital of Empire, 657; 672; influence of, 735. *See* map, p. 366.
- Romulus, 11, 26
- Rubicon: 7; crossed by Caesar, 225
- P. Rutilius Rufus, ex-quaestor, trial of, 178
- S. = Sextus
- Saalburg, Roman garrison town, 538
- Sabellians, 17
- Sabines, 16, 36, 60
- Sabinus, jurist, 728
- Sacrosanctitas* (inviolability): of tribune, 67; granted to Caesar, 232; to Octavian, 309
- Sacraments, Christian development of, 722
- Sadducees, the: 467, 472, 483; end of, 485
- Saeculum*, 322-23
- Saguntum, Spain: ally of Rome, 89; taken by Hannibal, 89; by Romans, 95; under the Principate, 421
- Salii*, 30
- St. Paul: Jewish and Greco-Roman background, 471-73; personality and early years, 473-74; conversion, 474; missionary journeys, 474-75; arrest and imprisonment in Rome, and death, 475, 421; Epistles of, 475-77; influence of, 476-78
- St. Peter: death, 421; traditional Roman bishop, 467
- Sallust (C. Sallustius Crispus), historian, 173, 201, 297-98, 745
- Salvius Julianus. *See* Julian.
- Salutatio*, 448
- Samnites, the: 16-17; driven from Campania, 39; wars with Rome, 40-43; organize alliances against Rome, 41-42; final surrender to Rome, 42; join Tarentum, 44; reconquered, 47. *See* map, p. 46.
- Sanhedrin, Jewish: 341; abolished, 484
- Sardinia: source of copper, 8; under Carthage, 79; ceded to Rome, 84; a Roman province with Corsica, 85, 121; imperial province, 344; in second century, 563
- Sarmatians, the, 496
- Satire: Roman, origin of name and form, 147; of Lucilius, 147-48; of Horace, 361-63; of Persius, 461; of Martial, 603-04; of Juvenal, 611-13; Greek, 621-22; influence of Roman, 744-45
- Saturnalia*, 32, 758
- Saturnian verse, 146
- Saturninus and Glaucia, leaders of the Populares, 178
- Saxons, invade Britain, 646
- Scaevola. *See* Q. Mucius Scaevola.
- Scaliger (Julius Caesar —), 746
- Schola Notariorum*, 670
- Scholae*, clubs of junior military officers, 631
- Schools. *See* Education.
- Science: Roman, 603-05; influence of, 764-65; Greek, 621-22
- Scipio. *See* P. Cornelius Scipio.
- "Scipionic circle," 144
- Scribes, Jewish, 467
- Scribonia, wife of Octavian, 257
- C. Scribonius Curio, Roman statesman and orator, 224
- C. Scribonius Curio, the younger, 224, 226
- Sculpture, Roman: 152, 302-03, 375-76, 463-64, 587-89, 690-91; influence of, 760-61
- Secretaryships, the imperial, 411, 533
- Secular Games, 322-23, 491
- Secular Hymn, 322-23
- Segovia, aqueduct of, 586
- Sejanus. *See* L. Aelius Sejanus.
- Seleucia: port of Antioch, 575; sacked, 629
- Sellasia, defeat of Sparta by Macedon at, 86, 90, 102
- Sempronia, sister of Gracchi, wife of Scipio Aemilianus, 157
- Sempronia, wife of D. Junius Brutus, 204
- Ti. Sempronius consul in Sicily, 91; defeated at Trebia, 92
- C. Sempronius Gracchus: quaestor in Sardinia, 162; land commissioner, 160; tribunate and legislation, 163-68; overthrow and death, 168; oratory of, 162; law on assignment of provinces, 223
- Ti. Sempronius Gracchus: tribune, 120, 156-62; a governor of Spain, 129; father of Gracchi, 157
- Sena Gallica, Roman colony, 42
- Senate, the Roman: in regal period, 28; in early Republic, 59; limited to patricians, 59; wealthy plebeians admitted to, 74-75; decrease of patricians in, 75; new exclusive nobility of, 74-75, 123-24; appoints promagistrates, 123-24; supreme power in state, 287-183 B.C., 122-26; powers of, summarized, 125; early efficiency of, 126; political machine of, 136; sends ultimatum to Philip V, 104; supports Greek aristocracies, 105; dissolves Bacchanalian associations, 149; later provincial misgovernment of, 126, 156 ff., 171 ff.; prerogatives of, attacked by Gracchi, 155 ff.; weakened by Gracchan disorders, 169-70; corruption with Jugurtha, 173-75; proposal of Drusus to double numbers of senators and give half representation on juries, 178; veto revived, 188; power restored by Sulla, 188-89; membership increased, 188; and extraordinary commands, 156, 195-96; passes ultimate decree against Caesar, 225; membership and composition of, changed by Julius Caesar, 233; treatment of, by Caesar, 233; purged and restored by Augustus, 316-17; takes over election of magistrates, 395; decline and opposition of, under Flavians, 488-89; era of good relations in second cen-

- tury A.D., 502 ff.; decline of power under second-century emperors, 505-10, 529-32; hostility of Sept. Severus to, 632; restored by Alexander Severus, 639; ruin of, by Maximinus, 642; deprived of all power by Diocletian and Constantine, 660, 669-70; loss of powers with culmination of absolute monarchy, 678-80
- Senatorial order, the: (1) an officeholding aristocracy, 74-75, 122-24; under Augustus, 316-17; in the early Empire, 440-41; recruited from equestrians, 533; in the second century, 581; destroyed, 651; (2) new, of late Empire, 678. *See also* Senators, Senate.
- Senators: appointed by consul, 58, 59, by censors, 62; largely ex-magistrates and magistrates, 75; deprived of right to act as judges in courts, 165-66; right restored, 188; property qualifications of, under Augustus, 316; freedom from imperial jurisdiction, 506; exclusion of, from military commands, etc., 630, 642, 647, 670, 678-80
- Senatus consultum ultimum*, 125, 168, 191, 205, 225, 247
- Seneca (L. Annaeus Seneca, the Elder), rhetorician, 456
- Seneca (L. Annaeus Seneca, the Younger): philosophical writings, 459-60; tragedies, 460-61; minister of Nero, 416 ff.; death and estimate of, 423-24; wealth of, 441; influence of, 459-61, 740, 750, 756-57, 764
- Senones (Gauls), 42
- Sentinum, victory over Samnite alliance at, 42
- L. Septimius Severus: principate of, 628 ff.; campaigns against Parthia, 628-29; campaigns in Britain, 629; military policy of, 630-32; hostility to senate, 632; provincial policies of, 633; financial measures, 633; estimate of, 634-35; death, 635; degenerate art on arch of, 691
- Septimontium*, 26
- Septizonium, the, 633, 690
- Sequani, 216-17
- Serfdom. *See* Colonate.
- L. Sergius Catilina: 201, first conspiracy of, 201; second conspiracy of, 204-06
- Sermo plebeius*, 458
- Q. Sertorius: governor of Spain, 192; leads Marian rebellion, 192; estimate of, 192
- Servian Constitution, 27
- Servian Wall, 27, 38
- Servilia, mother of M. Junius Brutus, 239
- C. Servilius Glaucia, praetor, leads Populares, 178
- P. Servilius Rullus, tribune, proposes land bill, 203
- Servius, grammarian, 695
- Servius Sulpicius Rufus, jurist, 725
- Servius Tullius, 27-28
- Sestertius*, 56
- Severus Alexander (M. Aurelius), principate of, 638-41
- Severus (Flavius Valerius —), Caesar, Augustus, 666
- Seviri Augustales*, 312, 315
- Sexagenarii*, 533
- Shapur, Persian king, 645
- Shepherd of Hermas, 710
- Sibyl of Cumae, 24
- Sibylline Books, the, 149, 240
- Sicels, 7
- Sicily: Greek colonization in, 423-24; Carthage in West, 79; ceded to Rome, 83; organization of, under Rome, 84-85; land system of, under Rome, 84; a Roman province, 85, 121; Roman misgovernment of, 185, 193-95; under Augustus, 344; in the second century A.D., 563
- Sidon, 576
- Siliqua*, silver coin of Constantine, 671
- Silk, from China to the West, 546
- Silius Italicus, poet, 602
- Sirmium, residence of Caesar in East, 657
- Slaves: on *latifundia*, 132; prices of, 132; in mines, 132; domestic, 132; treatment of, by Romans, 132; Cato on, 132; manumission of, 133; rapid growth in numbers to 133 B.C., 132; effect on free labor, 133; rebellions of, 176-77, 192-93; in late Republic, 269, 272, 277; in early Principate, 431-32, 436, 443-44, 446, 447-48; in the second century A.D., 582; decline of supply of, in agriculture, 431, 540, 686
- Smyrna, 573
- Society and manners: in early Rome and Italy, 25-29, 31-32, 99-109; in the second century B.C., 132-36, 139-43; in the late Republic, 276-82; in the Augustan age, 381-83; in the early Principate, 438-54, 581-84, 603-04, 612, 614; in the later Empire, 683-89
- Socii*, federate allies, 51, 126
- Socii Italici*. *See* Italian allies.
- Sodales Augustales*, 396
- Sodalitas* (*Sodalitium*), 533
- Solidus*, coin of Constantine, 671
- Sol Invictus*, 649, 707-08, 719
- Sophistic movement (Greek), 573, 601
- Sosigenes, Greek astronomer, 236
- Spain: coast of, controlled by Carthage, 79; Carthaginian expansion in, 88-89; invaded by Rome, 95-96; Carthaginian Spain ceded to Rome, 97-98; Roman oppression in, 111-13; revolts in, 111; pacification of, 112-13; mines, 113, 566; Roman provinces of Ilithier and Farther, 98, 121; Sertorian rebellion in, 192; Caesar reduces Pompeians in, 230-31; reorganized into three provinces, 343-44; prosperity of, under the Principate, 380, 565-66; culture of, 566. *See* map, p. 334.
- Spalato (Split), later residence of Diocletian, 661, 690
- Sparta: 102-03; withdraws from Achaean League, 118; Roman ally, 118; in the second century A.D., 572
- Spartacus, rebellion of, 192-93
- Spectacles. *See* Festivals.
- Spirit, the Roman, influence of, 766-67
- Sportula*, 448, 603

- S.P.Q.R., Senatus Populusque Romanus*, 125
 Stadium, athletic and musical contests in, 454
 Statius (P. Papinius —), poet, 602, 742
 Stephen, early Christian martyr, 473
Stipendium, 128. *See also* Taxes.
Stipendiariae, 336
 Stoicism: in Rome, 150-51, 157, 284-85, 295-96, 356, 384, 461, 465, 473, 590-92, 594, 706; influence on Roman law, 285, 726; opposition to Nero and Flavians, 406, 423, 500; influence on Christianity, 722, 756; on political thought, 756. *See also* individual Stoics.
 Stone Age: the Old, 13; the New, 13-14
 Strabo, Greek geographer, 7, 375
Stusoriae, 456
 Suetonius (C. Suetonius Tranquillus): biographer, 390, 615-16; influence of, 745
 C. Suetonius Paulinus, 412, 422
 Suevi, invade Gaul, 217
Suffete, 79
 Sulla. *See* L. Cornelius Sulla.
 Sulpician laws, the, 183
 P. Sulpicius Rufus, tribune, legislation, and reign of terror, 183
 S. Sulpicius Rufus, juristic writer and orator, 294, 300
 Sun worship, in Rome, 638, 649, 707-08. *See also* *Sol Invictus*.
Suovetaurilia, 62. *See* Pl. IV.
 Survey of Empire. *See* *Breviarum Totius imperii*.
 Symmachus (Q. Aurelius —), writer, 694
 Syracuse: tyrants of, 81; wars with Mamertines, 81; alliance with Rome, 81-82; goes over to Carthage, 94; besieged and sacked by Rome, 94
 Syria: Seleucid kingdom of, 101-02; conquered by Tigranes, 196; conquered by Pompey and made Roman province, 198; Crassus in, 221; an imperial province, 340; in second century, 574-76. *See* map, p. 334.
 Syrians, traders, 274, 380, 545, 548
 T. = Titus
Tabularium, 301
 Tacitus (M. Claudius —), principate of, 650
 Tacitus (P. Cornelius —): historian, 390, 608-11; influence of, 705
 Tarentum: 7; allies against Rome, 41; war with Rome, 43-47; in Roman federation, 47; treaty of, 257
 Tarquinius Priscus, 27
 Tarquinius Superbus, 27, 28
 Tarracina, Roman colony, 39
 Tarsus, 473, 574
 Tatian, 710
Tauromolium, 595, 708
 Taxation: system of, under Augustus, 329-30; in the second century, 515-16; in the later Empire, 662-64, 672-73, 689; crushing burden of, in third and fourth centuries, 655, 688-89; system of, under Diocletian and Constantine, 662-63, 672
 Taxes: (1) affecting Roman citizens, *tributum*, or land tax, 111, 128 (not levied between 168 and 43 B.C. or in earlier Empire); tax of five per cent on emancipated slaves, 329; inheritance tax, 329; sales tax, 329; *portoria*, or customs taxes, 329; land tax of late Empire, 663; (2) provincial, *decuma*, or tithe of annual produce in Sicily and a fixed annual amount elsewhere, 128; *stipendium* (originally a tax to meet cost of soldiers' wage), 128, 336, 560; *portoria*, 52, 128, 329, 560; *vectigalia* (indirect taxes), 52; *tributa*, 128, 336-37, 560; (3) special, of Second Triumvirate, 251; head tax on Jews, 484; of late Empire, 662-64, 672-73, 689; collection of, 128, 330, 338, 516, 662-64, 672-73, 689
Teaching of the Twelve Apostles, 710
 Telamon, battle at, 87
 Tenancy, 270, 431, 686
Tercenarii, 533
 Terence (P. Terentius Afer): dramatist, 147; influence, 740
 Terentia, wife of Cicero, 202, 250, 281
 C. Terentius Varro, consul at Cannae, 93
 M. Terentius Varro. *See* Varro.
 Terramara culture, 14-15, 26
Terra sigillata (Gallic pottery), 434, 551
 Tertullian (Q. Septimius Florens Tertullianus), Christian writer, 622, 710, 711, 713, 714, 721
 Tetricus, successor to Postumus in Gaul, 649
 Teutoberg Forest, Roman disaster in, 347
 Teutons, the. *See* Cimbri and Teutons.
 Thapsus, victory of Caesar in Africa, 229
 Theatre, the Roman: 146-47; in the early Empire, 453-54, 583. *See also* Drama.
Thermae, Roman, 440, 582, 633, 661, 690, 762
 Theodosian Code, 686, 730, 752. *See also* Codes.
 Theon, a Greek mathematician, 706
 Thermopylae, battle at, 106
 "Thirty Tyrants," the, 646
 Thrace: subdued and made a client kingdom, 345; made a Roman province, 413; in the second century A.D., 570-71. *See* map, p. 334.
 Thugga, Africa, 586
 Thurii, 44
 Thydrus, Africa, 690
 Ti. = Tiberius
 Tiberius (Tiberius Claudius Nero): stepson of Augustus, 257, 345; campaigns of, 346; as successor to Augustus, 349-50; principate of, 390-402; estimate of, 391, 395, 397, 402. *See* Pl. XII.
 Tiberius Gemellus, grandson of Tiberius Caesar, 403, 404
 Tibullus (Albius —), poetry of, 367
 Tibur, 39
 Ticinus, battle of the, 92
 Tigellinus Ofonius, praetorian prefect under Nero, 419, 424, 425
 Tigranes, king of Armenia: allies with Mithradates and pirates, 196; makes peace with Rome, 196; submits to Pompey, 197
 Timaeus, Greek historian, 9

- Timgad (Thamugadi), Africa, 565, 582-83, 587, 599. *See also* Pl. XXI.
- Tiridates, Parthian king of Armenia, recognized by Nero, 422
- Tiridates III, client king of Armenia, 659
- Tiro, learned slave of Cicero, 250, 296, 299
- Titus (Titus Flavius Sabinus Vespasianus): general in Judaea, 428; besieges and takes Jerusalem, 484-85; principate of, 488; personality, 486
- Toga candida*, 124
- Toga praetexta*, 22
- Toga virilis*, 287
- Trade guilds. *See Collegia.*
- Trajan (M. Ulpius Traianus), princeps: adopted by Nerva, 502; personality, 503; attitude to senate, 506-07; provincial administration, 508-10, 516-17; and the *Alimenta*, 511-12; building of, 513-14; imperial expansion of, 514, 519-22; crushes revolt, 523; promotes city life, 542; policy to Christians, 714-15. *See* Pl. XVII.
- Tralles, council of, 710
- Transjordanian, added to Syria, 520, 575
- Transpadane Gauls, enfranchised by Caesar, 235, 238
- Transportation and communication: in the first century B.C., 274; in the second century A.D., 548-50
- Trapezites*, 139
- Trasimene Lake, battle at, 92
- Travel: in the early Empire, 436-38, 475; in the second century A.D., 584
- Travertine, 151
- Trebia, battle of, 92
- Trebonian, jurist, 730
- C. Trebonius: tribune, 239; murdered, 247
- Treveri: 217, 219; revolt of, 481-82
- Trèves (Augusta Treverorum): founded, 413; in the second century, 567, 568; residence of the Caesar in the West, 657
- Tribes: the Roman expansion of, 67; importance as political units in assemblies, 67; proposal of Appius Claudius, 73; new Italian citizens restricted to eight tribes, 171, 181
- Tribunate, the: (1) military with consular powers, 63, 71; opened to plebeians, 63; (2) *tribuni militum*, 66; (3) *tribuni plebis*, established, 66-67; functions of, 66-67; increased to ten, 68; evolution of, 68; dominated by senate, 68, 123; importance in legislation increased, 74, 123; Ti. Gracchus attempts re-election to, 160; re-election to, legalized, 162; of C. Gracchus, 163-68; weakened by Sulla, 188; restored by Pompey and Crassus, 193
- Tribuni aerarii*, included in jury service, 194
- Tribunicia potestas*: granted to Julius Caesar, 232, to Augustus, 309
- Tributum*: on Roman citizens, 54; not after 167 B.C., 110; becomes a term for provincial tax, 128; *capitis*, 337; *solis*, 337
- C. Trimalchio, 430, 436, 441, 458
- Triumvirate: the First, 208, renewed, 213-14; Second, 248, renewed, 256
- Triumviri rei publicae constituendae*. *See* Triumvirate, the Second.
- Trivium*, 747
- "Truceless War," 84
- Tuchulcha, Etruscan deity, 22
- Tufa, 151
- Tullia, daughter of Cicero, 231, 281
- M. Tullius Cicero: birth, education, and earlier career, 202; aedile, prosecution of Verres, 193-94, 202; oration on the Manilian law, 197; defense of Roscius, 202; quaestor in Sicily, 202; consulship and policy, 202-03; opposes land bill of Rullus, 203; against Catiline, 204-06; refuses place on Caesar's staff, 209; exile of, 211-12; restoration and return, 212-13; governor of Cilicia, 224-25; under Caesar's dictatorship, 225, 231-38; and Caesar's assassination, 239; compromise policy after Caesar's death, 243-44; and Octavian, 245; denounces Antony in *Philippics*, 245-47; death in proscriptions of Antony, 249; Cicero as man and statesman, 249-50; philosophy of, 285; philosophical and oratorical writings, 293-96; influence of, 296-97; 737, 745-47, 750-51, 756-57. *See* Pl. VII.
- M. Tullius Cicero, the Younger, 257, 263; education in Athens, 289
- Q. Tullius Cicero, brother of the orator, 290, 202
- Tullus Hostilius, 27
- Tusculum, villa of Cicero at, 277
- Twelve Tables, Law of the, 11, 57, 69-70, 725
- Tyre, 576
- Tyrian purple, 278
- Tyrrhenian Sea, conflict over, 46
- Ulpian (Domitius Ulpianus), jurist and praetorian prefect under Alexander Severus, 639, 693, 728
- Umbrians, the: 17; dominated by Etruscans, 18; Roman allies, 42
- Umbro-Sabellian, dialect group, 16, 17
- "University" education in Greece and the East in the days of Cicero, 288-89
- Urban cohorts, the. *See Cohortes.*
- Urban prefect. *See* Prefect, urban.
- Vadimon Lake, victory of Rome at, 42
- Valerian (P. Licinius Valerianus): principate of, 644-45; captured by Persian king, 645; persecution of Christians, 717
- L. Valerius Flaccus, Marian consul in Mithradatic War, 183-84
- C. Valerius Flaccus, writer, 602
- Valerius Maximus, 390, 456
- Vandals, the, 525
- M. Terentius Varro: writer and antiquarian, 298-99; escapes proscriptions of Antony, 248; writes book on agriculture, 258; influence of, 764
- Veii, fall of, to Rome, 37

- M. Velleius Paterculus, historian, 390, 457
 Venus Genetrix, temple of, by Caesar, 234
 Venusia, a Roman colony, 42
 Vercellae, Marius destroys Cimbri at, 176
 Vercingetorix: leader of Gallic revolt against Caesar, 219; death, 230
 L. Verginius Rufus, general, 425
 Verona, victory of Constantine over Maxentius at, 667
 C. Verres, ex-propraetor of Sicily, misgovernment and trial of, 193-94
 Verus (L. Aurelius), principate of, 505
 Vesontio, battle of, 425
 Vespasian (Titus Flavius Vespasianus): general in Judaea, 428, 483; made princeps by army, 428-29; wins civil war against Vitellius, 429; principate of, 486, 488-93. *See* Pl. XIII.
 Vesta, goddess of the hearth, 30; priestesses of, (Vestals) (*see* Pl. III); Shrine of, in Forum (*see* Pl. III)
Via Aemilia, 111
Via Appia, 42, 49, 73
Via Claudia, 413
Via Domitia, 173
Via Flaminia, 87
Via Latina, 49
Vicarii, 660
Vicarius in urbe, 670
Vigiles, 327
 Villanovan (Iron Age) culture, 15-16, 17
 Villa of Hadrian, 584, 587
 Villas, Roman: in first century B.C., 269, 277-78; in the first century A.D., 443; in the second century A.D., 566-67, 583; in Gaul and Britain, 566-67, 587
 Vindex. *See* C. Julius Vindex.
 Vindobona (Vienna), founded, 496
 M. Vipsanius Agrippa: general of Octavian, 254, 263; conducts survey of Empire, 337; as intended successor, 349; patron of letters, 355; buildings of, 377-78, 585
 Virgil (P. Virgilius Maro), poet: loss and restoration of farm, 254; *Georgics*, 319, 321-22; poetry of, 357-61; influences on, 355, 357-59; influence of, 360-61, 741-42; portrait of, Pl. XI
 Viriathus, chief of Lusitanians against Rome, 112
 A. Vitellius: general, 427; principate of, 428-29
 Vitruvius (M. Vitruvius Pollio): architect, 374; influence of, on Renaissance builders, 762, 763
 Vologeses III, Parthian king, 522-23
 Volsci, the: 16; subdued by Rome, 36; revolt of, 38
Volta Dorata, 421
Vulgate, the, Latin translation of the Bible by St. Jerome, 711
 War of the Legions: (1) First, 425-29; (2) Second, 627-29
 Women: status of, in primitive Rome, 28-29; changing status in the second century, 140; in the days of Cicero, 280-82; in Augustan age, 324, 382; in the Julio-Claudian age, 445-47; in the second century A.D., 583
 Zama, final defeat of Carthage, 97
 Zarathustra (Zoroaster), Persian prophet, 640
 Zealots in Judaea, 341, 483-85
 Zenobia, queen of Palmyra: 645-46; dominates Roman East, except Egypt and Asia Minor, 646; overthrown by Aurelian, 648-49
 Zonaras, writer, 641
 Zosimus, historian, 641, 720



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